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Plutarch's
MORALS:

Translated from the *GREEK*

By SEVERAL HANDS.

Volume IV.

LONDON,

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

TO THE

Right Reverend Father in GOD,

FRANCIS,

Lord Biſhop of ELY.

My Lord,

YOUR Lordſhip's Univerſal Skill in Languages, is ſo well known to the World, that it may appear a Preſumption in the higheſt Degree, to lay this Tranſlation at the Feet of ſo great a Judge, both as to the Faithfulneſs of the Verſion, and the Purity of the Expreſſion. But when I conſider, that Your Character is as Eminent for Charity and Candour, as for all manner of Literature, I reckem my ſelf ſafe under the Favor and Protection of ſo much Generoſity and Goodneſs; eſpecially, where the Difficulty of the Work, will in ſome Meaſure excuſe the Imperfections of it; For, it is a Thing utterly impoſſible, for a *English* Traduction to come up to the Life and Force of this Illuſtrious Original, and to reach the Inimitable Excellency of our Author's Thoughts and Conceptions. Inſomuch, that whether we conſider the Glorious Lives of ſo many Great and Gallant Men, which *Plutarch* has ſet forth with a Spirit equal to the Dignity of their Actions; or, whether we reflect upon the Philoſophy of his Morals, where we find many Things in his Phyſical Remarks, that for want of a true Key, may ſeem

ſome

ſomewhat obſcure to the Age we live in; it will be a hard Matter to ſupport the Credit of this Undertaking.

But, my Lord, whatever Diminution this Author may have ſuffer'd by thoſe that have adventur'd to expoſe him to the World in our Language, he is yet more than recompens'd under the Patronage of ſo great an Ornament, both of the *Engliſh* Church and Nation, which ſhall ever be acknowledged with Infinite Reverence and Gratitude, by

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Dutiful

and Obedient Servant,

Robert Midgley.

The Contents of each *Treatiſe*, wit
the Tranſlators Names.

1. WHY *the Oracles ceaſe to give Anſwers.* B
Robert Midgley, M.D. Pag. 1
2. *Of* Iſis *and* Oſiris, *or of the Ancient Religion and Phi-*
loſophy of Ægypt. By Mr. William Baxter.
3. *Concerning ſuch whom God is ſlow to puniſh.*
Mr. John Phillips.
4. *Of Natural affection towards ones Off-Spring.*
Mr. Richard Brown.
5. *Concerning the Fortune of the* Romans. By Mr. Jo
Oſwald.
6. *Of Garrulity or Talkativeneſs.* By Mr. J. Phillips.
7. *Of Love.* By *the ſame Hand.*
8. *Five Tragical Hiſtories of Love.* By Sir A. I.
9. Plutarch's *Diſcourſe to an unlearned Prince.*
Mr. John Kelſey.
10. *Of* Herodotus's *Malice.* By Mr. A. G.
11. *Of Common Conceptions againſt the* Stoicks.
Samuel White, M.D.
12. *The Contradictions of the* Stoicks. By
Smith.
13. *Of the Word* EI, *engraven over the Gate of* Ap
Temple at Delphi. By Mr. R. Kippax.
14. *The Lives of the Ten Orators.* By Mr.
Barcroft.
15. *Whether an Aged Man ought to meddle in State affairs.*
By F. Fetherſton, D.D.

Plutarch's Morals:

Vol. IV.

Why the Oracles ceaſe to give Anſwers.

Tranſlated from the GREEK by *Robert Midgley*, M.D. & Col. Med. Lond. Cand.

THere is an old Story, Friend *Terentius Priſcus*, as if heretofore Eagles or Swans flying from the oppoſite Bounds of the Earth, met together where now ſtands the Temple of *Apollo Pythius*, in the Place now called *The Navel*. And that ſomewhile after, *Epimenides* the *Phæſtian* willing to ſatiſfie his Curioſity, enquired of the Oracle of *Apollo*, which was the *Navel* or *Middle* of the World; but receiv'd ſuch an *Anſwer* as made him never a jot the wiſer:

> *The Centre of the Earth is juſtly known*
> *(Conceal'd from Mortals) to the Gods alone.*

Thus fitly did the *God* chaſtiſe this bold Inquirer into Ancient Traditions.

But in our Time, not long before the Celebration of the *Pythian* Games, during the *Magiſtracy* of *Calliſtratus*, there were Two famous Men, who coming as it were from the Two oppoſite Ends of the World, met together at the City of *Delphos*. The One was *Demetrius* the *Grammarian*, who came from *England*, to return to *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, where he was born. The Other, *Cleombrotus* the *Lacedæmonian*, who had [illegible] converſant in *Egypt*, and made ſeveral Voyages, as wel on the *Red Sea*, as other Parts; not as a Merchant, to get Money, but to improve his Knowledg, and enrich hi Mind; for he had enough to live upon, and car'd fo no more. He having been lately at the Temple and *Oracle* of *Jupiter Ammon*, ſeem'd not much to marvel at any Thing he there ſaw: Yet he mentioned to us one Particular (which he ſaid was told him by the *Prieſts* of the Temple) touching the Lamp that is always burning, never extinguiſhed, and ſpends leſs every Year than the former. Whence he conjectured an Inequality of Years, and that the *latter* was ſtill ſhorter than the *preceding*.

This Diſcourſe was much wondred at by the Com pany; and *Demetrius*, amongſt the reſt, affirm'd it un reaſonable, to ground the Knowledg of ſuch grea Matters, on ſuch ſlight and trivial Conjectures: For this was not (as *Alcæus* ſaid) to paint the Lyon from th Meaſure of his Claw, but to change and diſorder the Motions of Celeſtial Bodies, for the ſake of a Lam or the Snuff of a Candle, and to overthrow at on Stroak all the *Mathematical* Sciences. Theſe Men, re ply'd *Cleombrotus*, will not be mov'd by what you ſay for firſt, they will not yield to *Mathematicians* in poin of Certainty, ſeeing they may be eaſilier miſtaken i their Comprehenſion of Time, it being ſo ſlippery an fallacious and at ſuch a Diſtance from them, than the Men in the Meaſures of their *Oyl*, about which the are ſo exact and careful. Moreover, *Demetrius* by deny ing that ſmall Things are oft the Signs and Indicatio of great, muſt prejudice ſeveral *Arts* and Sciences, an deprive them of the Proofs of ſeveral Concluſions a Predictions. And yet you *Grammarians* will a vouch, That the *Demi-Gods* and *Heroes*, which were the *Trojan* War, ſhav'd with *Razors*, becauſe you fin in *Homer* the mention of ſuch an Inſtrument. The alſo ſay Uſury was then in Faſhion, becauſe he ſays one Place,

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Long has my Money ſwell'd with large Increaſe.

And becauſe that in ſeveral other Places the ſame Poet calls the Night quick and ſharp, you'll needs have him to mean by this Word, That the ſhadow of the Earth being round, groweth ſharp at the End like the Body of a Pyramid. Again, who is he that denying ſmall Things to be the Signs and Proofs of great, will allow what *Phyſicians* tell us, namely, That great Numbers of Spiders foretel a Peſtilent Summer, and alſo that in the Spring, when the Olive-Tree Leaves are as large as a Crows Foot, it is then a good Time to put out to Sea? And, who will meaſure the Greatneſs of the Suns Body, by *Clepſydres*, or Water-Dyals, with a Pint or Quart of Water? Or prove, that a ſmall Table like a Tyle making a ſharp Angle, leaning on a Plain *Superficies*, ſhould ſhew the juſt Meaſure of the Elevation of the *Pole* from the *Horizon*, which is ever to be ſeen in our *Hemiſphere*? And this is what the *Prieſts* may alledge, in favor of what they affirm; ſo that we muſt offer other Arguments againſt them, if we will maintain the Courſe of the Sun to be fixt and unchangeable, as we here hold it to be. Not only of the Sun (cry'd out aloud the Philoſopher *Ammonius*, who was there preſent) but alſo of the whole Heaven; for the Paſſage which he makes from one *Tropick* to another, muſt of neceſſity be ſhortned, ſeeing he takes not up ſo great a Part of the *Horizon* as the *Mathematicians* do imagin, but becomes leſs and ſhorter, as the Southern Part approaches the Northern. Whence conſequently, the Summer will fall out to be Shorter, and the Temperature of the Air Colder, by reaſon of the Sun's running more inwardly, and ſhewing greater Parallels, and equal diſtant Circles in the Points of its Revolutions, therefore in the longeſt Day in Summer, and the ſhorteſt in Winter. It would moreover alſo follow, That th Pins of the Dials in the City of *Syene* will be mor ſhadowleſs at the Summer *Tropique* or *Solſtice*, and n a few of the Fixed Stars run under or againſt one an ther for want of Room. And ſhould it be alledg That all the other Celeſtial Bodies keep their Cour and ordinary Motions, without any Change, they w never be able to cite any Cauſe which ſhall haſten hi Motion alone above all the reſt; but will be forced to confound and diſorder all evident Appearances which d clearly ſhew themſelves to our Eyes, and eſpecially th of the Moon: So that there will be no need of o ſerving theſe Meaſures of Oyl to know the Differen of the Years, becauſe the Eclipſes will do this, if ther be any, ſeeing the Sun does oft meet with the Moo and the Moon as oft falls within the Shadow of th Earth; ſo that we need not any longer hold argui on this Matter. Well, but (ſay's *Cleombrotus*) I m ſelf have ſeen the Meaſure of the Oyl, for they ha ſhewed it ſeveral Years; but that of the Preſent, i far leſs than that of Ancient Times. Unto whi *Ammonius* anſwered, How comes it to paſs then th other People who have the Inextinguiſhible Fire i Veneration, and have preſerved it even Time out o Mind, could never remark this? And granting wh you ſay concerning this Meaſure of Oyl, is it not be to attribute the Cauſe of this to ſome Coldneſs o Dampneſs of Air; Or, on the contrary, to ſome He or Dryneſs, by which the Fire in the *Lamp* bei weakned, needs not ſo much Nouriſhment, neith could conſume the ſame Quantity? For, 'tis w known, that Fire burns better in Winter than in Su mer, its Heat being drawn in, and encloſed by th Cold, whereas in great Heats and dry Weather i weakned, lying dead and languiſhing without a Strength; and if it be kindled in Sunny Weather, i

Effica

Efficacy is ſmall, hardly catching hold of the Wood, and ſlowly conſuming the Fuel. But we may with greater Probability attribute the Circumſtance of the Oyl, to the Oyl it ſelf; for Oyl formerly was of leſs Nutriment, as ſqueezed out of Olives which grew up on Young Trees; but being ſince better order'd, as coming of Plants more fully grown, muſt needs be more effectual to the nouriſhing and keeping of the Fire. And this is the beſt way of ſaving the Credit of the *Ammonian* Prieſts in their Suppoſition, which will not endure the Teſt of Reaſon.

Ammonius having finiſhed his Diſcourſe, I pray ſaid I, *Cleombrotus*, give us ſome Account of the *Oracle*, for it has been ever in great Eſteem in thoſe Parts, till theſe Times wherein its Divinity and Reputation ſeems to be decayed. Unto which *Cleombrotus* making no Anſwer, but looking down on the Ground, *Demetrius* took up the Diſcourſe ſaying, You need not buſie your ſelf in Enquiries after the *Oracles* in thoſe Parts, ſeeing we find the *Oracles* in theſe to fail, or to ſpeak better, to be totally ſilenced, except Two or Three; ſo that it would be more to the Purpoſe to ſearch into the Cauſe of this Silence. But we are more concern'd in *Bœotia*, which although formerly famous throughout all the World for *Oracles*, is now like a Fountain dried up, ſo that at preſent we find them dumb. For at this Day there's no Place in all *Bœotia*, unleſs in the Town of *Lebadia*, where one can draw out any Divination, all other Parts being become ſilent and forſaken. Yet in the Time of the War againſt the *Perſians*, the *Oracle* of *Ptous Apollo* was in Requeſt, as alſo that of *Amphiaraus*; for both of 'em were tryed; that of *Ptous Apollo*, when the *Prieſt* who was always wont to return the *Oracle* Anſwers in *Greek*, ſpake to him that was ſent from the *Barbarians* in their own Barbarous Language, ſo that none of the Aſſiſtants underſtood a Word, whereby

they

they were given to underſtand, That 'twas not lawful for the *Barbarians* to have the uſe of the *Greek* Tongue at their Pleaſure. And as to that of *Amphiaraus*, the Perſon that was ſent thither, having fall'n aſleep in the Sanctuary, he dream'd he heard the Miniſter of that *God* bidding him be gon out of the Temple, and ſaying, *That his* God *was not there*, and preſently ſhove'd him out thence with both his Hands; and ſeeing he ſtill ſtopt by the Way, he took up a great Stone, and ſtruck him with it on the Head. And what was this, but a Prediction and Denunciation of what was to come to paſs? For *Mardonius* was not long after defeated by *Pauſanias*, who was no King, but only the King of *Lacedemonia*'s Guardian, and the then Lieutenant of the *Grecian* Army, and was with a Stone flung out of a Sling, fell'd to the Ground, just as the *Lydian* Servant thought he was ſtruck in his Dream. In the ſame Manner alſo flouriſhed the *Oracle*, near *Tegyra*, where 'tis ſaid *Apollo* himſelf was born, and in Effect, there are Two Rivers that ſlide near one another, one of which is called the *Palm-Tree* and the other the *Olive*-Tree. And at this *Oracle* in the Time of the *Medes* War, *Echecrates* being then the Prophet, the God *Apollo* anſwered by his Mouth, That *the Honour and Profit of this War ſhould fall to the* Greeks *Share*. And during the *Peloponneſian* War, the *Delians* having been driven out of their *Iſland*, they had Word brought them from the *Oracle of Delphos*, that they ſhould ſearch for the Place where *Apollo* was born, and there make ſome certain Sacrifices. At which they marvelling, and demanding, Whether *Apollo* was born elſewhere than in their Parts, the Propheteſs *Pythia* moreover told them, That *a Crow would ſhew them the Place*. Theſe Deputies from the *Delians*, in their Return Home paſt by Chance through the City of *Chæronea*, where they heard their Hoſteſs talking to ſome Travellers about the *Oracle* of *Tegyra*, to whom they were going, and at their parting they heard 'em ſay to her, *Adieu Dame* Coron; by which they comprehended the meaning of *Pythia*'s Anſwer; and having offered their Sacrifices at *Tegyra*, they were ſoon after reſtored and eſtabliſhed in their own Country. Yet there have been given later Anſwers from theſe *Oracles*, than thoſe you have mentioned; but now they have wholly ceas'd, ſo that 'twill not be beſides the Matter, ſeeing we are at *Apollo Pythius*, to enquire after the Cauſe of this Change.

Thus diſcourſing together, we left the Temple, and were come as far as the *Gnidian* Hall, where entring in, we found our Friends which we look'd for, being ſat down in Expectation of our coming. All the reſt were at leaſure, by reaſon of the time of the day, and did nothing but anoint their Bodies, or gaze on the Wreſtlers, who were exerciſing of themſelves. Whereupon *Demetrius* laughing, ſaid to 'em, It ſeems to me, that you are not diſcourſing of any Matter of great Conſequence. For I ſee, you labour not under deep Thoughts. 'Tis true, reply'd *Heracleon* the *Megarian*, we are not a-diſputing, Whether the *Verb* βάλλω in its *Future Tenſe* loſes one of his λ's, nor from what *Poſitive* or *Primitive* are formed or derived theſe two *Comparatives* χεῖρον and βέλτιον, and theſe two *Superlatives* χείριστον and βέλτιστον; for ſuch Queſtions as theſe, make People knit their Brows. A Man may diſcourſe of all other Matters, eſpecially of *Philoſophy*, without theſe frowning angry Looks that put the by-ſtanders into a fright. Receive us then, ſaid *Demetrius*, into your Company, and, if you pleaſe, the Queſtion too which has been now agitated amongſt us, which does well agree with the Place where we are, and relating to the God *Apollo*, concerns therefore all that are here; but however, let's have no knitting of the Brows or frowning Looks. Being then all ſat down cloſe together, and *Demetrius* having propoſed the Queſtion we were upon, *Didymus* the *Cynic* Philoſopher, ſurnamed *Planetiades*, getting up on his Feet, and ſtriking the Ground Two or Three Times with his Stick, cryed out, O *Jupiter!* what a hard Queſtion do you offer, what a difficult Matter do you propoſe? for is it any wonder, the whole World wallowing in wickedneſs, and Men having put away all Shame and Senſe of Honor from them (as *Heſiod* long ago complain'd) that the *Gods* ſhould no longer ſuffer their *Oracles* to be among them as heretofore? For my Part, I wonder there's ſo much as One left, and that *Hercules* or ſome other of the *Gods*, has not long ſince pluckt up, and carry'd away the *Three-Footed-Stool*, whereon is offered ſuch baſe and villainous Queſtions to *Apollo*; ſome coming to him as a mere paltry *Aſtrologer*, to try his Skill, and impoſe on him by ſubtle Queſtions, others asking him about Treaſures buried under-Ground, others about marrying a Fortune: So that *Pythagoras* will be here ſoon convinced of his Miſtake, when he affirm'd, *That the Time when Men are honeſteſt, is when they preſent themſelves before the* Gods; for thoſe filthy Paſſions which they dare not diſcover before a grave Mortal Man, they ſcruple not to utter to *Apollo*. He had gone further, if *Heracleon* had not pull'd him by the Sleeve; and my ſelf, who was better acquainted than any in the Company beſides, thus ſpake to him; Ceaſe, Friend *Planetiades*, from angring *Apollo* againſt thee, ſeeing he is ſharp and choleric, and not eaſily reconciled; for as *Pindar* ſays,

Thus Men he favor Heav'n has him enjoy'd.

And whether he be the Sun, or the Maſter of the Sun, or Father of it, being above all viſible Natures, 'tis not to be ſuppos'd he diſdains to hold any further entercourſe with Men at this Time, ſeeing he gives them their Birth, Nouriſhment, Subſiſtence and Reaſon. Neither is it credible that the Divine Providence (who like a kind and indulgent Mother, produces and conſerves all Things for our Uſe) ſhould ſhew her ſelf malevolent only in the Matter of Divination, or deprive us of it having once given it us; as if, when there were more *Oracles* than there are now in the World, Men were not then as wicked. But let us make a *Pythic* Truce (as they ſay) with Vice, which you are always ſharply reprehending, and ſit down here with us to try, Whether we can find out any other Cauſe of the ceaſing of *Oracles*, and let me only adviſe you by the way, to have better Thoughts of *God*, than to ſuppoſe him ſo prone to Anger. *Planetiades* was ſo moved with theſe Speeches, that he went away immediately without ſpeaking a Word. The Company remaining a while in Silence, *Ammonius* addreſſing himſelf to me, ſaid, Prithee, *Lamprias*, let's take Care of what we ſay, and not be raſh in our Aſſertions; for we do not well when we make *God* to be little or no Cauſe of theſe *Oracles* ceaſing; for, he that attributes the failing of them to any other Cauſe than the Will and Decree of *God*, gives occaſion to ſuſpect his Belief, Whether there ever were, or are now any by his Diſpoſition, but by ſome other Means; for there is no other more excellent and noble Cauſe and Power, which can deſtroy and aboliſh Divination, if it be the Work of *God*. And as for *Planetiades* his Diſcourſe, it does not at all pleaſe me, as well for the Inequality and Inconſtancy which he attributes to *God*, as for other Reaſons. For he makes him ſometimes rejecting and deteſting of Vice, and ſometimes admitting and receiving it, just as a King or rather a Tyrant, who drives wicked People out of one Gate, and receives them through another, and negotiates with them. But as the greateſt and moſt perfect

Work that will admit of no Additions, is that which agrees beſt with the Dignity of the *Gods*; by ſuppoſing this, we may in my judgement affirm, That in this common Scarcity of Men occaſioned by the former Wars and Seditions over all the World, *Greece* has moſt ſuffered; ſo that ſhe can with much Difficulty raiſe 3000 Men, which Number the ſingle City of *Megara* ſent heretofore to the Battle of *Platea*. Wherefore if *God* now forſakes ſeveral *Oracles* which anciently were frequented, what is this but a Sign that *Greece* is at this Time very much diſpeopled, in Compariſon of what it was heretofore; and he that will affirm this, ſhall not want for Arguments. For, of what Uſe would the *Oracle* be now, which was heretofore at *Tegyra* or at *Ptous*? for ſcarcely ſhall you meet in a whole Days time, with ſo much as a Herdſman or Shepherd in thoſe Parts. We find alſo in Writing, that this Place of Divination where we now are, and which is as ancient as any, and as famous and renowned as any is in all *Greece*, was for a conſiderable Time deſerted and inacceſſible, by Means of a dangerous Creature that reſorted thither, namely a *Dragon*. Yet thoſe that have written this, did not well comprehend the occaſion of the *Oracles* ceaſing; for, the *Dragon* did not make the Place ſolitary, but rather the Solitude of the Place occaſioned the *Dragon* to repair thither. Since that Time, when *Greece* became populous and full of Towns, they had Two Women *Propheteſſes*, who went down one after another into the *Hole*. Moreover, there was a Third choſen, if need were; whereas now there is but one, and yet we do not complain of it, becauſe ſhe's ſufficient. And therefore we do not well to repine at Providence, ſeeing there's no want of Divinations, where all that come are ſatisfied in whatever they deſire to know. *Homer* tells us, *Agamemnon* had Nine *Heralds*, and yet with theſe could he hardly keep in Order the *Greeks*, they being ſo many in Number; but you'll find now, that the Voice of one Man is ſufficient to be heard all over the *Theatre*. The *Oracles* then ſpake by more Organs or Voices, becauſe there were then a greater Number of Men. So that we ſhould think it ſtrange, if God ſhould ſuffer to be ſpilt and run to waſte like Water, the Prophetical Divination, every where reſounding, as in the Fields we hear the Rocks in Mountains echoing the Voices of bleating Cattel. *Ammonius* having ſaid theſe Words, and I returning no Anſwer, *Cleombrotus* took up the Diſcourſe, and addreſſing himſelf to me; Haſt thou then, ſaid he, confeſs'd that 'tis *God* who makes and unmakes *Oracles*? Not I, ſaid I; for I maintain, That God was never the Cauſe of taking away and aboliſhing any *Oracle* or Divination; but, on the contrary, whereas he produces and prepares ſeveral Things for our Uſe, ſo Nature leads them into Corruption, and not ſeldom into a Privation of their whole Being. Or, to ſpeak better, Matter, which is it ſelf Privation, often flies away, and diſſolves what a more excellent *Being* than her ſelf had wrought. So that I am of Opinion, there are other Cauſes which obſcure and extinguiſh theſe Prophetic Spirits. For, tho *God* does give to Men ſeveral good and excellent Things, yet he gives to none of 'em the Power to exiſt eternally; for tho they never dye, yet their Gifts do (as *Sophocles* ſpeaks.) 'Twere then well becoming *Philoſophers*, who exerciſe themſelves in the Study of Nature, and the *Firſt Matter*, to enquire into the Exiſtence, Property and Tendency of theſe Things, but to leave the Origin and Firſt Cauſe to God, as is moſt reaſonable. For 'tis a very childiſh and ſilly Thing to ſuppoſe, That *God* himſelf does, like the *Spirits* ſpeaking in the

Bowels of poſſeſſed Perſons, (which were ancie
called *Eurycles*, and now *Pythons*) enter into th
Bodies of the Prophets, and ſpeak by their Mou
and Voices, as fit Inſtruments for that Purpoſe; fo
he that thus mixes *God* in Human Affairs, has n
that Reſpect and Reverence which is due to ſo grea
a Majeſty, as being ignorant of his Power and Vir
tue. *Cleombrotus* then anſwered, You ſay very wel
but 'tis a hard Matter to comprehend and define
how far this Providence does extend it ſelf. They
ſeem both alike faulty to me, who will have *God* t
be the Cauſe of Nothing in the World, and thoſ
who will have him to be concerned in all Things
for both of theſe are run into Extremes. But a
thoſe ſay well, who hold that *Plato*, having invented
this Element, on which ſpring up the *Qualities* whi
we ſometimes call the *Firſt Matter*, and ſometime
Nature, has thereby delivered the *Philoſophers* from
ſeveral great Difficulties: ſo it ſeems to me, tha
thoſe who have rankt the *Genus* of *Dæmons* between
that of *Gods* and Men, have ſolved greater Doub
and Difficulties, as having found the Knot which
does, as it were, joyn and hold together our Society
and Communication with them. 'Tis uncertain
whence this Opinion aroſe, whether from the *Anci*
ent *Magi* and *Zoroaſtres*, or from *Thrace* by *Orpheu*
or from *Egypt*, or *Phrygia*, as may be conjectured
from the Sight of the Sacrifices, which are made
in both Countries, where amongſt their Holy and
Divine Ceremonies, there's ſeen a Mixture of Mor
tality and Mourning. And, as to the *Greeks*, *Home*
has indifferently uſed theſe Two Names, terming
ſometimes the *Gods*, *Dæmons*, and other whiles *Dæmons*
Gods. But *Heſiod* was the firſt that did beſt and mo
diſtinctly lay down Four Reaſonable Natures, the
Gods, the *Dæmons* (being many in Number, and

good in their Kind) the *Demy-Gods*, and good *Hero's* are reckoned amongst the *Demy-Gods*. Others say, there's a Transmutation of Bodies, as well as of Souls, just as we see, of the Earth is engendred Water, of the Water the Air, and of the Air Fire, the Nature of the Substance still ascending higher; so, good *Spirits* always change for the best, being transformed from *Men* into *Demy-Gods*, and from *Demy-Gods* into *Dæmons*, and from *Dæmons* by Degrees and in a long Space of Time, being refined and purified, they come to partake of the Nature of the *Deity*. But there are some that cannot contain themselves, but rove about till they be entangled into Mortal Bodies, where they live meanly and obscurely like Smoak. And moreover, *Hesiod* imagins, that the *Dæmons* themselves after certain Revolutions of Time, do at Length dye; for introducing a *Nymph* speaking, he marks the Time wherein they expire:

Nine times Man's Age at's prime, it plain appears:
The Daw *compleats, four Times the* Stag *his Years,*
And his nine Times the Crow; *the* Phœnix *takes*
More live, and his Stage ten Times longer makes:
By you, blest Nymphs, *the* Phœnix *is out-done,*
Who ends his Life when yours is just begun,
Decreed by Fate ten Times as long to run.

Now those which do not well understand what the *Poet* means by this Word *γενεὰ*, which is to say, the Age of a Man, do cause this Computation of Time to amount to a great Number of Years, though it be but one Year; so that the Total Sum makes but 9720 Years, which is the space of the *Age* of *Dæmons*. And there are several *Mathematicians*, which make it shorter than this. *Pindar* himself does not make it longer, when he ſays, The Deſtiny of the Life of *Nymphs* is ty'd to Trees, and therefore they are called *Hamadryades*, becauſe they ſpring up and dye with Oaks. He was going on, when *Demetrius* interrupting him, thus ſaid, How is it poſſible, *Cleombrotus*, that you ſhould maintain, That a Year was call'd by this *Poet*, the Age of a Man, ſeeing it is not the Space, nor the Flower of Youth, nor his Old Age? for here are divers Readings of this Place, ſome reading ἡβώντων, others γηρώντων, and one ſignifying *flouriſhing*, the other *aged*; and those that underſtand hereby *flouriſhing*, reckon Thirty Years for the Age of Man's Life, according to the Opinion of *Heraclitus*, this being the ſpace of Time in which a Father has begotten a Son, who then is of Age and able to beget another; and thoſe that read γηρώντων, aged, allow to the Age of Man an Hundred and Eight Years, ſaying, that Fifty Four Years are juſt the half part of a Man's Life, which Number conſiſts of an Unity, the Two firſt Plains, of Two Squares and Two Cubes; which Numbers *Plato* himſelf has appropriated to the Procreation of the Soul. And it ſeems alſo, that *Heſiod* by theſe Words intimated the Conſummation of the World by Fire; at which Time 'tis likely the *Nymphs*, with the Rivers, Marſhes, and Woods where they inhabit, ſhall be conſumed:

Such as in Woods, or Groves's ſhady Cell,
Near Sacred-Springs, and verdant Meadows dwell.

I have heard, ſays *Cleombrotus*, this alledged by ſeveral, and find that the *Stoical Conflagration* hath not only intruded it ſelf upon the Works of *Heraclitus* and *Orpheus*, but alſo *Heſiod's*, by impoſing ſuch Meanings on their Words as they never thought on. Neither can I any more approve of this Conſummation of the World, which they maintain; neither is it poſſible to have made juſt Obſervations on the Lives of Animals, as appears by the Number of Years which they attribute to Crows and Stags. Moreover, the Year containing in it ſelf the Beginning and End of all Things which the Seaſons bring and the Earth produces, may, in my Opinion, be not impertinently called the Age of *Man*; for your ſelves confeſs, that *Heſiod* does ſomewhere call the Life of Man *γενεά*; What ſay you, does he not? Which *Demetrius* confeſſing, he proceeded in this Manner: 'Tis alſo certain, that we call the Veſſels whereby we meaſure Things, by the Names of the Things meaſured in them. As we then call the Unite a Number, though it be but the leaſt Part and Meaſure, and the Beginning of a Number; ſo has he called a Year the Age of Man, becauſe 'tis the Meaſure wherewith 'tis meaſured. As for thoſe Numbers which thoſe others deſcribe, they be not of ſuch Singularity and Importance. But the Sum of 9720, conſiſts of Four ſpecial Numbers orderly ariſing from One; and the ſame added together, and multiplied by Four every way, amount to Forty: theſe Forties being reduced into Triangles by Five Times, make up the Total of the forecited Number. But as to that, 'tis not neceſſary to enter into a Debate with *Demetrius*; for, whether it be a ſhort or a long Time, certain or uncertain, wherewith *Heſiod* limits the Soul of a *Dæmon*, and the Life of a *Demy-God*, either of thoſe will prove, by ancient and evident Teſtimonies, that there are Natures neuter and mean, and as it were in the Confines of the *Gods* and Men, ſubject to Mortal Paſſions, and to receive Mutations and neceſſary Changes; which Natures, according to the Tradition and Example of our Predeceſſors, 'tis fitting we ſhould call *Dæmons*, and give them all due Honour. To which Purpoſe *Xenocrates*, one of the familiar Friends of *Plato*, was wont to alledge the Example of Triangles, which agree very well with the Subject; for, that Triangle which has Three Sides equal Angles, he compared unto the *Divine* and *mortal* Nature, and that which has all Three equal, to the *Human* and *Mortal* Nature, and th which has Two equal and One unequal, to the Nature of *Dæmons*, which is endued with the Paſſio and Perturbations of the *Mortal* Nature, and th Force and Power of the Divine. Even Nature ha ſet before us ſenſible Figures and Reſemblances o this; of the *Gods*, the Sun and the Stars; of Mort Men, the Comets, Flaſhings in the Night, and ſhooting Stars; And this Similitude is taken up by *Euripides*, when he ſaith,

He that but now was fleſhy, plump and gay,
As a falſe Star his Glories melt away;
Like that extinguiſht on the Ground he lies,
Breathing his Soul into the ambient Skies,
Which ſtrait embodyed in its Vehicle
Does in the Air like other Dæmons *dwell.*

And for a mixt Body repreſenting the Nature of *Dæmons*, the Moon; which ſome obſerving to be ſubject to encreaſe and decreaſe, and wholly to diſappear, have thought it very agreeable to the mutable Condition of *Dæmons*; and have for this Reaſon termed her a Terreſtrial Star, others *Olympic* Earth, and others the Inheritance and Poſſeſſion of *Proſerpine* both Heavenly and Earthly. As one then that ſhould take from the World the Air, and remove it from between the Moon and the Earth, would diſſolve the Continuation and Compoſition of the Univerſe by leaving an empty Place in the Midſt, without any Contexture to hold the Two Parts together; ſo thoſe that do not allow *Dæmons*, do oppoſe all Communication and Conference of the *Gods* with Men, ſeeing they deſtroy that Nature (as *Plato* ſays) which ſerves as an Interpreter and Meſſenger between th both; or elſe they conſtrain us to perplex and con found all Things together, by mixing the Divine Nature with Human Paſſions, and plucking it down from Heaven, as the Women of *Theſſaly* are ſaid to do the Moon; which Fiction has took with Belief in ſome Women; becauſe *Aglaonice*, the Daughter of *Agetor* being ſkilful in *Aſtrology*, made the Vulgar believe, that by Means of ſome Charms and Enchantments, ſhe could bring the Moon down from Heaven. But as to us, let's not think there are any *Oracles or Divinations* without ſome *Divinity*, or that the *Gods* are not pleas'd with Sacrifices, and our Services, and other Ceremonies. And, on the other Hand, let's not think that *God* is preſent in them, or employs himſelf perſonally about them, but that he does commit them to his Officers the *Dæmons*, who are the Spies and Scouts of the *Gods*, wandring and circuiting about at their Commands; ſome beholding and ordering the ſacred Ceremonies and Oblations offered to the *Gods*, others being employ'd to revenge and puniſh the high Miſdemeanors and enormous Injuſtices of Men. There are moreover others, to whom *Heſiod* gives a very venerable Name, calling them, the Diſtributers of Riches, and Donors of Largeſſes among Mortals; for the *Gods* have allowed them the Privilege, and granted them a Royal Commiſſion to ſee them duly diſtributed. At informing here by the Way, that to be beneficent and liberal of Favors, is the proper Office of a King. For there is a Difference of Virtue between theſe *Dæmons*, as much as between Men, and there are ſome of them in whom ſtill there are ſome ſmall Remains (tho weak and ſcarcely diſcernible) of the Senſitive and Irrational Soul, which has a certain Quantity of Excrement and Superfluity, ſtay behind. Others there are, in whom there abides a greater Meaſure of theſe groſs Humours, [illegible]

and Traces of which, are to be ſeen in many P
by the odd and ſingular Ceremonies and Sacrifi
which they require, as is vulgarly known. As to th
Myſteries and ſecret Ceremonies, by which we ma
more clearly, than by any other Means, underſtand th
Nature of *Dæmons*; I ſhall, with *Herodotus*, be cau
in treating of that Matter. But as to the certain F
and direful Sacrifices, which are held as Unfortun
and Mournful Days, and are celebrated by eati
raw Fleſh, and which is torn with Men's Nails; a
other Days wherein they faſt, and ſmite their Breaſt
and, in ſeveral Places, where filthy and diſhon
Words are uttered during the Sacrifices, I will nev
think this done on any of the *God's* Account, but ra
ther to avert, mollify, and appeaſe the Wrath an
Fury of ſome *bad Dæmons*: for, 'tis not likely the
ever was a *God* that expected or required men to b
ſacrificed to him, as has been anciently done, or re
ceived ſuch kind of Sacrifices with Approbation. Ne
ther muſt we imagine 'twas for nothing, that *K*
and Great Men have delivered their own Childre
be ſacrificed, or that they ſacrificed them themſ
with their own Hands; ſeeing, they intended here
to avert and appeaſe the Malice and Rancor of ſo
Evil Spirits, or to ſatisfy the violent and raging Luſts
ſome, who either could not or would not enjoy th
with their Bodies or by their Bodies. Even as *Hercules* b
ſieged the City of *Oechalia*, for a Wench that was there
ſo theſe Powerful and Tyrannical *Dæmons*, requiring ſo
Human Soul, which is ſtill compaſſed with a Body, a
yet not being able to ſatisfie their Luſt by the Body
do therefore bring the Plague and Famin into Town
raiſe Wars and Seditions, till ſuch Time as they
tain and enjoy that which they love. Others, on
contrary (as I remember I obſerv'd in *Candia*, for I
ſome conſiderable Time there) celebrate a Feaſt,

which they ſhew the Figure of a Man without a Head ſaying, 'Tis *Molus*, the Father of *Meriones*, who having violently laid Hands on a *Nymph*, was afterwards ſeen without a Head. The Rapes committed on Boys or Girls, the long Voyages, Flights, Baniſhments and voluntary Services of the *Gods*, which are ſung by the *Poets*, and related by the Celebration of their Wit or Power, are not Paſſions and Virtues fitting to be attributed to *Gods* but to *Dæmons*. Neither is *Æſchylus* in the right when he ſays,

Divine Apollo *baniſht from the Sky.*

Nor *Admetus* in *Sophocles*;

My Cock by crowing led him to the Mill.

The *Divines* of *Delphos* were far from the Truth when they aſſerted, That there was a Combat between *Apollo* and a *Dragon* about the Poſſeſſion of this *Oracle*. No leſs are they to blame who ſuffer the *Poets* or *Orators* in the open *Theatres* to Act or Speak of ſuch Matters, whereby they ſeem to condemn thoſe Things which themſelves perform in their ſacred Solemnities. *Philippus* wondring at what was laſt ſaid (for this Man was an Hiſtorian, and then preſent in the Company) he enquired what Divine Solemnities they contradicted and condemned, who contend one againſt another in the *Theatres*. Even thoſe, quoth *Cleombrotus*, which concern the *Oracle* of *Delphos*, and by which this City having lately admitted and received into theſe *Ceremonies* and Sacrifices all the *Greeks* without *Thermopylæ*, and excluded thoſe that dwell as far as the Vale of *Tempe*. For the *Tabernacle of Boughs* which is ſet up every Ninth Year, within the Court-Yard of the Temple, is not a Repreſentation of the *Dragon's* Den, but of ſome *King* or *Tyrant*, and the aſſaulting of it in great Silence, by the Way termed *Dolonia*. immediately they lead hither a young Youth w Father and Mother is ſtill living, with Torc burning; and having ſet this Tabernacle on Fi and overthrown the Table, they run away as faſt they are able, through the Doors of the Temp never looking behind them. In fine, this Boys Wandrings, together with his Servile Offices, and expiatory Sacrifices about *Tempe*, ſeem to declare th Commiſſion of ſome horrid Crime in this Place. F it looks ſilly to affirm, That *Apollo* for having kill the *Dragon*, was forc'd to fly to the fartheſt Parts Greece to be cleanſed and purified; and, that h there made certain Offerings and Libations, as M do when they deſign the appeaſing thoſe vindicti Spirits, whom we call *Alaſtoras* and *Palamnæos*, whi is to ſay, the Revengers of ſuch Crimes as cannot b forgotten, but muſt have Puniſhment. 'Tis true indeed, that the Relation which I have heard touching this Flight, is very ſtrange and wonderfu but if there be any Truth in it, we muſt not ſuppoſe 'twas an ordinary and common Matter, whi happ'n'd then about this *Oracle*. Yet leſt I ſhould thought, as *Empedocles* ſays,

> *Starting new Heads, to wander from the Text,*
> *And make the Theme we have in Hand, perplext,*

I entreat you let me put a fit Concluſion to m Diſcourſe (for now the Time requires it) and ſay what ſeveral have ſaid before me, That wh the *Dæmons*, who are appointed for the Governme and Superintendency of *Oracles*, do fail, the Orac muſt of Neceſſity alſo fail too; and, when they part elſe-where, the Divining Powers muſt likew ceaſe in thoſe Places, but returning again after long Time, the Places will begin again to ſpeak; like Muſical Inſtruments, if handled by thoſe that know how to uſe them. *Cleombrotus* having ſaid thus much, *Heracleon* took up the Diſcourſe, ſaying; We have never an *Infidel* amongſt us, but are all agreed in our Opinions touching the *Gods*. Yet let's have a Care, *Philippus*, leſt in the Heat and Multiplicity of our Words, we unawares broach not ſome falſe Doctrine that may tend to Impiety. Well! but ſaith *Philippus*, I hope *Cleombrotus* has not ſaid any thing which may occaſion this Caution. His aſſerting (ſays *Heracleon*) That they be not the *Gods* who preſide over the *Oracles* (becauſe we are to ſuppoſe them free from all Worldly Care) but *Dæmons*, or the *Gods* Officers or Meſſengers, does not ſcandalize me; but to aſſert from *Empedocles*, That theſe *Dæmons* are the Cauſes of all the Calamities, Vexations and Plagues, which happen to Mortal Men, and in the End to make them to dye like them; this, in my Mind, ſavors of bold Preſumption. *Cleombrotus* having ask'd *Philippus*, Who this Young Man was, and being inform'd of his Name and Country, he proceeded in this Manner: I know very well, *Heracleon*, that the Diſcourſe I uſed may bear an abſurd Conſtruction; but there's no ſpeaking of great Matters, without laying firſt great Foundations, for the Proof of ones Opinion. But as for your part, you are not ſenſible, how you contradict even that which you allow; for, granting as you do, that there be *Dæmons*, but not allowing 'em to be vitious and mortal, you cannot prove there are any at all; for, wherein do they differ from *Gods*, ſuppoſing they be incorruptible and impaſſible, and not liable to Error? Whilſt *Heracleon* was muſing and ſtudying how to anſwer this, *Cleombrotus* went on, ſaying; 'Tis not only *Empedocles* who affirms there are *bad Dæmons*, but even *Plato*, *Xenocrates*, and *Chryſippus*, yea and *Democri-*

tus, when he prayed he might meet with *good* which ſhews, That he thought there were *bad* as w as *good Dæmons*. And as to their Mortality, I ha heard it reported from a Perſon that was neither Fo nor Knave, being *Epitherſes*, the Father of *Æmilian* the *Orator*, whom ſome of you have heard declam This *Epitherſes* was my Townſman and School-maſte who told me, That deſigning a Voyage to *Italy*, h embark'd himſelf on a Veſſel well laden both w Goods and Paſſengers. About the Evening the Veſſ was becalm'd about the Iſles *Echinades*, whereupo their Ship drove with the Tide till it was carry'd nea the Iſles of *Paxes*: When immediately a Voice wa heard by moſt of the Paſſengers (who were then awake, and taking a Cup after Supper) calling un one *Thamus*, and that with ſo loud a Voice, as made all the Company amazed; which *Thamus* was a Mariner of *Egypt*, whoſe Name was ſcarcely known in th Ship. He returned no Anſwer to the Two firſt Ca but at the Third he replyed, *Here! here! I am the Ma* Then the Voice ſaid aloud to him, *When you are arrive at* Palodes, *take Care to make it known, that the grea* God PAN *is dead*. *Epitherſes* told us, this Voic did much aſtoniſh all that heard it, and cauſed muc arguing, Whether this Voice was to be obeyed o ſlighted. *Thamus*, for his part, was reſolv'd, if th Wind permitted, to ſayl by the Place without ſayin a Word; but if the Wind ceas'd, and there enſu'd a Calm, to ſpeak and cry out as loud as he was abl what he was enjoyn'd. Being come to *Palodes* there was no Wind ſtirring, and the Sea was a ſmooth as Glaſs. Whereupon *Thamus* ſtanding o the Deck, with his Face towards the Land uttered with a loud Voice his Meſſage, ſaying, Th *Great* PAN *is dead*. He had no ſooner ſaid this, bu they heard a dreadful Noiſe, not only of one but o ſeveral, who, to their thinking, groan'd and lamented with a kind of Aſtoniſhment. And there being many Perſons in the Ship, an Account of this was ſoon ſpread over *Rome*, which made *Tiberius* the *Emperor* ſend for *Thamus*, and ſeem'd to give ſuch heed to what he told him, that he earneſtly enquired who this PAN was. And the Learned Men about him gave in their Judgments, That 'twas the Son of *Mercury* by *Penelope*. There were ſome then in the Company, who declared, They had heard old *Æmilianus* ſay as much. *Demetrius* then related, That about *Britain* there were many ſmall and deſolate Iſlands, ſome of which were called the Iſles of *Dæmons* and *Demy-Gods*; and that he himſelf at the command of the *Emperor*, ſailed to the neareſt of thoſe Places for Curioſity ſake, where he found few Inhabitants, but that they were all eſteemed by the *Britains*, as *Sacred* and *Divine*. Not long after he was arrived there, he ſaid, the Air and the Weather were very foul and tempeſtuous, and there followed a terrible Storm of Wind and Thunder; which at length ceaſing, he ſays, the Inhabitants told him, That one of the *Dæmons* or *Demy-Gods* was deceaſed. For, as a Lamp, ſaid he, while 'tis lighted offends no body with its ſcent, but when 'tis extinguiſhed it ſends out ſuch a Scent as is nauſeous to every body; ſo theſe great Souls, whilſt they ſhine, are mild and gracious, without being troubleſom to any body; but when they draw to an end, they cauſe great Storms and Tempeſts, and not ſeldom infect the Air with contagious Diſtempers. They ſay farther, That *Saturn* is detained Priſoner in one of thoſe Iſlands, whom he keeps faſt aſleep in Chains, and that he has ſeveral of thoſe *Dæmons* for his Valets and Attendants. Thus then ſpake *Cleombrotus*; I could, ſays he, relate ſeveral ſuch Stories as theſe, but 'tis ſufficient that what has bin ſaid as yet, does not contradict the Opinion of any one here.

And we all know, the *Stoicks* believe the ſame as do concerning the *Dæmons*; and, that amongſt t great Company of *Gods* which are commonly believ there is but one who is *Eternal* and *Immortal*; all t reſt having bin born in Time, ſhall end by Death. to the Flouts and Scoffings of the *Epicureans*, they not to be regarded, ſeeing they have the Boldneſs treat Divine Providence with as little Reverence, c ling it by no better a Name, than a meer Whimſ and old Wives Fable. Whereas we, on the contrar aſſert, That their *Infinite* Worlds is truly ridiculo ſeeing among ſuch endleſs Numbers of them, there not one governed by Reaſon or Divine Providence, th having been all made and upheld by Chance. If w cannot forbear drolling even in matters of *Philoſo* they are moſt to be ridiculed, who bring into th Diſputes of Natural Queſtions, certain deaf, blind an dumb Images, which appear they know not where n when, which they ſay, proceed from Bodies, ſome which are ſtill living, and others long ſince dead an rotten. Now, ſuch peoples Opinions as theſe, mu needs be exploded and derided by all rational *Men* Yet theſe very People ſhall be offended and angry at a Mans ſaying, There be *Dæmons*, and that they ſubſi and continue a long time. Here *Ammonius* began to ſpeak, ſaying, In my Opinion, *Theophraſtus* was in the right, and ſpoke like a *Philoſopher* and a *Divine*; for, whoever ſhall deny what he alledges, muſt alſo reject many things which are, and do often happen, though we underſtand not the Reaſons why they do ſo; and granting what he offers to be true, What ill conſequences follow hereupon? But as to what I have heard the *Epicureans* alledge againſt the *Dæmons* which *Empedocles* aſſerts, as, That 'tis impoſſible they can be happy and long-liv'd if they be bad and viciouſly affected, becauſe Vice in its own Nature is blind, and

Naturally precipitates it ſelf into ſuch miſchiefs as deſtroy Life; that, I muſt tell you, is vain and idle. For if this reaſoning be good, 'twill then follow, That *Epicurus* was a worſe Man than *Gorgias* the *Sophiſter*, and *Metrodorus* than *Alexis* the Comic Actor; for he lived twice as long as *Metrodorus*, and *Gorgias* much longer than *Epicurus*. For, 'tis in another regard, we ſay Vertue is ſtrong, and Vice weak, not in reference to the continuance or diſſolution of the Body; for we know there are many Animals which are dull, ſlow, and heavy, and many diſorderly and luſtful, which live longer than thoſe that are more ſagacious and quicker of Sence. And therefore they are much in the wrong in ſaying, The *Divine* Nature is Immortal, becauſe it avoideth the things which are ill and miſchievous; for they ſhould have ſuppoſed the *Divine* Nature free from all poſſibility of falling into Corruption and Alteration. But perhaps 'twill be thought not fair, to diſpute againſt thoſe that are abſent; I would have therefore *Cleombrotus* to reſume his Diſcourſe, touching the Vaniſhing and Tranſmigration of *Dæmons* from one Place to another. With all my heart, anſwered *Cleombrotus*, but I ſhall now ſay ſomething, which will ſeem more abſurd than any thing I have heretofore offered, although it ſeems to be grounded on Natural Reaſon; and *Plato* himſelf has touched upon it, not poſitively affirming it, but offering it as a probable Opinion. And ſeeing we are fallen into a free Diſcourſe, and that a Man cannot light upon better Company, and a more favourable Audience, I ſhall therefore tell you a Story which I heard from a Stranger, whoſe Acquaintance has coſt me no ſmall Sum of Mony in ſearching after him in divers Countries, whom at length after much Travel, I found near the *Red-Sea*. He would Converſe with Men but once a Year, all the reſt of his time (as he told me) he ſpent among the *Nymphs*, *Nomades* and *Dæmon* was very free with me, and extreamly obliging ; I ne ver ſaw a more graceful Perſon in all my Life, that which was very ſtrange in him, was, that he w never ſubject to any Diſeaſe ; once every Month eat the bitter Fruit of a certain Medicinal Herb. H ſpake ſeveral Languages perfectly well ; his Diſco to me was in the *Dorick* Dialect ; his Speech wa charming as the ſweeteſt Muſick, and as ſoon as ever opened his Mouth to ſpeak, there iſſued out of it ſweet and fragrant a Breath, that all the Place was fil with it. Now, as to *Humane* Learning, ſuch as *Hiſt* *&c.* he retained the Knowledg thereof all the Year but as to the Gift of *Divination*, he was inſpired ther with only one Day in the Year ; in which he wen down to the Sea-ſide, and there foretold things t come. And thither reſorted to him the Princes an Great Men of all the Country, or elſe their Secreta ries, who there attended his coming at a prefixed Day, and then returned. This Perſon attributed *Divination* to the *Dæmons*, and was well pleaſed to hear what we related concerning *Delphos*. Whatſoever we told con cerning *Bacchus*, and the Sacrifices which are offered t him, he knew it all, ſaying, That as theſe were grea Accidents which happed to *Dæmons*, ſo alſo was tha which was related of the Serpent *Python* ; affirming That he who ſlew him was not baniſhed for Nine Years, neither did he fly into the Vally of *Tempe*, but wa driven out of *this* World into *another* ; from whenc after Nine Revolutions of the *Great Years*, being return ed, cleanſed and purified, and become a true *Phœbus*, that is to ſay, clear and bright, he had at length re covered the Superintendance of the *Delphic Oracle* ; which in the mean time was committed to the Charge of *Themis*. He ſaid as much concerning what is relate of the *Typhons* and *Titans*. For he affirmed, They were the Battels of *Dæmons* againſt *Dæmons*, and the Flights and Baniſhments of thoſe that had been vanquiſhed, or the Puniſhments inflicted by the *Gods* on thoſe which had committed ſuch *Facts*, as *Typhon* is ſaid to have done againſt *Oſiris*, and *Saturn* againſt *Cœlum*, whoſe Honours are much obſcured, or wholly loſt, by being tranſlated into another World. For I know that the *Solymeans*, who are Borderers to the *Lycians*, did greatly honour *Saturn*; but ſince he kill'd their Princes, *Arſalus*, *Dryus* and *Throſobius*, he fled into ſome other Country, they knew not where, and he now is in a manner forgotten. But they called theſe three, *Arſalus*, *Dryus* and *Throſobius*, the ſevere Gods, and the *Lycians* do at this Day curſe People in their Names, as well in private as public. Several other ſuch like Examples may a Man find in the Records of the Gods. And if we call any of the *Dæmons* by the uſual and common Names of the *Gods* on whom they do depend, 'tis no marvel at all (ſaid this great Man) for they like to be called by the *Gods* on whom they do depend, and from whom they have received their Honour and Power; even as amongſt us Men, one is named *Jovius*, another *Palladius* or *Apollonius*. And there are many who, though they have their Names impoſ'd on them, as it were by chance, yet do they well agree with their Tempers; whereas ſome carry the Names of the *Gods*, which do not at all ſuit with their Weakneſs and Imperfections. Here *Cleombrotus* having pauſed, his Diſcourſe ſeemed ſtrange to all the Company, and *Heracleon* demanded of him, how this Diſcourſe concern'd *Plato*, and how he had given Occaſion to this Diſcourſe; unto which *Cleombrotus* anſwered, You do well to put me in mind of it; for firſt, he never rejected the Infinity of Worlds, yet would determine nothing poſitively, touching the preciſe Number of them. And granting the Probability of their Opinion, who

affirmed there were Five in each Element ; yet in h
own Part, he kept to One, which ſeems to be his G
nuine Opinion ; whereas all other *Philoſophers* have be
afraid to receive and admit the Multitude of Worlds
as if thoſe who did not refer and determine the Matte
to One, muſt needs fall into this troubleſome an
boundleſs Infinity. But was this Stranger, ſaid I, o
the ſame Opinion with *Plato*, touching the Number o
the Worlds ? or did you not all the while aſk his Opini
on in that Matter ? I was far from failing herein, ſay
Cleombrotus, ſeeing I found him ſo communicative an
affable to me. He told me, That neither the Numbe
of the Worlds was Infinite, neither was there but on
ly One, nor Five, but an Hundred and Eighty thre
which were ranged in a Triangular Form, every Sid
containing Sixty Worlds ; and of the Three remainin
every Corner had One ; that they were ſo ordered
that one always touched another in a Circle, like thoſ
who dance in a Ring ; that the Plain within the Tri
angle, is as it were the Foundation and common Alt
to all thoſe Worlds, which is called *the Plain*, or *Fiel*
of Truth, in which lye the Deſigns, Moulds, Idea
and invariable Examples of all things which were, o
ever ſhall be ; and about theſe is *Eternity*, whenc
flowed *Time* as from a River into theſe Worlds
Moreover, that the Souls of Men, if they have liv
well in this World, do ſee them once in Ten Thouſan
Years ; and that the moſt Holy, Myſtical Ceremonie
which are performed here, are no more than a Dream
of this Sacred Viſion ; and farther, That all th
Pains which are taken in the Study of *Philoſophy*, wer
to attain to a Sight of thoſe Beauties, otherwiſe they
were all loſt Labour. I heard him, ſaid he, relate al
theſe things as perfectly as if they had been ſome Re
ligious Rites, wherein he would have inſtructed me;
for, he brought me no Proof or Demonſtration to con

firm

from what he said. Here turning my self to Demetrius, I asked him what were the Words which the Women of Penelope spake in Homer, when they saw Ulysses handling his Bow,

A cunning Spy no doubt, and Plagiary.

And *Demetrius* having put me in mind of them, it came, I say, into my Thoughts, to say as much of this wonderful Man. He was a Person conversant in all sorts of Learning, being a *Greek* born, and perfectly well skill'd in the Studies of his Country; for this Number of Worlds shews us, That he was neither an *Indian*, nor an *Egyptian*, but that his Father was a *Greek* of the Country of *Sicily*, named *Petron*, born in the City of *Himera*, who wrote a little Book on this Subject, which I indeed never saw, nor can tell whether it be extant. But *Hippys*, a Native of *Rhegium*, mentioned by *Phanias* the *Eresian*, tells us, 'twas the Doctrine of *Petron*, That there were an Hundred and Eighty three Worlds, whose Ends were orderly joined to one another; but he offers no reason to prove this. 'Tis certain, says *Demetrius*, that *Plato* himself bringing no Argument to evince this Point, does hereby overthrow this Opinion. Yet, says *Heracleon*, we have heard you *Grammarians* say, That *Homer* was the first Author of this Opinion, as having divided the Universe into Five Worlds, Heaven, Water, *Air*, Earth, and that which he calls *Olympus*, of which, he leaveth Two to be common (*viz.*) the Earth to all beneath, and *Olympus* to all *above*, but the Three in the midst between them, he attributes unto Three several Gods. In the like manner, *Plato* assigning unto the principal Parts of the Universe the First Forms, and most excellent Figures of the Bodies, calls them Five Worlds, (*viz.*) that of the *Earth*, of the *Water*, *Air* and *Fire*, and finally,

nally, that which comprehendeth all the others, he calls *Dodecaedron*, which is to ſay, with *ſes*; which amply extending, is of eaſie *Motion* Capacity, its Form and Figure being very fit and proper for the Revolutions of the Animal Motions. What need is there then, cry'd *Demetrius*, of bringing in good old *Homer*, for we have had Fables enough already. But *Plato* is far from calling the different Elements *Five Worlds*; for even where he diſputes againſt thoſe who aſſert an Infinite Number of Worlds, he affirms There's only One, created of *God*, and beloved by him, conſiſting of Nature intire, having a perfect Body, endued with Self-ſufficiency, and wanting nothing; and therefore we may well think it ſtrange, that the Truth which he ſpake ſhould occaſion the Extravagancy of others; for had he not maintained the World's Unity, he would in ſome ſort have given a Foundation to thoſe, who affirm an Infinite Number of them; but that he aſſerted preciſely Five, this is marvelouſly ſtrange, and far from all probability, unleſs you can (ſays he, turning himſelf to me) clear this Point. How, ſaid I, are you then reſolved to drop here your firſt Diſpute about *Oracles*, and to take up another of no leſs Difficulty. Not ſo neither, reply'd *Demetrius*, yet we muſt take Cognizance of this, which does as it were hold out its Hand to us, though we ſhall not remain long upon it, but treat of it by the Way, and ſoon return to our firſt Diſcourſe. Firſt of all then I ſay, the Reaſons which hinder us from aſſerting an Infinite Number of Worlds, do not hinder us from affirming, That there are more than One; for as well in Many Worlds as in One, there may be *Providence*, *Divination* and *Fortune*, which may intervene in the ſmalleſt Things; but moſt part of the grand and principal Things have, and take their Beginnings and Changes by Order, which could not be in an Infinite

Number of Worlds. And it is more conformable to Reaſon, to ſay, That *God* made more than One World; for, being perfectly Good, he wants neither *Power* nor *Good Will*, and leaſt of all, *Juſtice* and *Friendſhip*, for they do chiefly become the Nature of the *Gods*. Now *God* hath nothing that is ſuperfluous and uſeleſs, and therefore there muſt be other Inferior *Gods* proceeding from him, and other Worlds made by him, towards whom he muſt uſe theſe ſocial Vertues; for he cannot exerciſe thoſe Vertues of Juſtice and Benignity on himſelf, but to others; ſo that it is not likely this World ſhould float and wander about, without either Friend, Neighbour, or any ſort of Communication, into an Infinite *Vacuum*. For we ſee, Nature includes and contains all things in their *Species*, like as in Veſſels, or in Huſks of Seeds; for there's nothing in Nature of which there is but one and no more, but has the Reaſun of its Being common with others; neither is there any thing that hath a particular Denomination, but beſides the common Notion, it is by ſome particular Qualities diſtinct from others of the ſame *Genus*. Now, the World is not termed ſo in Common, it muſt be then ſuch in Particular, and qualified as it is in Particular, and diſtinguiſhed by certain Differences, from other Worlds of the ſame Kind. For there being no ſuch Thing in Nature as one Man alone, one Horſe, one Star, one *God*, one *Dæmon*; ſo there is not in Nature one only World, and no more, it being certain, that there are ſeveral. And he that ſhall object againſt me, That this World hath likewiſe but one Earth, and one Sea, I can anſwer him, He is much deceived, by not underſtanding the Evidence of like Parts. For we divide the Earth into Similar Parts, and of the ſame Denomination; for all the Parts of the Earth are Earth, and ſo of the Sea; but no Part of the World is the World, it being compoſed of divers and different Natures;

Nature; for as to the Inconveniences which ſome do ſeem to fear, and in reſpect of which they confine all the Matter within One World, leſt there remaining any thing without, it ſhould diſturb the Compoſition of this, by the Reſiſtances and Jarrs which it would make againſt it; they have no need to dread this; for, there being Many Worlds, and each of them in particular having one definite and determinate Meaſure and Limit of its Subſtance and Matter, no Part thereof will be without Order and good Diſpoſition, nothing will remain ſuperfluous, or be caſt out as an Excrement. For, the Reaſon which belongeth to each World, being able to rule and govern the *Matter* that is allotted thereto, will not ſuffer any thing to run out of Courſe and Order, and rencounter and jumble another World; nor likewiſe, that any thing from another ſhould juſtle or diſturb it, there being nothing in Nature Infinite and Inordinate in Quantity, nor in Motion without Reaſon and Order. And if perhaps there be any Influence that paſſes from the one to the other, this is a Fraternal Communication, whereby they mix themſelves together, like the Light of the Stars, and the Influence of their Temperatures, which are the Cauſe that they themſelves do rejoyce in beholding one another with a benign Aſpect, and give to the *Gods* (who are Good and many in Number in every Star) an Opportunity of knowing and careſſing one another: For there's nothing in all this that is impoſſible, or fabulous, or contrary to Reaſon, though ſome may think ſo, becauſe of the Opinion of *Ariſtotle*, who ſaith, That all Bodies have their proper and natural Places, by which means the Earth muſt on all ſides tend to the Midſt, and the Water upon it, ſerving by its Weight for a Foundation to the other lighter Elements. Were there then Many Worlds, the Earth would be often found to be ſituated above the Airy and Fiery Regions, and as often under them, ſometimes in their natural Places, and ſometimes in other, which are contrary to their Natures; which things being impoſſible (as he thinks) it follows then, there are neither Two, nor more Worlds, but One only, which is this here, conſiſting of all Kinds of Elements, diſpoſed according to Nature, agreeable to the diverſity of Bodies. But in all this there is more probability than Truth; for conſider, Friend *Demetrius*, that when he ſaith among ſimple Bodies, ſome tend towards the Midſt, which is to ſay, downwards, the others from the Midſt, that is, upward, and a Third ſort move round about the Midſt; what does he mean by the Midſt? this cannot be in reſpect of a *Vacuum*, there being no ſuch thing in Nature, as he ſays himſelf: And moreover, thoſe that do allow it, ſay, that it can have no Middle, no more than Beginning and End; for Beginning and End are Extremities; but that which is Infinite, every Body knows is without an End. But ſuppoſing we ſhould be neceſſitated to admit a Middle in a *Vacuum*, it is impoſſible to comprehend and imagine the different Motions of Bodies towards it, becauſe there is neither in this *Vacuum* any Power attractive of the Body, nor in the Bodies any Inclination or Affection to tend on all Sides to this Middle: And it is no leſs difficult to imagine, that Bodies can move of themſelves towards an Incorporeal Place, or receive any Motion from it. This Middle then muſt be underſtood not locally, but corporeally: for this World being a Maſs and Union conſiſting of different Bodies joyned together, this Diverſity of them muſt beget different Motions from one another, which appears, in that each of theſe Bodies changing its Subſtance, does at the ſame time change its Place: For the Subtilization and Rarefaction diſſipates the Matter, which ſpringeth from the Midſt, and riſeth upwards: whereas on the contrary, the Condenſation

and

and Conſtipation depreſſes and drives it down towards the Middle, on which 'tis not neceſſary to diſcourſe any longer in this Place; for whatever Cauſe a Man ſuppoſes ſhall produce ſuch Paſſions and Changes, that very Cauſe will contain each of theſe Worlds in it ſelf, becauſe each of them has its Sea and Land, each its proper Middle, and each its Paſſions and Change of Bodies, and the Nature and Power, which contains and preſerves each in its Place and Being. For that which is without, whether it be nothing at all, or an Infinite *Vacuum*, cannot allow any Middle, as we have already ſaid. But there being ſeveral Worlds, each has its proper Middle apart; ſo that in each of them there will be Motions proper to Bodies, ſome tending down to the Midſt, others mounting aloft from the Midſt, others moving round about it, according as they themſelves do diſtinguiſh Motions. And he who aſſerts there are many Middles, and that heavy Bodies from all ſides do tend unto one alone, is like to him who ſhall affirm, That the Blood of ſeveral Men runs from all Parts into one Vein; or that all their Brains ſhould be contained within one and the ſame Membrane; ſuppoſing it abſurd, that all Natural Bodies which are ſolid, ſhould not be in one Place, and the rare in another. He that thus thinketh, is certainly a mean *Philoſopher*; and no better is he who will not allow the Whole to have all Parts in their Order, Rank and natural Situation. What could be more fooliſh, than for a Man to imagine a World which had a Moon within it, ſituated beneath; juſt as if a Man ſhould have his Brains where his Heels are, and his Heart in his Forehead? Whereas, there's no Abſurdity or Inconveniency, if in ſuppoſing ſeveral diſtinct Worlds, ſeparated from one another, a Man ſhould diſtinguiſh and ſeparate their Parts. For in each of them, the Earth, Sea and Sky, will be placed and ſituated in their proper Places; and each of theſe Worlds may have its Superior, Inferior, Circular and Middle Part; not in reſpect of another World, nor in reference to what is without, but what is within it ſelf. And as to the Argument which ſome do draw from a Stone being placed without the World, it neither proves Reſt nor Motion; for how could it remain ſuſpended, ſeeing it is by Nature heavy, or move towards the Midſt of the World as other ponderous Bodies, ſeeing it is neither part of it, nor like it? And as to that Earth which is fix'd and environed by another World, we muſt not wonder, conſidering its Weightineſs, if it does not drop down, ſeeing it is upheld by a certain Natural Force pertaining to it. For if we ſhall take high and low, not within the World, but without, we ſhall find our ſelves involved in the ſame Difficulties as *Epicurus* was, when he made his little Indiviſible *Atoms* to move and tend to thoſe Places which are under foot, as if the *Vacuum* had Feet, or that its Infinite Space would permit one to talk of high or low. Indeed a Man would marvail what ſhould cauſe *Chryſippus* to ſay, That the World was placed and ſituated directly in the Midſt; and that the Matter thereof from all Eternity, having poſſeſſed it ſelf of the Midſt, yet is ſo compacted together, that it remains for ever: For he writes this in his Fourth Book of *Poſſible Things*; vainly imagining, there's a Middle in that vaſt Emptineſs: And ſtill more abſurdly attributing unto that Middle, which is not, the Cauſe of the Worlds Stability and Continuance; he having often ſaid in other Writings of his, That the Subſtance is upheld and governed by the Motions tending to the Midſt, and partly by others parting from the Midſt of it. As to the other Oppoſitions which the *Stoicks* make, who ſhould fear them! as when they demand; how 'tis poſſible to mantain a *Fatal Deſtiny*? a *Divine Providence*? and how it can be otherwiſe but that we muſt admit of ſeveral *Jupiters*, when we aſſert the Plurality of Worlds. Now if there be an Inconveniency in admitting many *Jupiters*, their Opinions will appear far more abſurd; For they imagine there are Suns, and Moons, *Apollo's*, *Diana's* and *Neptunes*, in innumerable Changes and Revolutions of Worlds. But where is the Neceſſity which lies upon us, to grant, That there muſt be many *Jupiters*, if there be many Worlds; ſeeing there may be in each of them a Sovereign Governour of the Whole, indued with a ſuitable Mind and Ability, like to him whom we name the *Lord* and *Father* of *All Things*? or what ſhall hinder us from aſſerting, That the ſeveral Worlds be ſubject to the Providence and Management of *Jupiter*, having an Eye to all Things, directing and adminiſtring to All, the Principles, the Seeds and Cauſes of all Things which are made. For as we often ſee here a Body compoſed of ſeveral other diſtinct Bodies; for Example, the Aſſembly of a Town, an Army, or a *Chorus*; in each of which Bodies, there's Life, Prudence, and Underſtanding: ſo it is not impoſſible, that in the whole Univerſe, Ten, or Fifty, or a Hundred Worlds which may be in it, ſhould all uſe the ſame Reaſon, and all correſpond with the ſame Principle. For this Order and Diſpoſition is very ſuitable to the *Gods*; for we muſt not make them Kings of a Swarm of Bees, who never ſtir out of their Hives; or keep them faſt impriſoned in Matter, like thoſe who affirm the *Gods* to be certain Diſpoſitions of the Air, and Powers of Waters and Fire, infuſed and mixed within, which ariſe and ſpring up together with the World, and to be burnt in Time, and end with it, not affording them the Liberty of Coach-men and Pilots, but nailing them down to their *Baſes*, like Statues and Images; for they incloſe the *Gods* within Matter, and that in ſo ſtrict a Manner, as makes them liable to all the Changes, Alterations and Decays of it.

It is certainly more agreeable to the Nature of the *Gods*, to ſay that they are wholly at liberty, like *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, ready to ſuccor ſuch as are overtaken by bad Weather at Sea; for when they appear, the Winds ceaſe, and the Waves are calmed; not that they Navigate, and are Partakers of the ſame Peril; but only appear in the Sky, and the Danger is over. Thus do the *Gods* viſit each World, and rule and provide for all things in them. *Jupiter* in *Homer*, caſt not his Eyes far from the City of *Troy* into *Thracia*, and the *Nomades* or wandring *Scythians*, along the River *Iſter* or the *Danube*; but the true *Jupiter* has ſeveral ſeemly and agreeable Paſſages for his Majeſty from one World into another, not looking into the Infinite *Vacuum* without, nor regarding himſelf and nothing elſe, as ſome have imagined, but weighing the Deeds of *Gods* and Men, and the Motions and Revolutions of the Stars. For the Divinity does not hate Variety and Changes, but takes great Pleaſure in them, as one may conjecture by the Circuits, Converſions and Mutations obſervable in the Heavens. And therefore I conclude, That the Infinite Number of Worlds is a *Chimera*, which has not the leaſt probability of Truth, and which cannot by any means admit of One *God*, but muſt be wholly guided by Chance and Fortune. Whereas the Government and Providing for a certain Number, and definite Number of Worlds, has nothing in it that ſeems more laborious and unworthy, than that which is imploy'd and reſtrain'd to the Direction of One alone; which is transformed, renewed and reformed an Infinite Number of Times. Having ſaid this, I pauſed, and *Philippus* immediately cryed out, Whether this be certain or not, I will not be too poſitive; but, ſays he, if we carry *God* beyond One World, it would more gratifie me to know, why we ſhould make him the Creator only of Five Worlds and no more, and what

Proportion this Number bears to that of the Worlds, than to know why the Word E I was inſcribed upon this Temple. For this is neither a Triangular, a Quadrate, a Perfect, nor a Cubic Number; neither does it yield any Elegancy to ſuch as are delighted in theſe kind of *Sciences.* And as to what concerns the Argument drawn from the Number of Elements, which *Plato* ſeems to have touched upon, 'tis obſcure and improbable, and will not afford this Conſequence, That as there is formed from Matter Five Sorts of regular Bodies, which have equal Angles, equal Sides, and environed with equal *Superficies*; ſo there was from the Beginning Five Worlds, made and formed of theſe Five Bodies. Yet *Theodorus* the *Solian*, reading *Plato's Mathematicks* to his Scholars, does both keep to the Text, and clearly expounds it, when he ſaith, The *Pyramis, Octaedron, Dodecaedron, Icoſaedron,* (which *Plato* lays down as the firſt Bodies) are all beautiful, both in their Proportions and Equalities; Nature cannot contrive and make better than theſe, nor perhaps ſo good. Yet they have not all the ſame Conſtitution and Origin; for, the leaſt of the Five is the *Pyramis*; the greateſt, which has moſt Parts, is the *Dodecaedron*; and of the other two, the *Icoſaedron* is greater by half than the *Octaedron*, if you compare their Number of Triangles: And therefore 'tis impoſſible, they ſhould be all made at once of one and the ſame Matter; for the ſmalleſt and moſt ſubtil, have been certainly more pliable and formable to the Hand of the Work-man, who moved and faſhioned the Matter, and conſequently were ſooner made and ſhaped, than thoſe that have more Parts, and a greater Maſs of Bodies, inaſmuch as the Manufacture of the Compoſition was more laborious and difficult, as is the *Dodecaedron*; whence it follows, that the *Pyramis* was the firſt Body, and not one of the others, which were by Nature laſt produced.

Now the way to avoid alſo this Abſurdity, is to ſeparate and divide the Matter into Five Worlds; here the *Pyramis*, (for ſhe is the firſt and moſt ſimple) there the *Octaedron*, and there the *Iſocaedron*, and out of that which exiſts firſt in every of theſe Reſolutions, the reſt draw their Original by the Concretion or Compoſition of Parts, by which every thing is changed into every thing, as *Plato* himſelf ſhews us by Examples throughout. For Air is ingendred by the Extinction of Fire, and the ſame being ſubtilized and rarified, produceth Fire. Now by the Seeds of theſe two, one may find out the Paſſions and Tranſmutations of all. The Seminary or Beginning of Fire is the *Pyramis*, conſiſting of Twenty Four Firſt Triangles, and the *Octaedron* is the Seminary of the Air, conſiſting of Forty Eight Triangles of the ſame Kind. So that the one Element of Air, ſtands upon two of Fire, joyned together and condenſed: And again, One Body or Element of Air is divided into Two of Fire, which becoming ſtill more thick and hard, is changed into Water; ſo that throughout, that which comes firſt into Light, gives eaſily Birth unto the reſt by Tranſmutation: And ſo it comes to paſs that there is not only one Cauſe and Principle of all things, but that one thing is ſo near the Seed and Origin of another, in the ſeveral Changes and Alterations of Nature by Motion, that in the laſt Reſult they are all the ſame.

But here *Ammonius* interrupted him, and ſaid, notwithſtanding that thoſe things are ſo peremptorily and ſo pompouſly aſſerted by *Theodorus*, yet I ſhall wonder if he be not forced to make uſe of ſuch Suppoſitions as are deſtructive of themſelves, and one of another. For he will have it, that the Five Worlds he ſpeaks of, were not compoſed all at one time, but that that which was ſubtileſt, and which gave leaſt Trouble in the making, came out firſt into being: And as if it were a conſequent, and not a repugnant thing, he ſuppoſes that the Matter does not always drive out into Exiſtence, that which is moſt ſubtil and ſimple, but that ſometimes the thickeſt, groſſeſt and heavieſt Parts do prevent and ſet the heat of the more ſubtil in Generation. But beſides this, ſuppoſing there be Five Primitive Bodies or Elements, and conſequently that there be as many Worlds, there are but Four of thoſe Orders, which he diſcourſes rationally concerning. For as to the Cube, he takes it away and removes it, as it were in a Game of Counters; for it is naturally unfit, either to turn into any thing beſides it ſelf, or to yield that any of thoſe other Bodies be converted into it, inaſmuch as the Triangles of which they conſiſt, be not of the ſame ſort; for all the reſt conſiſt in common of Demy-Triangles, or Triangles of Unequal Sides; but the proper Subject of which this is particularly compoſed, is the Triangle *Iſoſceles*, or equilateral, which admitteth no Inclination unto a Demy-Triangle, nor can poſſibly be united and incorporated with it. If there be then Five Bodies, and conſequently Five Worlds, and that in each of theſe Worlds the Principle of Generation be that Body which is firſt produced; it muſt happen that where the Cube is the firſt in Generation, none of the reſt can poſſibly be produced, it being contrary to its Nature to change into any of them. Not to inſiſt here, that *Theodorus* and thoſe of his Mind, make the Element, or Principle of which the *Dodecaedron* is compoſed, to be different from the reſt, it not being that Triangle which is termed *Scalenon*, with Three unequal Sides, out of which the *Pyramis*, *Octaedron*, and *Icoſaedron*, according to *Plato*, are produced: So that, ſaid *Ammonius* laughing, you muſt ſolve theſe Objections, or offer ſome thing new concerning the Matter in debate; and I anſwered him, That for my Part I knew not at preſent how to ſay any thing which carried more Probability; but perhaps it is better for a Man to refine and correct his own Opinion than anothers; therefore I ſay then, that there being ſuppoſed from the beginning of Things Two ſeveral Natures contrary to each other, the one Senſible, Mutable, ſubject to Generation, Corruption and Change every way; the other Spiritual and Intelligible, and abiding always in the ſame State; 'twould be very ſtrange, my Friends, to ſay, That the Spiritual Nature admitteth of Diviſion, and that it hath Diverſity and Difference in it, and to be angry, if a Man will not allow the Paſſible and Corporal Nature to be wholly united in it ſelf, without dividing it into many Parts; for it is moſt ſuitable to the Permanent and Divine Natures, to be tyed and linked to each other, and to avoid, as much as is poſſible, all Diviſion and Separation; and yet amongſt incorporeal Natures, the Power or Vertue of one compared with another, makes greater differences than thoſe of diſtance of Place, ariſing from ſeveral Notions and Ideas in the Intelligible World, which anſwer to Local Diſtances in the Corporeal. And therefore *Plato* refuting thoſe who hold this Propoſition, *That all is one*, aſſerts theſe Five Grounds and Principles of All; *viz.* Entity, Identity, Diverſity, Motion and Reſt, which Five Immaterial Principles being admitted, 'tis no marvel, if Nature have made every one of theſe to be an Imitation, though not exact, yet as perfect and agreeable as could be drawn, of a correſpondent Principle in the Corporeal Myſtery, partaking, as much as can be, of its Power and Virtue; for 'tis very plain, That the Cube is moſt proper and agreeable to Repoſe and Reſt, by reaſon of the Stability and Firmneſs of thoſe plain Surfaces of which it conſiſts. And as to the *Pyramis*, every Body ſoon ſees and acknowledges the Nature of Fire in it, by the ſlenderneſs of its decreaſing Sides, and the ſharpneſs of its Angles; and the Nature of the *Dodecaedron*, apt to comprehend all the other Figures, may ſeem more properly to be the Corporeal Image of *Ens*, or Being i the general, indifferent to this or that Particular Form or Shape. And of the other Two which remain, the *Icoſaedron* reſembleth the Principle of Diverſity, and the *Octaedron* Principally partakes of the Identical Nature. And thus from one of theſe the Air is produced, which partakes of, and borders upon, every Subſtance, under one and the ſame outward Form and Appearance; and the other has afforded us the Element of Water, which by Mixture, may put on diverſity of Colours, Taſtes, and other Qualities. Therefore if Nature requires a certain Uniformity and Harmony in all things, 'tis then that there are neither more nor fewer Worlds in the Corporeal Nature, than there are Patterns or Samples in the Incorporeal; to the end that each Pattern or Sample in the Inviſible Nature, may have its Primary, Radical and Original Virtue, anſwering and correſponding to a Secondary or Derivative in the different Conſtitution or Compoſition of Bodies; and this may ſerve for an Anſwer to thoſe that wonder at our dividing Nature, ſubject to Generation and Alteration, into ſo many Kinds. But I intreat you all, further attentively to conſider with your ſelves, that of the two Firſt and Supream Principles of all Things, that is to ſay, the Unity, and the indefinite or indetermined Binary or Duality; this latter being the Element and chief Origin of all Deformity and Diſorder, is termed Infinity; and on the contrary, the Nature of Unity, determining and limiting the Void Infinity, which has no Proportion nor Termination, reduces it into Form, and renders it in ſome manner capable of receiving a Denomination, which only belongs to ſenſible and particular things. Now theſe two general Principles appear firſt in Number; for the Multitude is indeed no Number, but only as it is conſidered as a certain Form of the Matter reſulting out of indetermin'd Infinity, by which that

Infinity is cut off,and bounded within reſpective Limits, either ſhorter or longer; for then each Multitude is made Number, when once it is determined and limited by Unity, whereas if we take away Unity, then the Indeterminate Duality brings all into Confuſion, and renders it without Harmony,without Number or Meaſure.Now the Form not being the Deſtruction of Matter, but rather the Order and the Beauty of it, both theſe Principles therefore muſt be within Number, from whence ariſeth the chief Diſparity and greateſt Difference. For the Infinite and Indeterminate Principle is the Cauſe of the Even Number; and the other better Principle, which is the Unity, is the Father (as it were) of the Odd Number; ſo that the firſt Even Number is Two, and the firſt Odd Number is Three, of which is compoſed Five by Conjunction, common to both; but of Power or Nature, it is not Even, but Odd. For 'twas neceſſary, that Nature being divided into ſeveral Parts, in order to Corporeal and Senſible Compoſition by the Power of the other, which is Diverſity, that it ſhould not be either the Firſt Even Number, nor yet the Firſt Uneven or Odd, but a Third, conſiſting of both; to the end it might be procreated out of both Principles, *viz.* of that which cauſeth the Even Number, and of that which produceth the Odd; for the one cannot be parted from the other, in as much as both have the Nature, Power and Force of a Principle. Theſe Two Principles being then joyned together, the beſt or the Triad being mightier, prevails over the Undeterminate Infinity or Duality, which divideth the Corporal Nature, and thus the Matter being divided, the Unity interpoſing it ſelf between, has hindered the Univerſe from being divided, and parted into two equal Portions, but there have been a Multitude of Worlds cauſed by the Diverſity and Diſagreement of the Indefinite Nature; but this Multitude was brought into an Odd Number, by the Vertue and

Power of Identity, or the finite Principle, and it was therefore Odd, becauſe the better Principle would not ſuffer Nature to ſtretch it ſelf further than 'twas fitting; for if there had been nothing but Pure and Simple Unity, the Matter would have known no Separation, but being mixt with the dividing Nature of Duality, it has by this means received and ſuffered Separation and Diviſion, yet hath ſtopp'd here, by the Odd Numbers being the Superior and Maſter to the Even; this is the Reaſon why the Antients were uſed to expreſs Numbring or Reckoning by the very πεμπάσασθαι; and I am of Opinion, that the Word πάντα, All, is derived from πέντε, which is to ſay Five; Five being compounded of the Two Firſt Numbers, and the other Numbers being afterwards multiplied by others, they produce Numbers different from themſelves: Whereas Five being multiplied by the Dyad or Even Number, produceth a perfect Ten, and multiplied by the Triad or Odd Number, it repreſenteth it ſelf again: Not to inſiſt, that it is compoſed of the Two Firſt Tetragones or Quadrate Numbers, *viz.* of Unity and Four, and that being the Firſt Number, whoſe terminating Unity is equivalent to the Two Dyads before it, an Unity and a Quaternion being both Tetragones, as hath been ſaid, it compoſeth the faireſt Triangle of thoſe that have Right Angles, and is the Firſt Number which containeth the Seſquialteral Proportion; For perhaps all theſe Reaſons are not very pertinent to the Diſcourſe of the preſent Diſpute; it being better to alledg, that in this Number there is a natural Vertue of dividing, and that Nature divideth many things by this Number. For in our Selves ſhe has placed Five Sences, and Five Parts of the Soul, the Natural, the Senſitive, the Concupiſcible, the Iraſcible, and the Rational; and as many Fingers on each Hand; and the Seed diſperſeth it ſelf at moſt but into Five, for we read no where of a

Woman that brought forth more than Five at a Birth: And the *Ægyptians* alſo tell us, That the *Goddeſs Rhea* was delivered of Five *Gods*; giving us to underſtand in covert Terms, That of the ſame Matter were procreated Five Worlds. And in the Univerſe, the Earth is divided into Five *Zones*, the Heaven into Five Circles, Two *Arcticks*, Two *Tropics*, and One *Æquinoctial* in the Midſt: That there are Five Revolutions of Planets or Wandring Stars, in as much as the Sun, *Venus* and *Mercury*, make but one and the ſame Revolution; and the Conſtruction of the World conſiſts of an Harmonical Meaſure; even as our Muſical Chords, conſiſt of the Poſiture of Five Tetra-Chords, ranged orderly one after another, that is to ſay, of *Hypate*, *Meſe*, *Synemmene*, *Diezeugmene*, and *Hyperbolia*. The Pauſes alſo which are uſed in Singing, are Five, *Dieſis*, *Semitonion*, *Tonus*, *Triemitonion* and *Ditonon*; ſo that Nature ſeems to delight more in making all Things according to the Number of Five, than ſhe does in producing them in a *Sphærical* Form, as *Ariſtotle* writeth. But 'twill perhaps be demanded, Why *Plato* reduced the Number of Five Worlds to the Five Regular Bodies or Figures; ſaying, That *God* made uſe of the Number Five, as it were tranſcribing and copying that in the Fabrick of the World. And then having propoſed the Doubt and Queſtion of the Number of the Worlds, *viz.* Whether there be Five, or One only; he thereupon clearly ſhews, that his Conjecture is grounded on this Conceit of the Five Regular Bodies. If therefore we may allow Probability to his Opinion, then of Neceſſity, with the Diverſity of theſe Figures and Bodies, there muſt preſently enſue a Difference and Diverſity of Motions, as himſelf teacheth, affirming, That whatever is ſubtilized or condenſed, does at the ſame time, with its Alteration of Subſtance, alter and change its Place; for if from the Air there is ingendred Fire, when the *Octaedron* is diſſolved and vaniſhed into *Pyramids*; or, on the contrary, if the Air be produced from the Fire, preſs'd and ſqueez'd up into the Form of the *Octaedron*, 'tis not poſſible it ſhould remain there where it was before, but flies and runs to another Place, forcing and combating whatever ſtands in the Way to oppoſe it. And he ſhews this more clearly and evidently by an Example and Similitude of Fans, and ſuch like things as drive away the Chaff from the Corn; for thus the Elements driving the Matter, and being driven by it, do always bring like to like, ſome taking up this Place, others that, before the World was digeſted as now it is. The Matter then being in that Condition, as every thing muſt be, where *God* is not preſent; the Five Firſt Qualities, or Firſt Bodies, having each their proper and peculiar Inclinations and Motions, went apart, not wholly and altogether, nor throughly divided and ſeparated one from another; for when all was hudled in Confuſion, ſuch as were ſurmounted, went continually againſt their Nature with the Mightier. And therefore ſome going on one ſide, and others going on the other, hence has hapned, that There have been as many Portions and Diſtinctions, as there are divers Kinds of Firſt Bodies; one of Fire, not wholly pure, but inclining towards the Form of Fire; another of a Celeſtial Nature, yet not wholly ſo, but inclining towards the Nature of Heaven; another of Earth, not ſimple and meer Earth, but inclining to the Form of Earth. But eſpecially there was a Communication of Water and Air, as we have already mentioned; for theſe went their Ways, repleniſhed with diverſe and ſtrange Kinds. For God did not ſeparate and diſtribute the Matter, but having found it thus careleſly diſſipated in it ſelf, and each Part being carried away in ſuch great Diſorder and Confuſion, he ranged and ordered it into Symmetry and Proportion;

and ſetting Reaſon over each as a Guardian and Governour, he made as many Worlds, as there were Firſt Bodies. However, in reſpect to *Ammonius*, let theſe *Platonical* Notions paſs without a ſevere Cenſure; for my part, I will never be over-zealous in this preciſe Number of Worlds, but this I will ſay, that thoſe who hold there are more than One, yet not an Infinite Number, have as good Grounds as others; ſeeing the Matter does naturally ſpread it ſelf, and is diffuſed into many Parts, not reſting in one, and yet it is contrary to Reaſon, that it ſhould be infinitely extended. In ſhort, let us here be mindful, eſpecially of the wiſe Precepts of the *Academy*, and preſerve our ſelves ſo far upon ſuch a ſlippery Ground, as the Controverſie concerning the Infinity of Worlds, by ſuſpending our Aſſent. And when I had finiſhed this Diſcourſe, *Demetrius* ſaid, *Lamprias* is very much in the Right; for the *Gods* deceive us not with Multiplicities of Shadows and Impoſtures (as *Euripides* expreſſeth it) but even of Realities and Subſtances themſelves, when we preſume to be poſitive, as if we underſtood them, in things of ſuch weight and moment; but we muſt, as he adviſes us, return to our firſt Queſtion, which we ſeem to have forgotten. For what was ſaid concerning the *Oracles* remaining dumb and uſeleſs, when the *Dæmons*, who preſided over them, were departed; even as we ſee *Muſical* Inſtruments yield no Harmony when the *Muſician* does not handle them; this, I ſay, brings a greater Queſtion into Debate, namely touching the Cauſe and Power by which theſe *Dæmons* uſe to make their *Prophets* and *Propheteſſes* to be raviſh'd with *Enthuſiaſm*, fill'd with Fantaſtical Imagination. For to ſay, the *Oracles* are ſilent, as being forſaken by the *Dæmons*, is nothing, unleſs we be firſt ſhew'd, how (when they are preſent and govern them) they ſet them at work and make them Propheſy. *Ammonius* then taking up the Diſcourſe, Do you think, ſaid he, that the *Dæmons* be any thing elſe, *That wandring Spirits cloath'd in fineſt Air,*

as *Heſiod* ſays; for as to my part, I think the ſame difference which there is between one Man and another, who act in a Tragedy or Comedy, is alſo to be found in the Life in Souls that are cloath'd with Bodies. So that there's nothing in this which is ſtrange or contrary to Reaſon, If Souls meeting with other Souls do Imprint on them Viſions and Apprehenſions of future things; juſt as we ſhew ſeveral things already done and come to paſs, and Prognoſticate of thoſe which have not yet happened, not only by the help of Speech, but alſo by Letters and Writings, or by a bare Touch, or a ſingle Look, unleſs you *Lamprias* are of another Opinion: For we heard but very lately, that you diſcourſed at large upon this Subject with the Strangers that came lately to *Lebadia*, but he that gave us this Information could give us no particular Account of what paſſed. No wonder, replyed I, for ſeveral avocations and buſineſſes interveneing, occaſioned by the *Oracle*, and the ſolemn Sacrifice that was then performing, made our Diſcourſe very broken and interrupted. But now, ſays *Ammonius*, you have Auditors at Leiſure, that are inquiſitive and deſirous of Inſtruction; ſo that you may ſpeak freely, and expect all the Candor and Ingenuity which you can deſire. And the reſt of the Company making the like Exhortations, having pauſed a while, I began after this manner; It ſo happened, *Ammonius*, that you did without your knowledg give occaſion to the Diſcourſe which was then held; for if the *Dæmons* be Souls and Spirits ſeparated from Bodies, and have no Communication with them, as you affirm; but according to the Divine Poet *Heſiod*,

Are our kind Guardians, walking here their Rounds;

Why do we deprive the Spirits and Souls which are in Bodies, of the ſame Power by which *Dæmons* may foreſee and foretell Things to come? For 'tis not likely Souls do acquire any new Property and Power when they abandon the Bodies, wherewith they were not endowed before; but rather, we ſhould think that they had always the ſame Parts, but worſe, when they are mixt with Bodies: ſome of them being inapparent and hid, and others weak and obſcure, and which, like thoſe who ſee through a thick Miſt, or move in ſome moiſt and wateriſh Subſtance, do heavily and uneaſily perform their Operations, much deſiring to be cured, and ſo recover what is their own, and to be diſcharged and purified of that which covers them. For, the Soul, whileſt 'tis faſtned to the Body, has the Power of diſcerning future Things, were it not blinded by the Relation it has to the Earthineſs of the Body. For, as the Sun does not then properly become bright, when he has eſcaped out of the Cloud (for he is always ſo, though to our Eyes, being clouded, he ſeems obſcure and dark) So the Soul acquires not then the Faculty of Divining, when gotten clear of the Body, as from a Cloud, but having the ſame before, is blinded by the Commixture and Confuſion which ſhe has with the Mortal Body: And this cannot ſeem ſtrange or incredible, if we conſider nothing elſe in the Soul, but the Faculty of Remembrance, which is, as it were, the reverſe of Divination, and if we reflect upon the miraculous Power it hath of preſerving Things paſt, or rather of making thoſe Things to exiſt which are not; for of what is paſt there is nothing remains, and all things do exiſt and periſh in the ſame Moment, whether they be Actions, or Words, or Paſſions; they all paſs by and vaniſh as ſoon as they appear; for Time, like the Courſe of a River, paſſeth on, and carries every thing along with it. But this Retentive Faculty of the Soul reſiſting, and as it were, making H againſt it, gives a Being to thoſe Things which are n preſent. For the *Oracle* which was given to thoſe o *Theſſaly*, touching *Arna*, enjoyned them to call her

The Deaf Man's Hearing, and the Blind Man's Sight.

But *Memory* is to us the Hearing of the Deaf, and the Sight of the Blind; ſo that as I now ſaid, no marvail, if retaining the Things which are no longer i Being, the Soul anticipates ſeveral of thoſe which are ſtill to come; for theſe do more concern her, and ſhe does naturally ſympathize with them, inclining and tending to things which are future; whereas, as to thoſe which are paſt, and have an end, ſhe leaves them behind her, only retaining the bare Remembrance of them. Our Souls then having this inbred Power, tho weak, obſcure, and hardly able to expreſs their Apprehenſions; yet ſometimes they ſpread forth and recover themſelves, either in Dreams, or in the time of Sacrifice or Religious Worſhip, when the Body is well purified, and is endued with a certain Temperature proper to this Effect; or when the Rational or Speculative Part being releaſed and freed from the Solicitude after preſent Things, joyneth with the Irrational and Imaginative Part, to think of, and repreſent what's to come; for it is not, as *Euripides* ſaith, that he is the beſt Prophet who gueſſes well; but he's the wiſeſt Man, not whoſe Gueſs ſucceeds well in the Event, but who, whatever the Event be, takes Reaſon and Probability for his Guide. Now the Faculty of Divining, like Blank Paper, is void of any Reaſon, or Determination of it ſelf, but is ſuſceptible of Fantaſies and Præ-ſenſions, and without any Ratiocination or Diſcourſe of Reaſon, touches on that which is to Come, when it is fartheſt off from the Preſent, out of which it departs, by means of a certain

Diſpoſition of Body, which we call Inſpiration or *Enthuſiaſm.* Now the Body is ſometimes endued naturally with this Diſpoſition; but moſt times the Earth caſts forth to Men the Sourſes and Cauſes of ſeveral other Powers and Faculties, ſome of which carry Men beſides themſelves into Exſtacy and Phrenzy, and produce Maladies and Mortalities; others again are ſometimes good, gentle and profitable, as appears by thoſe who have had the Experience of them. But this Spring or Wind, or Spirit of Divination, is moſt Holy and Divine, whether it be raiſed by it ſelf through the Air, or be compounded and mixt with a watry or liquid Subſtance. For, being infuſed and mixed with the Body, it produceth an odd Temperature and ſtrange Diſpoſition in the Soul, which a Man cannot exactly expreſs, though he may reſemble or compare it to ſeveral things; for by Heat and Dilatation it openeth certain Pores that make a Diſcovery of future things; like Wine, which cauſing Fumes to aſcend up into the Head, puts the Spirits into many unuſual Motions, and reveals things that were laid up in ſecret; for Drunkenneſs and Phrenzy, if we will believe *Euripides*, have a near Approach to the Nature of Divination, when the Soul being hot and fiery, baniſhes thoſe Fears, to which Prudence and Sobriety are ſubject, and which extinguiſh and quench the Spirit of Divination. Furthermore, a Man may ſay, that Dryneſs being mixt with Heat, attenuateth and ſubtilizeth the Spirit, and makes it pure, and of an Etherial Nature and Conſiſtence; for the Soul it ſelf, according to *Heraclitus*, is of a dry Conſtitution; whereas Moiſture does not only dim the Sight, and dull the Hearing, but when mingled with the Air, and touching the *Superficies* of Mirrors, dusketh the Brightneſs of the One, and takes away the Light of the Other. Or perhaps on the contrary, by ſome Refrigeration and Condenſation of this Spirit, like the Tincture and Hardneſs of Iron; this Part of the Soul which does prognoſticate, may ſhew it ſelf, and get a perfect Edge. Juſt as Tin being melted with Braſs (which of it ſelf is a Metal in the Ore, rare, ſpongious and full of little Holes) does drive it nearer and make it more maſſy and ſolid, and withal, cauſeth it to look more bright and reſplendent; ſo I cannot ſee any Reaſon, why this Prophetical Exhalation having ſome Congruence and Affinity with Souls, may not fill up that which is lax and empty, and drive it more cloſe together. For there are many things which have a Reference and Congruity one with another, as the Bean, which is agreeable to the Colour of Purple; Sal-Nitre is very uſeful in the Tincture of Scarlet or Crimſon Colour, if it be mixt therewith, and, as *Empedocles* ſays,

Fine Silk is dy'd with Saffron's azure Flow'r.

And we have learnt of you, *Demetrius*, that only the River *Cydnus* cleaneth the Knife conſecrated to *Apollo*, in the City of *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, and that there's no other Water which can ſcour and cleanſe it. So in the Town of *Olympia*, they temper Aſhes with the Water of the River *Alpheus*, with which they make a Mortar, wherewith they plaiſter the Altar there; but if this be attempted to be done by the Water of any other River, it is all to no purpoſe. 'Tis no wonder then, if the Earth ſending up many Exhalations, only thoſe of this ſort tranſport the Soul with a Divine Fury, and give them a Faculty of foretelling future Things. And without doubt, what is related touching the *Oracle* of this Place, does herewith agree. For 'tis here where this Faculty of Divining firſt ſhew'd it ſelf, by means of a certain Shepherd, who chanced to fall down, and began to utter Enthuſiaſtick Speeches concerning future Events; of which, at firſt the Neighbours took no Notice; but when they ſaw what he foretold came to paſs, they had him in Admiration; and the moſt learned among the *Delphians*, ſpeaking of this Man, are uſed to call him by the Name of *Coretas*. The Soul ſeems to me to mix and joyn it ſelf with this *Prophetick* Exhalation, juſt as the Eye is affected with the Light; For, the Eye which has a natural Property and Faculty of Seeing, would be wholly uſeleſs without the Light; ſo the Soul having this Faculty and Property of Foreſeeing future things, as an Eye, has need of a proper Object, which may enlighten and ſharpen it. And therefore the Ancients took the *Sun* and *Apollo* to be the ſame God; and thoſe who underſtand the Beauty and Wiſdom of Analogy or Proportion, do tell us, that as the Body is to the Soul, the Sight to the Mind, the Soul to Truth, ſo is the *Sun* with Reference to *Apollo*; affirming him to be the Off-ſpring, proceeding perpetually from *Apollo*, and repreſenting him perpetually to the World. For as the Sun enlightens and excites the Viſive Powers of the Senſes, ſo *Apollo* does excite the *Prophetick* Vertue in the Soul. Thoſe then that imagined 'twas one and the ſame *God*, have with good Reaſon, dedicated and conſecrated this Oracle to *Apollo* and to the Earth, deeming it to be the Sun which imprinted this Temperature and Diſpoſition on the Earth, from whence aroſe this Predictive Exhalation. For as *Heſiod*, with far better Reaſon than other *Philoſophers* calls the Earth,

The well-fixt Seat of all Things ever.

So do we eſteem it Eternal, Immortal and Incorruptible. But as to the Vertues and Faculties which are in it, we believe that ſome fail in one Place, and ſpring up anew in another. It ſeems alſo (for ſo ſome Experiments incline us to conjecture) that theſe Tranſitions, Changes and Revolutions, in proceſs of Time, do circulate and return to the ſame Place, and begin again where they left off. In ſome Countries we ſee Lakes and whole Rivers, and not a few Fountains and Springs of hot Waters, have ſometimes failed and been intirely loſt, and at others, have fled and abſconded themſelves, being hidden and concealed under the Earth; but perhaps ſome years after do appear again in the ſame Place, or elſe run hard by. And ſo of *Mettal-Mines*, ſome have been quite exhauſted, as the Silver ones about *Attica*; and the ſame has happened to the Veins of Braſs-Oar in *Eubœa*, of which the beſt Blades were made, and hardned in cold Water, as the Poet *Æſchylus* tells us,

Taking his Sword, a right Euboean *Blade.*

'Tis not long ſince the Quarry of *Caryſtus* has ceaſed to yield a certain ſoft Stone, which was wont to be drawn into a fine Thread; for I ſuppoſe ſome here have ſeen Towels, Net-work, and Quoifs woven of that Thread, which could not be burnt; but when they were ſoil'd with uſing, People flung them into the Fire, and took them thence white and clean, the Fire only purifying them. But all this is vaniſh'd, and there's nothing but ſome few Fibres or hairy Threads lying up and down ſcatteringly in the Grain of the Stones, to be ſeen now in the Quarry. *Ariſtotle* and his Followers affirm, That the Cauſe of all this proceeds from an Exhalation within the Earth, which when it fails, or removes to another Place, or revives and recovers it ſelf again, the *Phænomena* proceeding from them do ſo too. The ſame muſt we ſay of the Prophetical Exhalations which ſpring from the Earth, that their Virtue alſo is not Immortal, but may wax old and decay; for 'tis not unlikely, that great Floods of Rain and Showrs do extinguiſh them, and that the Claps of Thunder do diſſipate them; or elſe, which I look upon to be the Principal Cauſe, they are ſunk lower into the Earth, or utterly deſtroyed by the Shock of Earth-quakes and the Confuſion that attends them, as here in this Place there ſtill remain the Tragical Monuments of that great Earthquake that overthrew the City. And in the Town of *Orchomenus*, they ſay, that when the Peſtilence carried away ſuch Multitudes of People, the *Oracle* of *Tireſias* of a ſudden ceaſed, and remains mute to this day. And whether the like has not happened to the *Oracles* in *Cilicia*, as we have heard it hath, no Man can better inform us than you, *Demetrius*. I cannot tell, ſays *Demetrius*, how things are at preſent in thoſe Parts, for you all know I have been long abſent from thence; but when I was there, both that of *Mopſus* and of *Amphilochus* flouriſhed, and were in great Eſteem. And as to the *Oracle* of *Mopſus*, I can from my own Knowledge tell you a ſtrange Story about it. The Governour of *Cilicia* was a Man inclining to *Scepticiſm*, and doubtful whether there be *Gods*; and had about him ſeveral *Epicureans*, who are wont to mock at the Belief of ſuch Things, as ſeem contrary to Reaſon. He ſent a freed Servant of his in the Nature of a Spy, with a Letter ſeal'd, wherein was the Queſtion he was to ask the *Oracle*, no Body knowing the Contents thereof. This Man then, [illegible] the Cuſtom of the Place is, remaining all Night in the Temple-Porch aſleep, related the next Morning the Dream which he had; for he thought he ſaw a very handſome Man ſtand before him, who ſaid only this Word, *Black*, to him, and nothing elſe, for he vaniſh'd away immediately. This ſeemed to us very impertinent, though we could not tell what to make of it; but the Goveranew in another. It ſeems alſo (for ſo ſome Experiments incline us to conjecture) that theſe Tranſitions, Changes and Revolutions, in proceſs of Time, do circulate and return to the ſame Place, and begin again where they left off. In ſome Countries we ſee Lakes and whole Rivers, and not a few Fountains and Springs of hot Waters, have ſometimes failed and been intirely loſt, and at others, have fled and abſconded themſelves, being hidden and concealed under the Earth; but perhaps ſome years after do appear again in the ſame Place, or elſe run hard by. And ſo of Metal-Mines, ſome have been quite exhauſted, as the Silver ones about *Attica*; and the ſame has happened to the Veins of Braſs-Oar in *Eubœa*, of which the beſt Blades were made, and hardned in cold Water, as the Poet *Æſchylus* tells us,

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When *Demetrius* had given us this Relation, he held his Peace; and I being deſirous to put an end to this Conference, caſt mine Eyes on *Philippus* and *Ammonius*, who ſate together, and they, I thought, look'd as if they had ſomething to ſay to me, and therefore I kept ſilent. With that, *Ammonius, Philippus*, ſays he, *Lamprias* hath ſomething to offer touching what hath been debated, for he thinks, as well as other Folks, That *Apollo* and the *Sun* are the ſame *God*; but the Queſtion which I propoſe, is of greater Conſequence; for juſt now in our Diſcourſe, we have taken away Divination from the *Gods*, and openly attributed it to the *Dæmons*, and now we are for excluding of them alſo, and diſpoſſeſſing them of the *Oracle* and *Three-footed Stool*, referring the Cauſe, or rather the Nature and Eſſence of Divination to Exhalations, Winds, and Vapors; for theſe Opinions carry us ſtill farther off from the *Gods*, introducing ſuch a Cauſe of this Event, as *Euripides* makes *Polyphemus* to alledge in his *Tragedy* of *Cyclops*;

The Earth by force, whether ſhe will or no,
Shall for my Cattle make the Graſs to grow.

Yet he does not ſay that he ſacrificed his Herds to the *Gods*, but to himſelf and his own Belly, the greateſt of all *Dæmons*; whereas we offer them Sacrifices and Prayers for to obtain an Anſwer from their

Oracles; but to what purpoſe, if it be true, that Souls are naturally endued with the Faculty of Prediction, and that the chief Cauſe that excites this Faculty and Vertue, is a certain Temperature of Air or Wind? and what ſignifies then the ſacred Inſtitutions and ſetting apart theſe Religious *Propheteſſes*, for the giving of Anſwers? And why do they return no Anſwer at all, unleſs the Sacrifice tremble all over, even from the very Feet, whilſt the Wine is poured on its Head? For 'tis not enough to wag the Head, as other Beaſts do, which are appointed for Sacrifices; but this quaking and ſhivering muſt be univerſal, throughout all Parts of the Body, and that with a trembling Noiſe; for if this be not done, they ſay that the *Oracle* will give no Anſwer, neither is the *Pythia* or Prieſteſs introduced. For, it is very proper and ſuitable for them to do and believe thus, who aſcribe the impulſes of Prophetical Inſpiration either to a *God* or a *Dæmon*; but by no means for thoſe that are of your Opinion. For the Exhalation which ſpringeth out of the Ground, whether the Beaſt tremble or not, will always, if it be preſent, cauſe a Raviſhment and Tranſport of Spirit, and diſpoſe the Soul alike, not only of *Pythia*, but of any one elſe that firſt cometh, or is preſented. And it muſt needs ſeem abſurd to ſet apart one certain Woman for the delivery of theſe *Oracles*, and to oblige her to Virginity and Chaſtity all her days, when the thing is referred to ſuch a Cauſe, as in which all People are, or may be equally concerned. For as to that *Coretas*, whom the *Delphians* will needs have to be the firſt that happen'd to fall into this Chink or Crevaſs of the Ground, and gave the firſt Proof of the Vertue of the Place; he, I ſay, ſeems to me not at all to differ from other Herdſmen or Shepherds, ſuppoſing what is reported of him to be true, as I believe it is not. And truly, when I call to mind of what Benefit this *Oracle* has been unto the *Greeks*, not only in their Wars, and building of Cities, but alſo in the Streſſes of Plague and Famine, methinks it is very unfit to refer its Invention and Original unto meer Chance, rather than to *God* and Divine Providence. But I would willingly have you, *Lamprias*, ſays he, to ſpeak on this Point, and I pray you, *Philippus*, to have Patience awhile. With all my heart, reply'd *Philippus*, and I dare undertake the ſame for all the Company. And as to my Part, quoth I, Oh *Philippus*! I am not only much mov'd, but alſo aſhamed, conſidering my Youth, in the Preſence of ſo many wiſe and grave Perſonages, to appear as if I endeavoured by Sophiſtry to impoſe upon them, and to deſtroy and evacuate what Sage Men have determined concerning the Divine Nature and Power; but though I am Young, yet *Plato* was Old and Wiſe as you are, and he ſhall be my Example and Advocate in this Caſe, who reprehended *Anaxagoras* for applying himſelf too much to Natural Cauſes, always following and purſuing the Neceſſary and Material Cauſe of the Paſſions and Affections incident to Bodies, and omitting the *Final* and *Efficient*, which are much better and more conſiderable Principles than the other; but *Plato* either firſt, or moſt of all the Philoſophers, hath joyned both of theſe Principles together, attributing to *God*, the Cauſality of all Things that are according to Reaſon, and yet not depriving Matter of a Neceſſary or Paſſive Concurrence; but acknowledging that the adorning and diſpoſing of all this ſenſible World, does not depend on one ſingle and ſimple Cauſe; but took its being from the Conjunction and Fellowſhip of Matter with Reaſon, which may be illuſtrated by the Works of Art: As for Example, without going any further, the Foot of the famous Cup which is amongſt the Treaſury of this Temple, which *Herodotus* calls *Hypocreteridion*, that has for the Material Cauſe Fire and Iron, and Pliableneſs by means of Fire, and the Tincture in Water, without which, ſuch a Piece of Work could not be wrought. But the Principal Cauſe, and that which is moſt properly ſo called, which wrought by all theſe, was Art and Reaſon. And we ſee the Name of the Artiſt ſet on ſuch their Pieces, according to that,

> *'Twas* Thaſian Polygnote, Agalophon's *Son,*
> *That drew this Draught of conquer'd* Ilium:

But yet without Colours mixt and confounded with one another, it had been impoſſible to have done a Piece ſo pleaſing to the Eye. Should one come then and inquire into the Material Cauſe, ſearching into, and diſcourſing concerning the Alterations and Mutations which the Ochre receives mixt with the Vermilion, or the Black with the Ceruſs; does he thereby leſſen the Credit of the Painter *Polygnotus*? And ſo he that ſhall diſcourſe how Iron is both hardned and mollifyed, and how being ſoftned in the Fire, it becomes obedient to them, who by beating it, drive it out in Length and Breadth, and afterwards being plung'd into freſh Water, by the Coldneſs of it, becomes hardned after it was ſoftned and rarified by the Fire, and acquires a Firmneſs and Temper, which *Homer* calls the Strength of the Iron; does he, becauſe of this, e're the leſs attribute the Cauſe of the Work to the Workman? I do not think he does, for thoſe who examine the Vertues and Properties of Medicinal Drugs, do not thereby condemn the Art of Phyſick. Juſt as *Plato*, when he ſays, that we ſee becauſe the Light of the Eye is mixed with the Clearneſs of the Sun, and that we hear by the Percuſſion of the Air; yet this does not hinder, but that we have the Faculty of Seeing and Hearing from Divine Providence. In a Word, Generation, as I have ſaid, proceeding from Two Cauſes, the chiefeſt and moſt antie *Poets* and *Divines* have ſtuck only to the *Firſt* and mo *excellent* of theſe, having on all Occaſions theſe known Words in their Mouths,

Jove, *the Beginning, Middle, Sourſe of all.*

But as to the *Neceſſary* and *Natural Cauſes*, they concern not themſelves with them. Whereas their Succeſſors, who were for that reaſon called *φυσικοὶ*, or *Natural Philoſophers*, took a different Courſe; for they forſaking this admirable and Divine Principle, aſcribe all Matter, and the Paſſions of it, to the Motions, Mutations and Mixtures of its Parts. So that both of theſe are defective in their Methods, becauſe they omit, through Ignorance or Deſign, the one the Efficient, the other the Material Cauſe. Whereas, he that firſt pointed at both Cauſes, and manifeſtly joyned with the *Reaſon* which freely operateth and moveth the *Matter*, which neceſſarily is Obedient and Paſſive, does defend both himſelf and us from all Calumny and Cenſure. For we do not deprive Divination either of *God* or of *Reaſon*, ſeeing we allow it for its Subject, the Soul of Man, and for its Inſtrument, an *Enthuſiaſtic* Exhalation. For firſt the Earth, out of which Exhalations are generated, and then the Sun, which in and upon the Earth works all the infinite Poſſibilities of Mixture and Alteration, are, in the Divinity of our Fore-fathers, eſteemed *Gods*. And hereunto if we add the *Dæmons* as Superintendants and Guardians of this Temperature, as of an Harmony and Conſort, who in due time ſlacken or ſtretch the Vertue of this Exhalation; ſometimes taking from it the too great Activity which it has to torment the Soul, and tranſport it beyond it ſelf, and mingling with it a Vertue of moving, without cauſing Pain to thoſe that are poſſeſſed with it; in all this, it ſeems to me, that we do nothing that can look ſtrange or impoſſible, or unagreeable to Reaſon; and when we offer Sacrifices before we come to the *Oracle*, and crown them with Garlands of Flowers, and pour Wine on their Heads, I ſee we do not any thing in all this that is abſurd or repugnant to this Opinion of ours. For, the *Prieſts* who offer the Sacrifices, and pour out the Holy Wine thereon, and obſerve their Motions and Tremblings, do this for another reaſon, beſides that of receiving an Anſwer from the Oracle. For the Animal which is offered to the *Gods*, muſt be pure, intire and ſound, both as to Soul and Body. Now 'tis not very hard to diſcover the Marks of the Body; and as to the Soul, they make an Experiment of it, in ſetting Meal before the Bulls, and preſenting Peaſe to the Swine; for if they will not taſte them, 'tis a certain Sign they be not ſound. As to Goats, cold Water is a Tryal for them; for if the Beaſt does not ſeem to be moved and affected when the Water is poured upon her, this is an evident Sign that her Soul is not right according to Nature. And ſuppoſing it ſhould be granted, That 'tis a certain and unqueſtionable Deſign, that *God* will give an Anſwer, when the Sacrifice thus drenched ſtirs, and that when it is otherwiſe, he vouchſafes none; I do not ſee herein any thing that diſagrees with the Account of *Oracles*, which I have given. For every natural Vertue produceth the Effect, be it better or worſe, to which it is ordained, according as its Seaſon is more or leſs proper; and 'tis likely *God* gives us Signs whereby we may know, Whether the Opportunity be gone or not. As for my Part, I believe the Exhalation it ſelf, which comes out of the Ground, is not always of the ſame Kind, being at one time ſlack, and at another ſtrong and vigorous; and the Truth of that Experiment, which I uſe to prove it, is atteſted by ſeveral Strangers, and by all thoſe which ſerve in the Temple.

For the Room where thoſe do wait who come for Anſwers from the *Oracle*, is ſometimes, though not always and at certain ſtated times, but as it were by Chance, filled with ſuch a fragrant Odour and Scent, that no Perfumes in the World can exceed it, and this ariſes as it were out of a Spring, from the Sanctuary of the Temple. And this proceeds very likely from its Heat, or ſome other Power or Faculty which is in it; and if peradventure this ſeems to any Body an unlikely thing, however ſuch a one will allow, that the Propheteſs *Pythia* hath that Part of the Soul, unto which this Wind and Blaſt of Inſpiration approacheth, moved by variety of Paſſions and Affections, ſometimes after one ſort, and ſometimes another; and that ſhe is not always in the ſame Mood and Temper, like a fixt and immutable Harmony, which the leaſt Alteration or Change of ſuch and ſuch Proportions deſtroys. For there are ſeveral Vexations and Paſſions which agitate Bodies, and ſlide into the Soul, that ſhe perceives, but more that ſhe does not; in which caſe 'twould be better, that ſhe would tarry away, and not preſent her ſelf to this Divine Inſpiration, as not being clean, and void of all Perturbations, like an Inſtrument of Muſick exquiſitely made, but at preſent in diſorder and out of Tune. For Wine does not at all times alike ſurprize the Drunkard, neither does the Sound of the Flute always affect in the ſame manner, him who dances to it. For the ſame Perſons are ſometimes more, and ſometimes leſs tranſported beyond themſelves, and more or leſs inebriated, according to the preſent Diſpoſition of their Bodies; but eſpecially the *Imaginative* Part of the Soul, which receives the *Species*, is ſubject to change and ſympathiſe together with the Body, as is apparent from Dreams; for ſometimes we are mightily troubled with many and confuſed Viſions in our Dreams, and at other times, there is a perfect Calm, undiſturbed by any ſuch Images or Ideas.

We all know *Cleon* a Native of *Daulia*, who uſed to ſay of himſelf, that in the many years in which he hath lived, he never had any Dream. And among the *Ancients*, the ſame is related of *Thraſymedes* of *Heræa*, the Cauſe of which, lyes in the Complexion and Conſtitution of Bodies, as is ſeen by melancholy People, who are much ſubject to Dreams in the Night, and their Dreams ſometimes prove true. Inaſmuch as ſuch Perſons Fancies run ſometimes on one thing, and otherwhiles on another, they muſt thereby of neceſſity now and then light right, as they that ſhoot often muſt hit ſometimes. When therefore the *Imaginative* Part of the Soul, and the Prophetic Blaſt or Exhalation have a ſort of Harmony and Proportion with each other, ſo as the one, as it were in the Nature of a Medicament, may operate upon the other; then happens that Enthuſiaſm or Divine Fury, which is diſcernable in Prophets and Inſpired Perſons. And on the contrary, when the Proportion is loſt, there can be no Prophetical Inſpiration, or ſuch as is as good as none; for then 'tis a forced Fury, not a natural one, but violent and turbulent, as we have ſeen to have hapened in the Propheteſs *Pythia*, who is lately deceaſed. For certain Pilgrims being come for an Anſwer from the *Oracle*, 'tis ſaid the Sacrifice indured the firſt Effuſion without ſtirring or moving a Jot, which made the *Prieſts*, out of an Exceſs of Zeal, to continue to pour on more, till the Beaſt was almoſt drowned with cold Water; but what hapned hereupon to the Propheteſs *Pythia*? She went down into the *Hole* againſt her Will, but at the firſt Words which ſhe uttered, ſhe plainly ſhewed by the hoarſneſs of her Voice, that ſhe was not able to bear up againſt ſo ſtrong an Inſpiration (like a Ship under Sail, oppreſt with too much Wind) but was poſſeſt with a dumb and evil Spirit; and finally, being horribly diſordered, and running with dreadful Screeches towards the Door to get out, ſhe threw her ſelf violently on the Ground, ſo that not only the *Pilgrims* fled for fear, but alſo the High Prieſt *Nicander*, and the other Prieſts and *Religious* which were there preſent; who coming within a while, took her up, being out of her Senſes; and indeed ſhe lived but few days after. For theſe reaſons it is, that *Pythia* is obliged to keep her Body pure and clean from the Company of Men, there being no Stranger permitted to converſe with her. And before ſhe goes to the *Oracle*, they are uſed by certain Maſters to examine whether ſhe be fit or no, believing that the *God* certainly knows when her Body is diſpoſed and fit to receive, without endangering her Perſon, this Enthuſiaſtical Inſpiration. For, the Force and Vertue of this Exhalation, does not move all ſorts of Perſons, nor the ſame Perſons in like manner, nor as much at one time as at another; but only gives beginning, and as it were kindles thoſe Spirits which are prepared and fitted to receive its Influence. Now this Exhalation is certainly Divine and Celeſtial, but yet not Incorruptible and Immortal, and Proof againſt the *Series* of Time, which ſubdues all Things below the Moon, and, as ſome ſay, all Things above it; which growing weary in an infinite Space of Duration, are ſuddenly renewed and changed. But theſe things, ſaid I, I muſt adviſe you and my ſelf often and ſeriouſly to conſider of, they being liable to many Diſputes and Objections, which our Leiſure will not ſuffer to particularize; and therefore we muſt remit them, together with the Queſtions which *Philippus* propoſes, touching *Apollo* and the Sun, to another Opportunity.

Plutarch's

Plutarch's Morals:

Vol. IV.

Of Iſis *and* Oſiris, *or of the Antient Religion and Philoſophy of* Ægypt.

Done into Engliſh *out of the* Greek *by* William Baxter, Philalethes.

IT becomes wiſe Men, * Dame *Clea*, to go to the Gods for all the good Things they would enjoy: much more ought we, when we would aim at that Knowledge of them, which our Nature can arrive at, to pray that they themſelves would beſtow it upon us: Truth being the greateſt Good that Man can receive, and the goodlieſt Bleſſing that God can give. Other good Things he beſtows on Men as they want them; they being † not his own Peculiars, nor of any uſe to himſelf. For the Bleſſedneſs of the Deity conſiſts not in Silver and Gold, nor yet his Power in Lightnings and Thunders, but in Knowledge and Wiſdom. And it was the beſt thing *Homer* ever ſaid of Gods, when he pronounced thus.

> ‖ *Both of one Line, both of one Country boaſt,*
> *But Royal* Jove's *the Eldeſt and knows moſt.*

* This *Clea* was Prieſteſs to *Iſis* and to *Apollo Delphicus.*

† *Fulvius Urſinus*, his Copy hath οὐκ before ἴδια.

‖ *Phyſical* and *Dogmatical*.

F Where

Where he declares *Jupiter's* Prerogative in Wiſdom and Science, to be the more honorable, by terming it the Elder. I, for my own Part, do believe that the Felicity of Eternal Living, which the Gods enjoy, lyes mainly in this, that nothing eſcapes their Cogniſance that paſſes in the Sphere of Generation; and that ſhould we ſet aſide Wiſdom and the Knowledge of Being, Immortality it ſelf would not be Life, but a long Time. And therefore the Deſire of Truth, eſpecially in what relates to the Gods, is a ſort of graſping after Divinity, it uſing Learning and Enquiry for a kind of * Reſumption of Things ſacred, a Work doubtleſs of more Religion than any Ritual Purgation or Charge of Temples whatever, and over and above, not the leaſt acceptable to the Goddeſs you ſerve, ſince ſhe is more eminently wiſe and ſpeculative, and ſince Knowledge and Science, (as her very Name † ſeems to import) appertain more peculiarly to her than any other thing. For the Name of Iſis is *Greek*, and ſo is that of her Adverſary *Typhon*, who being puft up through Ignorance and Miſtake, pulls in pieces and deſtroys that Holy Doctrine, which ſhe on the contrary collects, compiles, and delivers down to ſuch as are regularly advanced unto the || *Deify'd State*, which by Conſtancy of ſober Diet, and abſtaining from ſundry Meats, and the Uſe of Women both * reſtrains the Intemperate and Voluptuous Part, and habituates them to auſtere and hard Services in the Temples,

the

* This ſuppoſes the Platonic Reminiſcence.

† The Etymologies of *Iſis* from knowing, and of *Typhon* from [illegible], are but Moral and Alluſive ones.

|| Θείωσις.

* I read κολούουσα for κωλύουσαν.

the end of which is the Knowledge of the Original, Supream and Mental Being; which the Goddeſs would have them enquire for, as near to her ſelf, and as dwelling with her. Beſides, the very Name of her Temple moſt apparently promiſes the Knowledge and Acquaintance of the * Firſt Being; for they call it *Iſeum*, as who ſhould ſay, † *We ſhall know the Being*, if with Reaſon and Sanctimony we approach the Sacred Temples of this Goddeſs. Moreover, many have reported her the Daughter of || *Hermes*, and many of *Prometheus*; the latter of which they eſteem as the Author of Wit and Forecaſt, and the Former of Letters and Muſick. For the ſame reaſon alſo they call the Former of the two *Muſes* * at *Hermopolis*, *Iſis* and *Juſtice*, † ſhe being (as was before ſaid) no other than *Wiſdom*, and revealing Things Divine to ſuch as are truly and juſtly ſtiled || *The Sacred Bearers*, and *The Sacred Robe*; and thoſe are ſuch as have in their Minds, as in an *Ark* (or ‡ *Cabinet*) the Sacred Doctrine about the Gods, cleanſed from Superſtitious Frights, and Vain Curioſities, and are Clad partly with dark and ſhady Colours, and partly with light and gay ones, to inſinuate ſomething of the like kind in our Perſwaſion about the Gods, as we have repreſented to us in the ſacred Veſtments. Wherefore, in that the Prieſts of *Iſis* are dreſſed up in theſe when they are dead, it is a Token to us, that this Doctrine || goes with them to the other Life, and that nothing elſe can ac-

* τοῦ ὄντος.

† I read εἰσομένων for εἰσόμενον.

|| Both theſe were but Epithites of the *Sun*.

* *Muſes* I find were 3.

† I add τοὺς after [illegible]

|| ἱεραφόρους.

* ἱεροστόλους.

‡ κίστη.

|| I read ἰέναι for εἶναι.

company them thither. For as neither the nouriſhing of Beards, nor the wearing of Mantles can render Men Philoſophers, ſo neither will Linen Garments, or ſhaved Heads make Prieſts to *Iſis*; but he is a true Prieſt of *Iſis*, who after he hath received from the Laws the Repreſentations and Actions that refer to the Gods, then next apply his Reaſon to the Enquiry and Speculation of the Truth contained in them. For the greater part of Men are ignorant, even of this moſt common and ordinary thing, for what reaſon the Prieſts lay aſide their Hair, and go in Linen Garments; ſome are not at all ſolicitous to be informed about ſuch Queſtions; and others ſay their Veneration for * Sheep is the Cauſe they abſtain from their Wool as well as their Fleſh, and that they ſhave their Heads in token of Mourning, and that they wear Linen becauſe of the bloomy Colour which the Flax ſends forth, in imitation of that Etherial Clarity that environs the World. But indeed the true reaſon of them all is one and the ſame. *For it is not lawful* (*as Plato ſaith*) *for a clean thing to be touched by an unclean.* But now no Superfluity of Food, or Excrementitious Subſtance can be pure or clean; but Wools, Down, Hair and Nails, come up and grow from ſuperfluous Excrements. It would be therefore an Abſurdity for them to lay aſide their own Hair in Purgations, by ſhaving themſelves, and by making their Bodies all over ſmooth, and yet in the mean time to wear

* The Ram being ſacred to the Sun by the Name of *Ammon*, and the Ewe to the Moon, by the Name of *Sais* or *Minerva*, their Deities more peculiarly inſpiring thoſe Animals.

and carry about them the Hairs of Brutes. For we ought to think that the Poet *Heſiod*, when he ſaith;

* *Nor at a Feaſt of Gods from five-brancht Tree,*
With ſharp edg'd Steel to pare the green from (*dry.*

Would teach us to keep the Feaſt already cleanſed from ſuch things as theſe, and not in the Solemnities themſelves to uſe Purgation or Removal of Excrementitious Superfluities. But now Flax ſprings up from an Immortal Being, the Earth, and bears an † eatable Fruit, and affords a ſimple and cleanly Cloathing, and not burdenſome to him that's covered with it, and convenient for every Seaſon of the Year, and which beſides (as they tell us) is the leaſt ſubject to engender Vermine; but of this, to diſcourſe in this place, would not be pertinent. But now the Prieſts do ſo abhor all kinds of ſuperfluous Excrements, that they not only decline moſt ſorts of Pulſe, and of Fleſh, that of Sheep and Swine, which produce much Superfluity; but alſo in the time of their Purgations, exclude Salt from their Meals. For which, as they have ſeveral other good Reaſons, ſo more eſpecially this, that it ‖ whets the Appetite, and renders Men over eager after Meat and Drink. For that the reaſon why Salt is not accounted clean, ſhould be (as *Ariſtagoras* tells us) becauſe that when it's hardned together, many little Animals are catch-ed

* That is to pare ones Nails.

† Linſeed was uſed by ſome for Food.

‖ I read [illegible] for [illegible].

ed in it, and thereby is found ridiculous. They are also said to water the * *Apis* from a Well of his own, and to restrain him altogether from the River *Nilus*; not because they hold the Water for polluted, by reason of the *Crocodile*, as some suppose (for there is nothing in the World in † more esteem with the *Ægyptians* than the *Nilus*) but because the Water of the *Nile* being drunk, is observed to be very feeding, and above all others, to conduce to the Increase of Flesh. For they would not have the *Apis*, nor themselves neither, to be over fat; but that their Bodies should sit light and easie about their Souls, and not press and squeeze them down by a Mortal Part over-powering and weighing down the Divine. They also that at the || *Sun-Town* wait upon that God, never bring Wine into his Temple; they looking upon it as a thing indecent and unfitting to drink by Day-light, while their Lord and King looks on. The rest of them do indeed use it, but very sparingly. They have likewise many * Purgations, wherein they prohibit the use of Wine, in which they study Philosophy, and pass their Time in learning and teaching Things Divine. Moreover their Kings (being Priests also themselves) were wont to drink it by a certain Measure prescribed them in the *Sacred Books*, as *Hecatæus* informs us. And they began first to drink it in the Reign of King † *Psammeticus*; but before that time they were not used to drink

Wine

* A Bull in the Temple at *Memphis* devoted to the Sun by the Name of *Api* or *Ophi*, that is, *Father*.

† *Aquam colunt, aquam venerantur*, &c. Saith *Julius Firmicus*. *De Errore Profan. Relig.* Ὦ Αἰγύπτιε Ζεῦ Νεῖλε, saith a certain Poet.

|| *Heliopolis*.

* These answered to our Fasts.

† This *Psammeticus* was the first that reduced the ancient Aristocracy of *Ægypt* into a Monarchy, by the help of a foreign Army; see *Herodot*.

Wine at all, no nor to pour it forth in Sacrifice as a thing they thought any way grateful to the Gods, but as the Blood of * thoſe who in ancient Times waged War againſt the Gods, from whom falling down from Heaven, and mixing with the Earth, they conceived Vines to have firſt ſprung; which is the reaſon (ſay they) that Drunkenneſs renders Men beſides themſelves and mad, they being, as it were, gorged with the Blood of their Anceſtors. Theſe things (as *Eudoxus* tells us, in the Second Book of his Travels) are thus related by the Preiſts. As to Sea-fiſh, they do not all of them abſtain from all, but ſome from one ſort, and ſome from another. As for Example, the *Oxyrynchites*, from ſuch as are catch'd with the Angle and Hook; for having the Fiſh called *Oxyrynchus* (that is, the *Pike*) in great Veneration, they are afraid, leaſt the Hook ſhould chance to catch hold of it, and by that means become polluted. They of *Syene* alſo abſtain from the *Phagrus* (or *Sea-bream*) becauſe it is obſerved to appear with the approaching Overflow of the *Nile*, and to preſent it ſelf a voluntary Meſſenger of the joyful News of its Increaſe. But the Prieſts abſtain from all in general. But on the ninth Day of the firſt Month, when every other *Ægyptian* eats a † *Fry'd Fiſh* before the outer Door of his Houſe, the Prieſts do not eat any Fiſh, but || only burn them before their Doors. For which they have two Reaſons, the one whereof being Sacred and very curious,

* The Giants were in all probability, the tall Drunken *Scythians*, who pillaged their Temples, and pulled down their Gods. For theſe had an Empire over all *Aſia*, in the moſt ancient Times. *Per mille & quingentos annos*, as *Trogus Pompejus* relates.

† The *Ægyptian Paſche*.

|| [illegible] Clements.

I ſhall reſume by and by (it agreeing wi the pious Reaſonings we ſhall make upo *Oſiris* and *Typhon*) the other is a very manifeſt and obvious one, which * by declaring Fiſh not to be either a neceſſary or a curious ſort of Food, greatly confirms *Homer*, who never makes either the dainty *Pheacks* or the *Ithakeſes* (though both Iſlanders) to make uſe of Fiſh; no, nor the Companions of *Ulyſſes* neither, in ſo long a Voyage at Sea, until they came to the laſt Extremity of Want.. In ſhort, they reckon the Sea it ſelf to be made of † *Fire*, and to lye out of Natures Confines, and not to be a Part of the World, or an Element, but a preternatural, corrupt and morbid Excrement. For nothing hath been ranked among their Sacred and Religious Rites that ſavoured of Folly, Romance or Superſtition, as ſome do ſuppoſe; but were ſome of them ſuch as contained ſome ſignification of Morality and Utility; and others, ſuch as were not without a Fineneſs, either in Hiſtory or Natural Philoſophy. As for inſtance, in what refers to the Onyons: For that ‖ *Dictys* the Foſter Father of *Iſis*, as he was reaching at a Handful of Onyons, fell into the River, and was there drowned, is extreamly improbable. But the true Reaſon why the Prieſts abhor, deteſt and avoid the Onyon, is becauſe it is the only Plant, whoſe Nature it is to grow and ſpread forth in the * Wane of the Moon. Beſides, it is no proper Food, either for ſuch as would practiſe Abſtinence and uſe Purgation, or for

* I read ἀποφαίνων for ἀποφαίνων.

† *Fire* was the *Ægyptian* Devil and the *Perſian* God.

‖ The two Hunting Deities, *Apollo* and *Diana*, have the Names of *Dictys* and *Dictynna* from Δίκτυον, a Net.

* It is therefore *Typhonian* and an Enemy to the Goddeſs.

for ſuch as would obſerve the Feſtivals: For the former, becauſe it cauſeth Thirſt; and for the later, becauſe it forceth Tears from thoſe that eat it. They likewiſe eſteem the Swine, as an unhallowed Animal, becauſe it is obſerved to be moſt apt to engender in the * Wane of the Moon; and becauſe that ſuch as drink its Milk have a Leproſie and Scabby Roughneſs in their Bodies. But the Story which they that ſacrifice a Swine at every full Moon are wont to ſubjoin after their eating of it; how that *Typhon* being once about the full of the Moon in purſuit of a certain Swine, found by chance the wooden Cheſt, wherein lay the Body of *Oſiris*, and overthrew it, is not received by all, but looked upon as a † Miſ-repreſented Story, as a great many more ſuch are. They tell us moreover that the Antients did ſo much expoſe Delicacy, Sumptuouſneſs and a ſoft and effeminate way of Living, that they erected a Pillar in the Temple at *Thebes* having engraven upon it ſeveral grievous Curſes againſt King ‖ *Meinis*, who (as they tell us) was the firſt that brought off the *Ægyptians* from a Mean, Wealthleſs and ſimple Way of Living. There goes alſo another Story, how that *Technatis*, Father to * *Bocchoris*, commanding an Army againſt the *Arabians*, and his Baggage and Proviſions not coming in as ſoon as was expected, heartily fed upon ſuch things as he could next light on, and afterwards had a ſound Sleep upon a Pallet, whereupon he fell greatly in Love with a poor and mean Life: And that for this reaſon he curſed * *Meinis*, and that with the Conſent of all the Prieſts, and carved that Curſe upon a Pillar. But their Kings (you muſt know) were always declared, either out of the Prieſthood or Soldiery, the latter having a Right of Primogeniture, by reaſon of their Military Valour, and the † former, by reaſon of their Wiſdom. But he that was choſen out of the Soldiery, was obliged imediately to turn Prieſt, and was thereupon admitted to the Participation of their Philoſophy; whoſe Genius it was to conceal the greater Part in Tales and Romantic Relations, containing dark Hints and Reſemblances of Truth, which it's plain that even themſelves would inſinuate to us, while they are ſo kind as to ſet up *Sphinxes* before their Temples, to intimate that their Theology, contained in it an Ænigmatical Sort of Learning. Moreover, the Temple of ‖ *Minerva*, which is at *Sais* (whom they look upon as the ſame with *Iſis*) had upon it this Inſcription:- * *I am whatever was, or is, or will be, and my Petty-Coat no Mortal ever took up.* Beſides, we find the greater Part to be of Opinion, that the proper Name of *Jupiter* in the *Ægyptian* Tongue, is *Amûn* (from which we have derived our Word *Ammon*:) But now *Manethos* the *Sebennite*, thinks this Word ſignifies † *Hidden* and *Hiding*; but *Hecatæus* of *Abdera*, ſaith, the *Ægyptians* uſe this Word when they call any Body; for that it is a Term of Calling. Which if it be true, they muſt

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* This was ſufficient to prove it *Typhonian* or Diabolick.

† For παρακουσμάτων, I read with *Xylander* παρακουσμάτων *Oſiris's* Cheſt, or rather Boat is the Creſcent, and it is overturned by becoming Decreſcent.

‖ *Meinis* was the *Deus Lunus*, or the Sun in the Moon, and ſo the ſame with *Oſiris*. *Iſaias* calls him *Meni*.

* So I read for *Beccboris* with *Xylander* and *Petavius's* Copy.

* For *Menis*, I read *Meins*. *Jamblicus* blames the *Ægyptians* for ſcolding at their Gods.

† The *Ægyptian* Prieſts were Hereditary like the *Jewiſh*; but the *Jews* had no Third Eſtate of Ruſticks or Villains. All were free.

‖ She is called *Sai* in *Ægyptian*, which ſignifies a *Ewe*, ſhe being Sacred to her.

* That is, *I am the Mother of all things corruptible, and the Sun is my Husband.*

† *Amen* in the *Coptick*, ſignifies to *Receive* and *Embrace*, and in *Hebrew*, *Amen* is to *Foſter*, whence *Amen* a *Foſter* or *Father*: the *Phrygians* called the Moon *Amma*, *Mother* or *Nurſe*.

must be of the Opinion that the first God is the same with the Universe: and therefore while they invoke him who is unmanifest and hidden, and pray him to make himself manifest and known to them, they cry *Amûn*. So great therefore was the Piety of the *Ægyptians* Philosophy about Things Divine: Which is also confirmed by the most Learned of the *Greeks* * (such as *Solon*, *Thales*, *Plato*, *Eudoxus*, and as some say, even *Lycurgus's*) going to *Ægypt*, and conversing with the Priests. Of which, * they say *Eudoxus* was a Hearer of *Chonuphis* of *Memphis*, *Solon* of *Sonchis* of *Sais*, and *Pythagoras* of *Oenuphis* of *Heliopolis*: Whereof the last named, being (as is probable) more than ordinarily admired by the Men, and they also by him, imitated their Symbolical and Mysterious way of Talking, obscuring his Sentiments with dark Riddles. For the greatest part of the *Pythagoric* Precepts, fall nothing short of those Sacred Writings they call *Hieroglyphical*, such as, † *Do not eat in a Chariot.* ‖ *Do not sit on a Chœnix* (or *Measure*) * *Plant not a Palm-Tree*: † *Stir not Fire with a Knife within the House.* And I verily believe, that their terming the Unite *Apollo*, the Number Two *Diana*, the Number Seven *Minerva*, and the first Cube *Neptune*, refer to the Statues set up in their Temples, and to things there acted, and painted too by Jove. For they represent their King and Lord ‖ *Osiris*, by an *Eye* and a *Scepter*; (there are some also that interpret his Name by *Manyeyed*, as if *Os* in the *Ægyptian* Tongue,

* I read *φασὶ* for *φησὶ*.

† That is, *Do not satisfie your self with bodily Pleasures.*

‖ *Neglect not the Future.*

* *Fortune cannot be caught.*

† *Oppose Temper to Passion.*

‖ The Coptic of [illegible] is the same with the Greek [illegible], i.e. The *Sire* or *Lord*, with which [illegible] [illegible] it means the *Sun*.

Tongue, ſignified *Many*, and *Iri* an *Eye*.) And the Heaven, becauſe by reaſon of its Eternity it never grows old, they repreſent by *a Heart*, * *with a Cenſer under it.* There were alſo Statues of Judges erected at *Thebes*, having no Hands, and the Chief of them had alſo his Eyes cloſed up, hereby ſignifying, that among them Juſtice was not to be ſolicited with either Bribery or Addreſs. Moreover, the Men of the Sword had a Beetle carved upon their Signets, becauſe there is no ſuch thing as a Female Beetle, for they are all Males, and they generate their Young by forming certain round † Pellets of Dirt, being herein as well Providers of the Place in which they are to be engendred, as of the Matter of their Nutrition. When therefore you hear the Tales which the *Ægyptians* relate about the Gods, ſuch as their Wanderings, Diſcerptions, and ſuch like ‖ Diſaſters that befel them, you are ſtill to remember that none of theſe things are told as things that had been really ſo acted and done. For they do'nt call the Dog *Hermes* properly, *but only* * *attribute* (as *Plato* ſpeaks) *the Warding, Vigilancy and Acuteneſs of that Animal, which by Knowing or* † *not Knowing, Diſtinguiſhes betwixt its Friend and its Foe, to the most knowing and ingenious of the Gods.* Nor do they believe that the Sun ſprings up a little Boy from the top of the Plant called ‖ *Lotus:* but they thus ſet forth his Riſing to inſinuate his Reaſcenſion by Humid. Beſides that moſt ſalvage and horrible King of the *Perſians*, named *Ochus*, who when

* For θυμιὸν ἐσχάρας I read θυμιάτης, and a little before τοῦ μὲν for τὸ μὲν, and φρίζοντος for φρίζοντας.

† The Beetle was Sacred to the Sun for engendring on the Earth: thus Souldiers were the firſt Planters and Parents of Countries.

‖ I read παθήματα for μαθήματα.

* For προσοικοῦσιν, I read προσοικειοῦσιν.

† For ἀγνοίας, I read ἀγνοίᾳ.

‖ The Bloſſom of the *Lotus* opens and ſhuts with the Sun, and grows in and about the *Nile*.

when he had maſſacred abundance of People, afterwards ſlaughtered the *Apis*, and feaſted upon him both himſelf and his Retinue, they called the *Sword*, and they call him ſo to this very Day in their Table of Kings, hereby not denoting properly his Perſon, but reſembling by this Inſtrument of Murther, the Severity and Miſchievouſneſs of his Diſpoſition. When therefore you thus hear the Stories of the Gods from ſuch as * interpret them with Conſiſtency to Piety and Philoſophy, and obſerve and practice thoſe Rites that are by Law eſtabliſhed, and are perſwaded in your Minds that you cannot poſſibly, either offer or perform a more agreeable thing to the Gods, than the entertaining of a right Notion of them, you will then avoid Superſtition as a no leſs Evil than Atheiſm it ſelf. The Story therefore is † thus told, after the moſt conciſe manner, the moſt uſeleſs and unneceſſary parts being cut off. They tell us, how that once on a time, *Rhea* having accompanied with *Saturn* by ſtealth, the || *Sun* found them out, and pronounced a ſolemn Curſe againſt her, containing that ſhe ſhould not be delivered in any Month or Year: But that *Hermes*, afterwards making his Court to the Goddeſs, obtained her Favour, in requital of which, he went and play'd at Dice with the Moon, and won of her the ſeventieth Part from each of her Illuminations, and out of all theſe made five new Days, which he added to the three hundred and ſixty other Days of the Year,

* The Rites and Opinions of the more ancient and barbarous Ages have been prudently allegorised in after Times, that ſo Vertue might be introduced without too much Innovation.

† For ἔνοι, I read ὅπως.

|| The moſt antient *Ægyptians* ſeem to have agreed with the *Perſians* in worſhiping none but the Sun; and the other Gods to have been introduced by Superſtitious Innovators and wanton Sects.

Year, which the Ægyptians therefore to this Day call the *Epagomenæ* (or the *Superadded Days*) and they obſerve them as the Birth Days of their Gods. Upon the firſt of theſe they ſay *Oſiris* was born, and that a Voice came into the World * with him, ſaying, *The Lord of all things is now born*. There are others that affirm that one *Pamyles*, as he was † fetching Water at *Thebes*, heard a Voice out of the Temple of *Jupiter*, bidding him to publiſh with a loud Voice, *That* Oſiris *the Great and Good was now born.* And that he thereupon got to be Foſter Father to *Oſiris*, *Saturn* ‖ entruſting him with the Charge of him; and that the Feaſt called *Pamylia* (reſembling the *Priapejan* Proceſſion, which the *Greeks* call *Phallephoria*) was inſtituted in Honour of him. Upon the ſecond Day *Aruerис* was born, whom ſome call *Apollo*, and others the *Elder Orus*. Upon the third *Typhon* was born, who came not into the World either in due Time, or by the right Way, but broke a Hole in his Mothers Side, and leap'd out at the Wound. Upon the fourth *Iſis* was born in the Fens; and upon the Fifth *Nephthys*, whom they ſometimes call the *End*, and ſometimes *Venus*, and ſometimes alſo *Victory*. Of theſe they ſay *Oſiris* and *Aruerис* were * begot by the *Sun*, *Iſis* by *Hermes*, and *Typhon* and *Nephthys* by *Saturn*. For which reaſon, their Kings looking upon the third of the *Epagomenæ* as an inauſpicious Day, did no Buſineſs upon it, nor took any care of their Bodies until the Evening. They ſay

* For τυχθέντι, I read τεχθέντι.

† For ὑδρευομένην, I read ὑδρευόμενον.

‖ I read ἐγχειρίσαντος for ἐγχειρήσαντος.

* I ſuppoſe becauſe of the Similitude of their Rites and Worſhip.

ſay alſo that *Nephthys* was * married unto *Typhon*, and that *Iſis* and *Oſiris* were in Love with one another before they were born, and enjoyed each other † in the Dark before they came into the World. Some add alſo, that || *Arueris* was thus begotten, and that he was called by the *Ægyptians* the *Elder Orus*, and by the *Greeks* *Apollo*. And they ſay that *Oſiris*, when he was King of *Ægypt*, drew them off from a Beggarly and Beſtial Way of Living, by ſhewing them the Uſe of Grain, and by making them Laws, and teaching them to honour the Gods. And that afterwards he travelled all the World over, and made it Civil, having but little need of Arms, for that he drew the moſt to him, alluring them by Perſwaſion and Oratory, intermixed with all ſorts of Poetry and Muſick: whence it is, that the *Greeks* look upon him as the very ſame with * *Bacchus*. They further add, that *Typhon*, while he was from Home, attempted nothing againſt him; for that *Iſis* was very watchful, and guarded her ſelf cloſely from him. But that when he came Home, he formed a Plot againſt him, † taking ſeventy two Men for Accomplices of his Conſpiracy, and being alſo abetted by a certain Queen of *Æthiopia*, whoſe Name they ſay was *Aſo*. Having therefore privately taken the Meaſure of *Oſiris*'s Body,

and

* I read γαμᾶσθαι for τιμᾶσθαι with *Xylander*.

† The Sun communicates his Light to the Moon in the lower Hemiſphere.

|| *Arueris*, in *Hebrew Aroer*, i. e. *The Watch-man*, and [illegible] in *Coptic*, is the *Seer*, *Prophet*, or *King*, as *Roe* in *Hebrew*.

* The moſt ancient Forms of Government, as well as of Times, Dances and Temples, were but Imitations of what was obſerved in the Heavens.

† The ſupreme Judicatures of *Ægypt* conſiſted of LXXII, which were as it were the XXXVI. *Decani* of the Superior World, joined with the XXXVI. *Nomarchies* of *Ægypt*, or the Inferior World, by way of Repreſentation.

and framed a curious Ark, very finely beautified, and juſt of the Size of his Body, he brought it to a certain Banquet. And as all were wonderfully delighted with ſo rare a Sight, and admired it greatly; *Typhon*, in a ſporting manner, promiſed, that whichſoever of the Company, ſhould, by lying in it, find it to be of the Size of his Body, ſhould have it for a Preſent. And as every one of them was forward to try, and none fitted it, * *Oſiris* at laſt got into it himſelf, and lay along in it; whereupon they that were there preſent, immediately ran to it and clapt down the Cover upon it, and when they had faſtned it down with Nails, and ſodered it with † melted Lead, they carried it forth to the River ſide, and let it ſwim into the Sea at the ‖ *Tanaitick* Mouth, which the *Ægyptians* therefore to this Day abominate, and ſpit at the very Naming of it. Theſe things happened (as they ſay) upon the ſeventeenth of the Month *Athyr*, when the Sun enters into the *Scorpion*, and * that was upon the eight and twentieth Year of the Reign of *Oſiris*. But there are ſome that ſay that was the time of his Life, and not of his Reign. And becauſe the *Pans* and *Satyrs* that inhabited the Region about † *Chemmis*, were the firſt that knew of this Diſaſter, and raiſed the ‖ Report of it among the People, all ſudden Frights and Diſcompoſures among the People, have been ever ſince called *Panic Fears*. But when *Iſis* heard of it, ſhe cut off in that very Place, a Lock of her Hair, and put

* That is, the Sun into the Moon.

† For θερμοῦ μολύβδου, I read θερμὸν μόλυβδον.

‖ So named from *Tanaus* King of the *Scythians* mentioned by *Trogus Pompejus*, as the firſt Invader of *Ægypt*. He ſeems to me to be the ſame with *Typhon* (for *Ezechiel* calls this very Place *Taphnis*) but Hieroglyphycally expreſſed.

* For αὐτῷ I read ἐκεῖνο.

† I read Χέμμιν for Χέννιν with *Xylander*.

‖ For λόγων, I read λόγον.

put on a Mourning Weed, where there is a Town at this Day named *Coptos* (which is * *Mourning*;) others think that Name ſignifies *Bereiving*, for that ſome uſe the Word *Coptein* for *Depriving*. And as ſhe wandered up and down † in all Places, being deeply perplext in her Thoughts, and left no one ſhe met withal unſpoken to, ſhe met at laſt with certain little Children, of whom alſo ſhe enquired about the *Ark*. ‖ Now theſe had chanced to ſee all that had paſſed, and they named to her the very Mouth of the *Nile*, by which * *Typhons* Accomplices had ſent the Veſſel into the Sea: For which reaſon the *Ægyptians* account little Children to have a Faculty of Divination, and uſe more eſpecially to lay hold on their *Omens* when they play in Sacred Places, or chance to ſay any thing there, whatever it be. And finding afterwards that *Oſiris* had made his Court to her Siſter, and through Miſtake enjoyed her inſtead of her ſelf, for Token of which, ſhe had found the † Melilot Garland which he had left hard by *Nephthys*, ſhe went to ſeek for the Child (for her Siſter had immediately ‖ expoſed it as ſoon as ſhe was delivered of it, for fear of her Husband *Typhon*.) And when, with great Difficulty and Labour, ſhe had found it, by means of certain Dogs which conducted her to it, ſhe brought it up, and he afterwards became her Guards-man and Follower, being named * *Anubis*, and

* From *Caphta*, which is *Syriac* for a *Blow with the Hand*, and not from the *Greek* κόπτειν. This Place is called *Caphtor* in the Bible.

† I read πάντῃ for πάντοι.

‖ For τὰ δ' ἐντυχεῖν, I read τὰ δὲ τυχεῖν.

* *Typhon* in *Coptic*, ſignifies *the Serpent*, a Hieroglyphic for an *Enemy*, whether Man or *Dæmon*.

† For μελιλωτὸν I read μελιλώτινον, with *Xylander*.

‖ I add ἐκθεῖναι after τεκεῖν with *Xylander*.

* *Anubis* or [illegible] was the Inſeparable Companion of *Eros*, or *Winged Cupid*. The Word ſignifies *Winged* and *Child*, both which refer to the *Sun*, which was the antient *Mercury*.

reported to guard the Gods as Dogs do Men. Of him ſhe had Tidings of the Ark, how it had been thrown out by the Sea upon the Coaſts of *Byblus*, and the Flood had gently entangled it in a certain Thicket of Heath (or *Tamarisk*) And this Heath had in a very ſmall time run up into a moſt beauteous and large Tree, and had wrought it ſelf about it, clung to it, and quite incloſed it within its Trunk. Upon which, the King of that Place much admiring at the unuſual bigneſs of the Plant, and cropping off the buſhy Part that encompaſſed the now inviſible Cheſt, made of it a Poſt to ſupport the Roof of his Houſe. Theſe things (as they tell us) *Iſis* being informed of by the Dæmonial Breath of a * Voice, went her ſelf to *Byblus*; where, when ſhe was come, ſhe ſate her down hard by a Well very penſive and full of Tears, inſomuch that ſhe refuſed to ſpeak to any Perſon, ſave only to the Queens Women, whom ſhe complemented and careſſed at an extraordinary rate, and would often ſtroak back their Hair with her Hands, and withal, tranſmit a moſt wonderful fragrant Smell out of her Body into theirs. † The Queen perceiving that her Womens Bodies and Hair thus breathed of *Ambroſia*, greatly longed to become acquainted with this new Stranger. Upon this, ſhe being ſent for, and becoming very intimate with her, was at laſt made Nurſe to her Child. Now the Name of this King (they tell us) was

* *Dæmons*, when ſeen, are called Spirits, and when only heard κλ-[illegible] and φή-μαι, i. e. *Words* and *Voices*.

† Theſe Stories were the popular Sermons of later Prieſts and Expoſitors of ancient Rites.

was ‖ *Malcarthus*, and the Queen, ſome ſay, was called * *Aſtarte*, and ſome *Saoſis*, and others *Nemanus* (which in *Greek* is as much as to ſay *Athenis* or *Pallas*). But *Iſis* nurſed the Child by putting her Finger into his Mouth inſtead of the Breaſt, and in the Night time, ſhe would, by a kind of lambent Fire, ſinge away what was mortal about him. In the mean while, her ſelf would be turned to a Swallow, and in that Form would fly round about the Poſt, bemoaning her Miſfortune and ſad Fate; until at laſt, the Queen, who ſtood watching hard by, cryed out aloud, as ſhe ſaw her Child all on a light Flame, and ſo robbed him of Immortality. Upon which, the Goddeſs diſcovered her ſelf, and begged the Poſt that held up the Roof. Which when ſhe had obtained and taken down, ſhe very quickly cropt off the buſhy Heath from about it, and † wrapping the Trunk in fine Linen, and pouring perfumed Oyl upon it, ſhe put it into the Hands of their Kings, and therefore the *Byblians* to this very Day, worſhip that Piece of Wood, laying it up in the Temple of *Iſis*. Then ſhe threw her ſelf down upon the Cheſt, and her Lamentations were ſo loud, that the younger of the Kings two Sons dyed for very Fear; but ſhe having the elder in her own Poſſeſſion, took both it and the Ark and carried them on Shipboard, and ſo took Sail. But the River *Phaedrus* * ſending forth a very keen and chill Air, it being the Dawning of the Morn, ſhe grew

‖ For μάλκανδρος, I read μάλκαρθος, and, * Ἀςάρτην for Ἀσάρτην.

† The moſt antique ſort of Statues were Pillars, Poſts and [illegible]

‖ Theſe ſeem to have been the ſame with the *Greeks* [illegible]

* For [illegible], I read with the *Aldine* Edition, [illegible]

incenſed at it, and dryed up its Current. And in the firſt Place where ſhe could take reſt, and found her ſelf to be now at liberty and alone, ſhe opened the Ark, and laid her Cheeks upon the Cheeks of *Oſiris*, and embraced him and wept bitterly. The little Boy ſeeing her, came ſilently behind her, and peeping, ſaw what it was, which ſhe perceiving, caſt a terrible Look upon him in the height of her Paſſion, the Fright whereof the Child not enduring, † immediately died. But there are ſome that ſay it was not ſo, but that, ‖ in the forementioned manner, he dropped into the Sea, and was there drowned. And he hath Divine Honours given him to this very Day upon the Goddeſſes account; for they aſſure us, that * *Maneros*, whom the *Ægyptians* ſo often mention in their Caroles at their Banquets, is the very ſame. But others ſay the Boy was named † *Palæſtinus*, or *Peluſius*, and that the City of that Name was ſo called from him, it having been built by the Goddeſs. They alſo relate, that this *Maneros*, ſo often ſpoken of in their Songs, was the firſt that invented Muſic. But ſome there are, that would make us believe, that *Maneros* was not the Name of any Perſon, but a certain Form of Speech made uſe of to People in Drinking and entertaining themſelves at Feaſts, ‖ by way of wiſhing that things of that Nature might prove auſpicious and agreeable to them; * for that that is the Thing which the *Ægyptians* would expreſs by the Word

† It is dangerous for the Vulgar to pry too far into Sacred things.

‖ For ὡς, I read ἂν.

* *Maneros*, i.e. *The Moon-King* was the ſame with *Oſiris* and *Attis Monogenes*.

† This is only to hint to us that the *Palæſtines* were originally *Peluſians*, with whom they agreed in their Religious Rites and Opinions; and that is confirmed by the Scripture.

‖ I insert ἵνα before αἴσιμα.

* For τούτῳ, I read τοῦτο.

Maneros, when they ſo often roar it forth. In like manner they affirm that the likeneſs of a dead Man, which is carried about in a little Boat and ſhewed to them, is not to commemorate the Diſaſter of *Oſiris*, as ſome ſuppoſe, but was deſigned to encourage Men to make uſe of, and enjoy the preſent Things while they have them, ſince all Men muſt quickly become ſuch as they there ſee; for which reaſon, they bring him into their Revels and Feaſts. But when *Iſis* came to her Son *Orus*, who was then at Nurſe at *Butos*, and had laid the Cheſt out of the way, *Typhon*, as he was Hunting by Moonlight, by chance light upon it, and knowing the Body again, tore it into † fourteen Parts, and threw them all about. Which when *Iſis* had heard, ſhe went to look for them again in a certain Barge made of the Bull-ruſh called *Papyrus*, in which ſhe ſailed over all the Fens. Whence (they tell us) it comes to paſs that ſuch as go in Boats made of this Ruſh, are never injured by the Crocodiles, they having either a || Fear, or elſe a Veneration for it, upon the account of the Goddeſs *Iſis*. And this (they ſay) hath occaſioned the Report that there are many Sepulchres of *Oſiris* in *Ægypt*, becauſe ſhe made a particular Funeral for each Member as ſhe found them. There are others that tell us it was not ſo, but that ſhe made ſeveral Effigieſes of him, and ſent them to every City, taking on her, as if ſhe had ſent them his Body, that ſo the greater Num-

† Theſe Fourteen parts plainly refer to the Fourteen days of the Wane of the Moon, which ſhews the Ark to be the Creſcent.

|| The truth was, that it ſtuck in their Teeth.

Number of People might pay Divine Honours to him; and withal, that if it should chance that *Typhon* should get the better of *Orus*, and thereupon search for the Body of *Osiris*, many being discoursed of and ſhewed him, he might deſpair of ever finding the right one. But of all *Oſiris*'s Members, *Iſis* could never find out his Private Part, for it had been preſently flung into the * River *Nilus*, and the *Carp*, *Sea-breame* and *Pike* eating of it, were for that reaſon † more ſcrupulouſly avoided by them than any other Fiſh. But *Iſis*, in lieu of it, made its Effigies, and ſo conſecrated the *Phallus*, (it being a Reſemblance of it) for which the Ægyptians, to this Day, obſerve a ‖ Feſtival. After this, *Oſiris* coming out of Hell to aſſiſt his Son *Orus*, firſt * laboured and trained him up in the Diſcipline of War, and then queſtioned him what he thought to be the gallanteſt thing a Man could do; to which he ſoon reply'd, to avenge one's Father and Mothers Quarrel when they ſuffer Injury. He asked him a ſecond time, what Animal he eſteemed moſt uſeful to ſuch as would go to Battle: † one told him a Horſe; to which he ſaid, that he wondred much at his Anſwer, and could not imagine why he did not rather name a Lyon than a Horſe. *Orus* replied, that a Lyon might indeed be very ſerviceable to one that needed Help, but a Horſe would ſerve beſt to cut off and diſperſe a flying Enemy. Which when *Oſiris* heard, he was very much pleaſed with

him,

* Therefore called *the Efflux of* Oſiris.

† For ὡς ἧς, I read ἧς ὡς.

‖ The [illegible]

* I read with *Petavius's* Copy, [illegible] for [illegible]

† *Orus* in *Coptick* ουρο, i. e. the King, whence *Pouro* or *Pharao* in the ſame Senſe: he was the ſame with *Oſiris*, but of a later Foundation, therefore called his Son, as *Apollo* was *Jupiters*.

him, looking upon him now as ſufficiently inſtructed for a Souldier. It is reported likewiſe, that as a great many went over dayly unto *Orus*, *Typhon*'s own Concubine, ‖ *Thueris* deſerted alſo; but that a certain Serpent purſuing her cloſe at the Heels, was cut in pieces by *Orus*'s Men and that for that reaſon they ſtill fling a certain Cord into the midſt of the Room, and then chop it to pieces. The Battle therefore continued for ſeveral Days, and *Orus* at laſt prevailed; but *Iſis*, although ſhe had *Typhon* delivered up to her faſt bound, yet would not put him to Death, but contrariwiſe looſed him and let him go. Which when *Orus* perceived, he could not brook it with any Patience, but laid violent Hands upon his Mother, and plucked the Royal Diadem from off her Head. But *Hermes* preſently ſtep'd in and clapped a Cows * Head upon her inſtead of a Helmet. Likewiſe when *Typhon* impeached *Orus* for being a Baſtard, *Hermes* became his Advocate, and *Orus* was judged Legitimate by all the Gods. After this, they ſay that *Typhon* was worſted in two ſeveral Battles. *Iſis* had alſo by *Oſiris*, who accompanied with her after her Deceaſe, † *Harpocrates*, who came into the World before his Time, and was Lame in his lower Parts. Theſe then are moſt of the Heads of this Fabular Narration, the more harſh and courſe Parts (ſuch as the Diſmembring of *Orus*, and the Beheading of *Iſis*) being taken out. ‖ If therefore they ſay and believe ſuch things as theſe

‖ I know not whether ſhe be the ſame with *Joſephus*'s *Tharvis*, which he makes to be *Moſes*'s Miſtreſs. *Tharui* in *Coptick* ſignifies Queen; ſhe was a little before called *Aſo*. i.e. *Puiſſant*. I take her to be the Moon.

* The Horns of the New Moon.

† *Harpocrates*, i.e. The Lord of the *Harpyes* or *Storms*; he is the Sun in the Winter Quarter.

‖ Theſe Stories (however ſince refin'd upon) were literally believed in the more ancient and ruder Times.

these of the Bleſſed and incorruptible Nature (which is the beſt Conception we can have of Divinity) as really thus done and happening to it, I need not tell you * that you ought to ſpit, and (as *Æſchylus* ſpeaks) *to make clean your Mouth* at the mentioning of them: for you are ſufficiently averſe of your ſelf, to ſuch as entertain ſuch wicked and barbarous Sentiments concerning the Gods. And yet that theſe Relations are nothing a Kin to thoſe Foppiſh Tales, and vain Fictions which Poets and Story-tellers are wont, like Spiders, to ſpin out of their own Bowels † without any ſubſtantial Ground or Foundation for them, and then Weave and Wire-draw them out at their own Pleaſures; but contain in them certain abſtruſe Queſtions and Rehearſals of Events, ‖ you your ſelf, are, I ſuppoſe, convinced. And as Mathematicians do aſſert, the Rain-bow to be an Appearance of the Sun, ſo variegated by the diſtance of the Sight in ſuch a Poſition with the Cloud; ſo likewiſe the Fable here related, is the Appearance of a certain Way of Reaſoning, refracting its Meaning upon ſome other Matters, as is plainly ſuggeſted to us, as well by the Sacrifices themſelves, in which there appears ſomething lamentable and very ſad, as by the Forms and Makes of their Temples, which ſometimes run out themſelves into lofty Pinnacles, and into open and airy * Circles; and at other times again, have under Ground certain private Cells, reſembling *Thebean* Vaults, and dark Oratories; and this

* For δεῖ, I read δεῖν.

† For ἀπαρχὰς ἀνυποθέτους, I read ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς ἀνυποθέτως.

‖ To αὐτῇ, I add οἴομαι δηλοῦν.

* Δρόμοι, or Races: the *Olympick* and other Games were at first invented in Honour of the Suns Motion.

this is not the leaſt hinted to us by the Opinion received about thoſe of *Oſiris*; becauſe his Body is ſaid to be interred in ſo many different Places. Though it may be they will tell you that ſome one Town, ſuch as *Abydos* or *Memphis* is named for the Place where his true Body lies, and that the moſt powerful and wealthy among the *Ægyptians* are moſt ambitious to be buried at † *Abydos*, that ſo they may be near the Body of their God *Oſiris*; and that the *Apis* is fed at *Memphis*, becauſe he is the || Image of his Soul, where alſo they will have it that his Body is interred. Some alſo interpret the Name of this City to ſignifie *The Haven of Good Things*, and others, * *The Tomb of* Oſiris. They add that the little Iſland called *Niſtitane*, which ſtands in the River over againſt the City Gates, is at other times inacceſſible, and not to be approached to by any Man, and that the very Birds dare not venture to fly over it, nor the Fiſh to touch upon its Banks; yet upon a certain ſet time, the Prieſts go over into it, and there perform the accuſtomed Rites for the Dead, and crown his Tomb, which ſtands there ſhaded over by a † Citron Tree, which exceeds any Olive in bigneſs. But *Eudoxus* ſaith, that though there be in *Ægypt* many Tombs reported to be his, yet his true Body lies at || *Buſiris*, for that that was the Place of his Birth. Neither can there be any room for Diſpute about *Taphoſiris*, for that its very Name beſpeaks it; * *Oſiris's Tomb*. He alſo commends their

† cleaving

† Some reduce it to the *Hebrew Abaddon*.

|| That is, he is one of the chief Creatures of the Sun.

* *Amenophi* in *Coptick*, is the *Receptacle* of *Apis*, and the Name of *Memphis*: it's called in the Bible *Noph*.

† For *μαθίδης*, or as *Petavius*'s Copy has it, *μηδίθης*, I read *μηδικῆς*.

|| Πουσίρις, in *Coptic* ſignifies *Lord Oſiris*.

* The Name is not *Greek* but *Coptic*, and ſignifies *Lord* Oſiris's *Gift*.

† cleaving of a Tree, their peeling of the and the Wine Libations then made by them, becauſe many of their ſecret Myſteries are therein contained. And it is not theſe Gods only, but all others alſo, that are not ungotten and incorruptible, that the Prieſts pretend that their Bodies lye buried with them, and are by them ſerved; but their ‖ Souls are Stars ſhining in Heaven; and that the Soul of *Iſis* is by the *Greeks* called the *Dog*, but by the *Ægyptians Sothis*; and * that of *Orus Orion*, and that of *Typhon* the *Bear*. They alſo tell us, that towards the Pourtraying of the Animals honoured by them, all others pay the Proportion aſſigned them by the Laws, but that thoſe that inhabit the Country of *Thebais*, are the only Men that refuſe to contribute any thing, becauſe they believe no Mortal God, but him only whom they call ‡ *Cneph*, who is ungotten and immortal. They therefore who ſuppoſe that, becauſe many things of this ſort are both related and ſhown unto Travellers, they are but ſo many Commemorations of the Actions and Diſaſters of mighty Kings and Tyrants, who by reaſon of their Eminent Valour or Puiſſance, wrote the Title of Divinity upon their Fame, and afterwards fell into great Calamities and Misfortunes; theſe, I ſay, make uſe of the moſt ready Way of eluding the Story, and plauſibly enough remove things of harſh and uncouth ſound from Gods to Men: Nay, I will add this farther, that the Arguments they uſe, are

fair-

† This they did to make him an Ark or Boat for his Burial.

‖ The *Ægyptians* believed that all eminent Perſons were made Stars when they died; ſee *Herodotus*.

* For [illegible] [illegible], I read [illegible].

‡ Thoſe of *Thebais* did like the *Perſians*, reduce their Superior God to the Light or Spirit of the Univerſe.

fairly enough deduced from the things themſelves related. For the *Ægyptians* recount, that *Hermes* was, in regard to the Make of his Body, || with one Arm longer than the other, and that *Typhon* was by Complexion Red, *Orus* White, and *Oſiris* Black, as if they had been indeed nothing elſe but Men. They moreover ſtyle *Oſiris* a Commander, and * *Canopus* a Pilot, from whom they ſay the Star of that Name was denominated. Alſo the Ship which the *Greeks* call † *Argo*, being the Image of *Oſiris*'s *Ark*, and therefore, in Honour of it, made a Conſtellation, they make to ride not far from *Orion* and the *Dog*; whereof the one they believe to be Sacred to *Orus*, and the other to *Iſis*. But I fear this would be to ſtir Things that are not to be ſtirred, and to *declare War*, || not only (as *Simonides* ſpeaks) *againſt length of Time*, but alſo againſt many Nations and Families of Mankind, whom a Religious Reverence towards theſe Gods, holds faſt bound like * Men aſtoniſhed and amazed, and would be no other † than going about to remove ſo great and venerable Names from Heaven to Earth, and thereby ſhaking and diſſolving that Worſhip and Perſwaſion that hath entred into almoſt all Mens Conſtitutions from their very Birth, and opening vaſt Doors to the Atheiſts Faction, who convert all Divine Matters into Humane, giving alſo a large Licence to the Impoſtures of *Euemerus* of *Meſſene*, who out of his

own

|| The *Egyptians* called the South and the North by the Names of the Right and Left Hand of the Sun.

* *Canopus* was the ſame with *Cneph* or *Chnuphis*, and was no other than *Bonus or Jupiter*, *Pluvius*.

† *Argo* had its Name from the *Syriac Arva*, i. e. a Canoe or Long-boat, like the Creſcent, where the Sun rides.

|| For ὡς, I read οὐ.

* [illegible], i. e. Compelled.

† I add ἢ before [illegible] αὐτῶ.

‖ own Brain, contrived certain Memoirs of a moſt incredible and imaginary Mythology, and thereby ſpread all manner of Atheiſm throughout the World, by drawing out the Names of all the received Gods under the Style of Generals, Sea-Captains and Kings, whom he makes to have lived in the more remote and antient Times; and to be recorded in Golden Characters in a certain Country called * *Panchoa*, with which notwithſtanding never any Man, either *Barbarian* or *Grecian*, had the good Fortune to meet, except *Euemerus* alone, who (it ſeems) ſailed to the Land of the *Panchoans* and *Triphyllians*, that neither have, nor ever had a Being. And although the Actions of † *Semiramis* are ſung among the *Aſſyrians* as very great, and likewiſe thoſe of *Soſoſtris* in *Ægypt*; and the *Phrygians* to this very Day ſtyle all illuſtrious and ſtrange Actions *Manick* ones, becauſe ‖ *Manis*, one of their antient Kings (whom ſome call *Maſdes*) was a brave and mighty Perſon. And although *Cyrus* enlarged the Empire of the *Perſians*, and *Alexander* that of the *Macedonians*, within a little Matter of the World's End, yet have they ſtill retained the Names and Memorials of gallant Princes. And if ſome, * puffed up with exceſſive Vain-glory (as *Plato* ſpeaks) having their Minds enflamed at once with both youthful Blood and Folly, have with an unruly Extravagancy, taken upon them the Style of Gods, and had Temples erected in their Honour, yet this Opinion of them

‖ The *Ægyptians* reckoned the very Sun and Moon among their Kings, becauſe they hold all Stars to be the Souls of Men.

* For Πάγχοντι, I read Παγχώᾳ τινὶ, and ἀναγεγραμμένων, for ἀναγεγραμμένοις.

† *Cedrenus* ſaith, *Semiramis* was the ſame with *Rhea*: if ſo, ſhe differed not from *Aſtarte*, *Iſis* and *Venus*, to whom the *Pigeon* was ſacred. *Shemiramith* in *Hebrew*, is *Cœleſtis Excelſa*.

‖ It may be *Manis* was the ſame with *Meinis* and *Oſiris*.

* For ἐξαρθέντες, I read ἐξαρθέντοι.

them flouriſhed but for a ſhort Seaſon, and they afterwards underwent the Blame of great Vanity and Arrogancy, conjoyned with the higheſt Impiety and Wickedneſs, and ſo,

Like Smoak they flew away with ſwift pac'd Fate.

And being dragg'd away from the Altars like Fugitive Slaves, they have now nothing left them but their Tombs and Graves. Which made *Antigonus* the *Elder*, when one *Hermodotus* had in his Poems declared him to be Son to the Sun, and a God, to ſay to him: *Friend, he that empties my Cloſe-ſtool pan, knows no ſuch Matter by me.* And *Lyſippus* the Carver, had good reaſon to quarrel with the Painter *Apelles* for drawing *Alexanders* Picture with a Thunder-bolt in his Hand, whereas himſelf had made him but with a Spear, which (he ſaid) was natural and proper for him, and a Weapon, the Glory of which, no time would rob him of. Therefore they maintain the wiſer Opinion, who hold that the things here ſtoried of *Typhon*, *Oſiris* and *Iſis*, were not the Events of Gods, nor yet of Men, but of certain Grand Dæmons, whom *Plato*, *Pythagoras*, *Xenocrates* and *Chryſippus* (following herein the Opinion of the moſt antient Theologiſts) affirm to be of greater Strength than Men, and ſo tranſcend our Nature by much in Power, but not to have a Divine Part pure and unmixt, but ſuch as participates of both the Souls Intention, and the

Bodies Sensations, and those † recei
both Pleasure and Pain; and that th
Passions that attend these Mutations, dis
order some of them more, and others o
them less. For there are divers degre
both of Vertue and Vice, as among Men,
ſo alſo among *Dæmons*: For what they
ſing about among the *Greeks* concerning
the *Giants* and the *Titans*, and of ‖ certa
horrible actions of *Saturn*, as alſo of *Py*
thons Combats with *Apollo*, of the * Fligh
of *Bacchus*, and the Ramblings of *Cere*
come nothing ſhort of the Relations abou
Oſiris and *Typhon*, and others ſuch, whic
every Body may lawfully and freely hea
as they are told in the Mythology. The
like may be alſo ſaid of thoſe things, tha
being veiled over in the Myſtick Rites and
Secret Ceremonies of Initiation, are there
fore kept private from the Sight and
Hearing of the Common Sort. ‖ We alſo
hear *Homer* often calling ſuch as are extra
ordinary good, *Godlike*, and *Gods Compeers*,
and,

In Counſel equal with the Deities.

But the Epithet derived from *Dæmons*, we
find him to beſtow upon the *Good* and
Bad indifferently, as,

Dæmon-like, Sir, make haſt, why do you fear
The Argives thus [illegible]
contrary ſide.
[illegible] *like a Dæmon*

And

† For δεχομένην, I read δεχομένας; and for φύσιν, and αἰσθήσει ἐν, I read φύσεως and αἰσθήσεως

‖ For πυρὸς, I read τινές.

* I read φυγαὶ for φθόγγοι, with *Xylander* out of *Euſebius*. *Bacchus* hath the Name of *Dionyſos* in *Greek*, that is, *The God of Nyſa*, which was a Town in *Arabia*, ſo named from the Hebrew *Niſa*, which is *Flight*. The LXX render *Jehova Niſi*, by Κύριος καταφυγή μου.

And again. (Where *Jupiter* ſpeaks thus to *Juno*.)

Dæmonial Dame, what hath poor Priam *done,*
To anger you ſo much? Or what his Son?
That you reſolve fair Iliums *Overthrow;*
And your revengeful Purpoſe won't forgo.

Where he ſeems to make *Dæmons* to be of a mix'd and unequal Temper and Inclination. Whence it is that *Plato* aſſigns to the *Olympick* Gods, Dexter things and odd Numbers, and the oppoſite to theſe, to *Dæmons*. And *Xenocrates* alſo is of Opinion, that ſuch Days as are commonly accounted unlucky, and thoſe Holy Days, in which are uſed Scourgings, Beatings of Breaſts, Faſtings, uncouth Words, or obſcene Speeches, do not appertain to the Honour of Gods, or of good *Dæmons*; but thinks there are in the Air that invirons us about, certain great and mighty Natures, but withal, † moroſe and tetrical ones, that take pleaſure in ſuch things as theſe; and if they have them, they do no farther Miſchief. On the other ſide, the Beneficent ones are ſtyled by *Heſiod*, *Holy Dæmons, and Guardians of Mankind*, || and

Givers of Wealth, this Royal Gift they have.

And *Plato* calls this ſort, the Interpreting and miniſtring Kind; and ſaith they are in a middle Place betwixt the Gods and Men, and that they carry up Mens Prayers and Addreſſes thither, and bring from thence

† This confirms the Obſervation of St. *Paul*, that the Sacrifices of the Gentiles were made to *Dæmons*, and not to Gods; and this is fully proved by *Porphyry*, in his Book *De Abſtinentia*, where he is not aſhamed to juſtifie them in it.

|| I have [illegible]

thence hither Prophetic Anſwers and Di-ſtributions of good Things. *Empedocles* ſaith alſo, that *Demons* undergo ſevere Puniſhments, for their Evil Deeds and Miſdemeanors.

The force of Air, them to the Sea purſues;
The Sea again upon the Land them ſpues.
The Land * *to th' Sun; the Sun to Pits of Air,*
And ſo around, they all in Terrors are.

Untill being thus chaſtened and purified, they are again admitted to that Region and Order that ſuits their Nature. Now ſuch Things, and ſuch like Things as theſe, they tell us are here meant concerning *Typhon*; how he, moved with Envy and Spight, perpetrated moſt wicked and horrible things, and putting all things into Confuſion, filled both Land and Sea with infinite Calamities and Evils, and afterwards ſuffered for it condign Puniſhment. But now the Avenger of *Oſiris*, who was both his Siſter and Wife, having extinguiſhed and put an end to the Rage and Madneſs of *Typhon*, did not forget the many Conteſts and Difficulties ſhe had encountered withal, nor her Wanderings and Travels too and fro, ſo far as to commit her many Acts, both of Wiſdom and Courage † to utter Oblivion and Silence, but mixed them with their moſt Sacred Rites of Initiation, and together conſecrated them as Reſemblances, Dark Hints, and ‖ Imitations of her former Sufferings, both as an Example and Encouragement of Piety for both Men and Women that ſhould hereafter fall under the like hard Circumſtances and Diſtreſſes. And now both her ſelf and *Oſiris*, being for their Vertue changed from good *Dæmons* into Gods, as were * *Hercules* and *Bacchus* after them, they have (and not without juſt Grounds) the Honours of both Gods and *Dæmons* joyned together; their Power being indeed every where great, but yet more eſpecial and eminent † in things upon and under the Earth. For *Serapis* (they ſay) is no other than *Pluto*, and *Iſis* the ſame with *Proſerpina*, as *Archemachus* of *Eubœa* informs us; as alſo * *Heraclides* of *Pontus*, where he delivers it as his Opinion, that the Oracle at *Canopus* appertains to *Pluto*. Beſides, *Ptolemæus*, ſurnamed *Soter*, or *The Saviour*, † ſaw in a Dream the *Coloſſus* of *Pluto* that ſtood at *Sinope*, (although he knew it not, nor had ever ſeen what Shape it was of) calling upon him, and bidding him to convey it ſpeedily away to *Alexandria*. And as he was ignorant, and at a great Loſs where is ſhould ſtand, and was telling his Dream to his Familiars, there was found by chance a certain Fellow, that had been a general Rambler in all Parts, (his Name was *Soſibius*) who affirmed he had ſeen ſuch a *Coloſſus* as the King had dreamt of, at *Sinope*. He therefore ſent *Soteles* and *Dionyſius* thither, who in a long time, and with much difficulty, and not without the ſpecial Help of a Divine Providence, ſtole it away, and brought it into *Alexandria*. When therefore it was conveyed

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* For ἰσμῶ-δις, I read ἐς αὐγάς, and for ἀπένθυνοι, ἀνένθυνοι, as it is cited in the Treatiſe *De vitando aere alieno*.

† I add ὄνο-μα before ἀμνηστίαν, and read ὑποβάλλουσα for ὑποβαλοῦ-σα.

‖ For μίμη-μα, I read μιμήματα.

* *Hercules* and *Bacchus* were indeed the ſame with *Oſiris*, but their Temples were younger than his.

† For ἐν τόποις, I read ἐν τοῖς.

* So I read for *Heraclitus*.

† For αἰσθῆς, I read ὄναρ εἶδε.

veyed thither, and ‖ viewed, *Timothy* the *Expoſitor*, and *Manethos* the *Sebennyte*, concluding from the * *Cerberus* and *Serpent* that ſtood by it, that † it muſt be the Statue of *Pluto*, perſwade *Ptolomy* it could appertain to no other God but *Sarapis*. For he had not ‖ this Name when he came from thence, but after he was removed to *Alexandria*, he acquired the Name of *Sarapis*, which is the *Ægyptian* for *Plut*. Although it muſt be owned that *Heraclitus* the *Phyſiologiſt*, ſaith, Pluto *and* Bacchus *are* * *one and the ſame*; († for thoſe that will needs have *Pluto* to be the Body, the Soul being as it were diſtracted and drunken in it, do, in my Opinion, make uſe of an over fine and ſubtle Allegory.) It is therefore better to make *Oſiris* to be the ſame with *Bacchus*, and *Sarapis* again with *Oſiris*, he obtaining that Appellation ſince the Change of his Nature. For which reaſon, *Sarapis* is a common God to all; but how they conſider *Oſiris*, they who participate of Divine Matters beſt underſtand. For there is no reaſon we ſhould attend to the Writings of the *Phrygians*, which ſay that ‖ one * *Charopos* was Daughter to *Hercules*, and that *Typhon* was Son to *Iſeacus* Son of *Hercules*; no more than we have not to contemn *Phylarchus*, when he writes that *Bacchus* firſt brought two Bullocks out of *Indies* into *Ægypt*, and

‖ For ὤφθην, I read ὤφθη.

* *Cerberus* was the Infernal *Mercury*, and the Serpent *Typhon*.

† For ὂν, I read εἶναι.

‖ For ὄντος, I read ἔτος.

* I read true αὐτὸς for ὄντος.

† *When they are mad and delirious, they come to be of this Opinion*, is added in the *Greek* Copy, but I ſuppoſe it was originally but a Marginal Reflexion.

‖ For τὶς, I read τις.

* He ſuppoſes the Name *Charopos* to be the ſame with *Sarapis*; but it comes nearer the Greek *Corybas*, and the Hebrew *Cherub*, which ſignifies *a carved Statue* or *Figure*, which probably might be a *Cow*, it being a Female *Numen*.

that the Name of the one was *Apis*, and of the other *Osiris*. But that *Sarapis* is the Name of him who orders the Universe, from *Sairein*, which some use for *Adorning* and *Setting forth*. For these Sentiments of *Philarchus*'s are very foolish and absurd; but theirs are much more so, who affirm *Sarapis* to be no God at all, but only the Name of the *Sorin* (or *Chest*) in which *Apis* lies; and that there are at *Memphis* certain great Gates of Copper, called the Gates of *Oblivion* and *Lamentation*, which being opened when they bury the *Apis*, make a doleful and hideous Noise; which (say they) is the reason that when we hear any sort of Copper instrument sounding, we are presently startled and seized with Fear. But they judge more discreetly, † who suppose this Name to be derived from *Seuesthai*, or *Sousthai*, (which signifies *to be born along*) and so make it to mean, that the Motion of the Universe is hurried and born along violently. But the greatest Part of the Priests do say, that *Osiris* and *Apis* are both of them but one complex Being, while they tell us in their Sacred Commentaries and Sermons, that we are to look upon the *Apis*, as the || beautiful Image of the Soul of *Osiris*. I, for my part, do believe, that if the Name of *Sarapis* be *Ægyptian*, it may not improperly denote *Joy* and *Merriment*, because I find the *Ægyptians* term the Festival which we call *Charmosyna* (or *Merry-making*) in their language * *Sairei*. Besides, I find *Plato* to be of Opinion, that *Pluto* is call-

† I add *οἱ* before [illegible], and read [illegible] for [illegible].

|| The Bull called *Apis* was to have a white Star in his Forehead, the better to represent the Sun whose Spirit dwelt within it.

* *Sairei* in *Ægyptian* is [illegible]; I find *Sarapis* for [illegible] [illegible], or [illegible] [illegible]

ed *Hades*, becauſe he is the Son of *Aidos* (which is *Modeſty*) and becauſe he is a † gentle God to ſuch as are converſant with him. And as among the *Ægyptians*, there are a great many other Names that are alſo Definitions of the Things they expreſs, ſo they call that Place, whether they believe Mens Souls to go after Death, ‖ *Amenthes*, which ſignifies in their Language, *The Receiver and the Giver*. But whether this be one of thoſe Names that have been antiently brought over and tranſplanted out of *Greece* into *Ægypt*, we ſhall conſider ſome other time. But at preſent we muſt haſten to diſpatch the remaining Parts of the Opinion here handled. *Oſiris* therefore and *Iſis* paſſed from the Number of good *Dæmons* into that of Gods; but the Power of *Typhon* being much obſcured and weakned, and himſelf beſides in great dejection of Mind, and in Agony, and as it were at the laſt Gaſp, they therefore one while uſe certain Sacrifices to comfort and appeaſe his Mind, and another while again, have certain Solemnities wherein they abaſe and affront him, both by miſhandling and abuſing ſuch Men as they find to have red Hair, and by breaking the Neck of an *Aſs* down a Precipice, (as do the *Coptites*) becauſe * *Typhon* was Red and of the Aſſes Complexion. Moreover, thoſe of *Buſiris* and *Lycopolis* never make any uſe of Trumpets, becauſe they give a Sound like that of Aſſes. And they altogether eſteem the Aſs as an Animal, not Clean, but Dæmoniac, becauſe

of

† *Hades Aidoneus* or *Adonis*, was the ſame with the German *Odin* or *Mars*: it was the Diminutive of *Od* or *God*, which ſignifies *Good* and *Rich*.

‖ *Amen* in *Coptic*, is *to receive*, and *The to give*. I take *Amenthes* to ſignifie ſimply a *Receptory*.

* They ſuppoſe the Soul of *Typhon*, or the *Serpent*, to be in him, as the Soul of *Oſiris* was in the Ox. The Aſs was in more eſteem where *Horſes* were ſcarce.

of its Reſemblance to *Typhon*; and when they make Cakes at their Sacrifices, upon the Months of *Payni* and *Phaophi*, they impreſs upon them an *Aſs Bound*. Alſo when they do their Sacrifices to the Sun, they enjoyn † ſuch as perform Worſhip to that God, neither to wear Gold, nor to give Fodder to an Aſs. It is alſo moſt apparent, that the *Pythagoreans* look upon *Typhon* as a Dæmoniack Power; for they ſay he was produced in an even Proportion of Numbers, to wit, in that of Fifty Six. And again, they ſay that the * Property of the Triangle appertains to *Pluto*, *Bacchus* and *Mars*; of the Quadrangle, to *Rhea*, *Venus*, *Ceres* and *Veſta*; of Twelve Angles, to *Jupiter*; and of † Fifty Six, to *Typhon*, as *Eudoxus* relates. And becauſe the *Ægyptians* are of Opinion that *Typhon* was born of a || Red Complexion, they are therefore uſed to devote to him, ſuch of the Neat Kind as they find to be of a Red Colour; and their Obſervation herein is ſo very nice and ſtrict, that if they perceive the Beaſt to have but one Hair upon it that is either Black or White, they account it unfit for Sacrifice. For they hold that what is fit to be made a Sacrifice, muſt not be of a Thing agreeable to the Gods, but contrarywiſe, ſuch things as contain the Souls of Ungodly and Wicked Men transformed into their Shapes. Wherefore in the more ancient of Times, they were wont, after they had pronounced a ſolemn Curſe upon the Head of the Sacrifice, and had cut it off, to fling it into

† I read with *Xylander* [illegible] for [illegible].

* I add [illegible] or [illegible] after [illegible].

† So I read with *Xylander* for 58.

|| Fire was the *Ægyptians* Devil, and Water their God.

into the River *Nile*; but now adays, the diſtribute it among Strangers. Thoſe a ſo among the Prieſts that were term *Sphragiſtæ* or *Sealers*, were wont to Se the Beaſt that was to be offered; and th engraving of their Seal, was (as *Caſt* tells us) * *a Man upon his Knees with hi Hands tied behind him, and a Knife ſet up his Throat.* They believe moreover, tha the Aſs ſuffers for being like hi (as hath been already ſpoken of) and th as much for the Stupidity and Senſual of his Diſpoſition, as for the Redneſs o his Colour. Wherefore, becauſe that o all the Perſian Monarchs, they had the greateſt Averſation for *Ochus*, as lookin upon him as a Villanous and Abominabl Perſon, they gave him the Nick-name o the † *Aſs*. Upon which, he replied; B *this Aſs ſhall dine upon your Ox*; and ſo h ſlaughtered the *Apis*, as *Dinon* relates to u in his Hiſtory. As for thoſe that tell u that || *Typhon* was ſeven days flying from the Battle upon the Back of an *Aſs*, and having narrowly eſcaped with his Life, afterwards begot two Sons, called *Hieroſoly*mus and *Judæus*, they are manifeſtly diſcovered by the very Matter, to wreſt into this Fable the Relations of the *Jews*. And ſo much for the Allegories and for the Meanings which this Head affords us. And now begin we at another Head, which is the Account of thoſe who * ſeem to offer at ſomething more Philoſophical; and of thoſe we will firſt conſider the more ſimple and plain ſort. And they are

thoſe

* In Memory of the more antient Cuſtom of ſacrificing Men to *Mars*, *Pluto*, or the *Devil*.

† That is, The *Devil*.

|| The Hieroglyphical meaning of this Story, was that *Moſes* was aſſiſted by the *Devil*, in reſcuing the *Iſraelites* out of *Egypt*.

* I read *δοκουμένων* for *δυναμένων*.

thoſe that tell us, that as the *Greeks* are uſed to allegorize *Cronus* (or † *Saturn*) into *Chronus* (*Time*) and *Hera* (or *Juno*) into *Aera* (*Air*) and alſo to reſolve the Generation of *Vulcan* into the Change of *Air* into *Fire*; ſo alſo among the *Ægyptians*, || *Oſiris* is the River *Nilus*, who accompanies with *Iſis*, which is the *Earth*, and *Typhon* is the *Sea*, into which the *Nilus* falling, is thereby deſtroyed and pulled in pieces, excepting only that Part of it which the *Earth* receives and drinks up, by means whereof it becomes prolifick. There is alſo a kind of a ſacred Lamentation uſed to * *Saturn*, wherein they bemoan him, *Who was born in the Left Side of the World, and died in the Right.* For the *Ægyptians* believe the Eaſtern Part to be the Worlds Face, the Northern its Right Hand, and the Southern its Left. And therefore the River *Nilus* holding its Courſe from the Southern Parts towards the Northern, may juſtly be ſaid to have its Birth in the Left-ſide, and its Death in the Right. For which reaſon, the Prieſts account the Sea abominable, and call Salt *Typhons Foam*. And † it is one of the things they look upon as unlawful, and prohibited to them, *to uſe Salt at their Tables*. And they uſe not to ſalute any Pilots, because they have to do with the || Sea. And this is not the leaſt reaſon of their ſo great averſeneſs to Fiſh. They alſo make the Picture of a *Fiſh* to denote *Hatred*. And therefore at the Temple of *Minerva* at *Sais*, there was carved in the Porch an *Infant* and an *Old Man*, and after them a *Hawk*,

† *Saturn*, or the *Sun*, is the Meaſure of *Time*, and *Juno*, or the *Moon*, hath great Effects upon the *Air*.

|| The *Ægyptians* believe *Water* to be animated by the Soul of the *Sun*, and the *Earth* by that of the *Moon*.

* *Saturn*, or *Cronus* was called by the *Ægyptians* [illegible], i.e. [illegible], he being the ſame with *Oſiris*, and the *Deus Lunus*.

† I read [illegible] for [illegible].

|| They underſtand the *Sea* as a part of *Amenthes* or *Hell*.

Hawk, and then a *Fiſh*, and after all a *Hippopotamus* (or *River-Horſe*) which in a Symbolical manner, contained this Sentence, *O! you that are born, and that dye*, * *God hateth Impudence.* From whence it is plain, that by a *Child* and an *Old Man* they expreſs our being *Born* and our *Dying*; by a *Hawk, God*; by a *Fiſh, Hatred* (by reaſon of the Sea, as hath been before ſpoken) and by a *River-Horſe, Impudence*, because (as they ſay) he killeth his Sire, and forceth his Dam. That alſo which the *Pythagoreans* are uſed to ſay, which is, that the Sea is *The* † *Tear of Saturn*, ‖ may ſeem to hint out to us, that it is not pure nor congenial with our Race. Theſe then are the Things that may be uttered without Doors and in publick, they containing nothing but Matters of common Cognizance. But now the moſt Learned and Reſerved of the Prieſts do not term the *Nilus* only *Oſiris*, and the Sea *Typhon*; but in general, the whole Principle and Faculty of rendering Moiſt, they call * *Oſiris*, as believing it to be the Cauſe of Generation, and the very Subſtance of the Seminal Moiſture. And on the other hand, whatever is *Aduſt, Fiery*, or any way *Drying* and repugnant to *Wet*, they call † *Typhon*. And therefore, becauſe they believe he was of a Red and Sallow Colour when he was born, they do not greatly care to meet with Men of ſuch Looks, nor willingly converſe with them. On the other ſide again, they Fable that *Oſiris*, when he was born, was of a Black Complexion, becauſe that all Water renders

* Here I ſupply the *Lacuna* thus; ὁ θεὸς μισεῖ τὴν ἀναίδειαν. Διὸ γίνεσθαι μὲν ϗ φθορὰν βρέφει ϗ γέροντι.

† They fanſied their God to dye when he went down to *Amenthes*, and to revive again in the Morning.

‖ For λέξειν, I read δόξειν.

* The Inſpiration of the Sun cauſes the Fluidneſs of Water.

† The *Serpent* or the *Enemy*, this was their *Mars* or *Devill*.

renders Earth, Cloaths and Clouds black, when mixed with them; and the Moiſture alſo that is in young Perſons, makes their Hair black; but Grayneſs, like a ſort of Paleneſs, comes up through over much Drought upon ſuch as are now paſt their Vigour, and begin to decline in Years. In like manner the Spring time is Gay, Fecund, and very agreeable; but the Autumn, through defect of Moiſture, is both deſtructive to Plants, and ſickly to Men. Moreover, the Ox called ‖ *Mnevis*, which is kept at *Heliopolis* (and is Sacred to *Oſiris*, and judged by ſome to be the Sire of *Apis*) is of a cole-black Colour, and is honoured in the ſecond Place after *Apis*. To which we may add, that they call *Ægypt* (which is one of the Blackeſt Soils in the World) as they do the black Part of the Eye, * *Chemia*. They alſo repreſent it by the Figure of a † *Heart*, by reaſon of its great Warmth and Moiſture, and becauſe it is moſtly encloſed by, and removed towards the Southern Parts of the Earth, as the Heart is with reſpect to a Mans Body. They believe alſo, that the Sun and Moon do not go in Chariots, but ſail about the World perpetually in certain Boats; hinting hereby, as their feeding upon, and ſpringing firſt out of Moiſture. They are likewiſe of the Opinion, that *Homer*, as well as *Thales*, had been inſtructed by the *Ægyptians*, which made him affirm *Water* to be the Spring and firſt Original of all things; for that ‖ *Oceanus* is the ſame with *Oſiris*, and

‖ I take this *Mnevis* to be the ſame with the above mentioned *Mneuis*, *Menis* and *Meni*, and ſo by conſequence with *Oſiris*. Perhaps he was of an elder Foundation than *Apis*, and therefore ſtiled his Sire.

* That is, [illegible] or *Divine Chemia*, i.e. [illegible], is one of the Epithets of the Sun.

† This was likewiſe the Hieroglyphic of Heaven, or the Celeſtial *Ægypt*. See *Orus Apol.*

‖ *Oceanus* was more anciently called *Ogen* by the *Greeks*, and it ſignified *The Water-God*, he was Son to *Jupiter*.

and * Tethys with Isis, so named (from Tithe a Nurse) because she is the Mother and Nurse of all things. For the Greeks call the † Emiſſion of the Genital Humor Apusia (which ſignifies Outgoing from) and carnal Knowledge Synusia (that is, Mixing of Humors:) they alſo call a Son Hyios, from Hydor Water, and from Hysai to Wet; and likewiſe Bacchus Hyes (as the || Waterer) they looking upon him as the Lord of the Humid Nature, he being no other than Oſiris. For Hellanicus hath ſet him down * Hyſiris, affirming that he heard him ſo pronounced by the Prieſts; for ſo he hath written the Name of the God all along in his Hiſtory; and that in my Opinion, not without good reaſon, derived as well from his Nature as his Invention. And that therefore he is one and the ſame with Bacchus: who ſhould better know than your ſelf, Dame Clea, who are not only † Preſident of the Delphick Propheteſſes, but have been alſo in Right of both your Parents, devoted to the Oſiriack Rites? And if, for the Sake of others, we ſhall think our ſelves oblig'd to lay down Teſtimonies for the Proof of our preſent Aſſertion, we ſhall notwithſtanding, remit thoſe Secrets that muſt not be revealed to their proper Place. But now the things which the Prieſts do publickly at the Entertainment of the Apis, when they carry his Body in a Boat to be buried, do nothing differ from the || Proceſſion of Bacchus. For they hang about them the * Skins of Hinds, and carry Branches

*It is probable that Tethys is the ſame with Sethis or Sothis, which is Iſis.

† I read πρόεσιν for πρόθεσιν.

|| He was the ſame with Jupiter Pluvius.

* Hyſiris is but the Coptic ου Σιρι, i. e. ὁ κύριος, Liber, or Son. For the Egyptians called a Son Siri, as the Greeks did ſometimes call Male Children *Ηλιοι.

† For [illegible], I read [illegible]. Palmerius reads Ἀρχε[illegible].

|| Theſe Dances were to repreſent the Suns Motion.

* The Habit of the Antient, as well as of the Modern Savages.

Branches in their Hands, and uſe the ſame kind of Shoutings and Geſticulations that the Ecſtaticks do at the Inſpired Dances of *Bacchus*. For which reaſon alſo, many of the *Greeks* make Statues of † *Dionyſos Tauromorphos* (or of *Bacchus in the Form of a Bull*). And the *Elean* Women in their ordinary Form of Prayer, beſeech the God *to come to them with his* || *Oxes Feet*. The *Argives* alſo have a *Bacchus* ſurnamed *Bugenes* (or *Ox-gotten*), and they call him up out of the Water by ſounding of Trumpets, and flinging a young Lamb into the Abyſs, for him that keeps the Door there; and theſe Trumpets they hide within their *Thyrſi* (or Green Boughs) as *Socrates*, in his Treatiſe of *Rituals*, relates. Likewiſe the Tales about the *Titans*, and that they call * *The Myſtick Nights*, have a ſtrange agreement with what they tell us of the Diſcerptions, Reſurrections, and Regenerations of *Oſiris*, as alſo what relates to their Sepultures. For not only the *Ægyptians* (as hath been already ſpoken) do ſhew in many ſeveral Places, the Cheſts in which † *Oſiris* lies; but the *Delphians* alſo believe, that the Reliques of *Bacchus* are laid up with them, juſt [illegible] the Oracle-place; and the *Hoſii* (or [illegible] *Men*) perform a ſecret Sacrifice within the Temple of *Apollo*, while the *Thyiades* (or *Propheteſſes*) are a raiſing up || *The Winnower*, (as they call him.) Now that the *Greeks* do not eſteem *Bacchus* as the Lord and Preſident of Wine only, but alſo of the whole Humid Nature, *Pindar* alone

† I read [illegible] ἐμβόεῳ [illegible] νέου in the Genitive.

|| *Herodotus* ſaith the *Greek* Religion came firſt out of *Ægypt*.

* The *Myſtick* [illegible] *Bacchus*, called *Nyctelia*.

† The Body of the Holy *Oſiris* was buried in many places.

|| [illegible] Sun [illegible] Wine, [illegible] as of Wine.

alone is a ſufficient Witneſs, who thus ſaith,

> *May gawdy* Bacchus * *Trees recruit,*
> *Gay Deity of Sommer Fruit.*

For which Cauſe, it is forbidden to ſuch as worſhip *Oſiris*, either to deſtroy a Fruit-tree, or to ſtop up a Well. And they call not only the *Nilus*, but in general every Humid, *The Efflux of Oſiris*. And a Pitcher of Water goes always firſt in their Sacred Proceſſions, in Honour of the God. And they make the Figure of a Fig-leaf both for the † *King* and the *Southern Climate*; which Fig-leaf, is interpreted to mean *The Watering and Spiriting of the Univerſe*; and it ſeems to bear ſome Reſemblance ‖ in its make to the Virilities of a Man. Moreover, when they keep the Feaſt of the *Pamylia*, which is a *Phallick* or *Priapeian* one (as was ſaid before) they expoſe to view, and carry about a certain Image of a Man with a threefold Privity. For this God is a firſt Origin; but now every firſt Origin doth by its Fecundity multiply what proceeds from it. And we are commonly uſed, inſtead of *many times*, to ſay *Thrice*, as *Thrice Happy*, and:

> *As many Bonds thrice told and infinite.*

Unleſs (by *Jove*) we are to underſtand the Word *Treble*, as ſpoken by the *Antients* in a proper Senſe. For the Humid Nature being

* I read Δεν-δρέων for Δεν-δρῶν.

† He being a Father to his Country as well as the *Nile*.

‖ The Leaves of Vines, Figs, and Ivy, are called in *Greek* *Thria*, becauſe they conſiſt of three parts, as *Athenæus* informs us. And theſe were all carried about in the Proceſſion of *Bacchus*, called from them *Thriambus*, *Triumphus*; and it was a Sacred Dance, in imitation of the Sun and Stars, to give thanks for the Fruits of the Year.

being in the beginning the chief Source and Origin of the Univerſe, muſt of conſequence produce the three firſt Bodies, the Earth, the Air, and the Fire. As for the Story which is here told by way of Surpluſage to the Tale; how that *Typhon* threw the Privity of *Oſiris* into the River, and *Iſis* could not find it, and therefore faſhioned and prepered the Reſemblance and Effigies of it, and appointed it to be worſhiped and carried about in their Proceſſions, like as in the *Grecian Phallephoria*: all which, amounts but to this, to inſtruct and teach us that the Prolifick and Generative Property of this God, had Moiſture for its firſt Matter, and that by means of Moiſture, it came to immix it ſelf with things capable of Generation. We have alſo another Story told us by the *Ægyptians*; how that once * *Apopi*, Brother to the *Sun*, fell at Variance with *Jupiter*, and made War upon him; but *Jupiter* entring into Alliance with *Oſiris*, and by his means overthrowing his Enemy in a pitcht Battle, he afterwards adopted him for his Son, and gave him the Name of *Dionyſus* (or *Bacchus*.) It is eaſie to ſhew that this Fabular Relation borders alſo upon the Verity of Phyſical Science. For the *Ægyptians* call the † *Air Jupiter*, with which the *Parching* and *Fiery* Property makes War; and though this be not the *Sun*, yet hath it ſome Cognation with the *Sun*. But now Moiſture extinguiſhing the Exceſſiveneſs of Drought, encreaſes and ſtrengthens the Exhalations of Wet, which give Food and

* *Appis, Apis, Epaphus* and *Ababa*, as the *Syrians* call him, was the ſame with *Adonis*, his Name ſignifies *Pater Abahus*: for *Ob* in *Æthiopic*, is a *Ghoſt*, and *Ab* a *Father*.

† Air as well as Water, requires its Animation from the Sun.

and Vigor to the Air. Moreover, the Ivy, which the Greeks uſe to conſecrate to *Bacchus*, is called by the *Ægyptians* || *Chenoſiris*, which Word (as they tell us) ſignifies in their Language *Oſiris's Tree*. *Ariſton* therefore, who wrote the Colony of the *Athenians*, * might perchance have light upon a certain Epiſtle of *Alexarchus*; *Bacchus* is reported alſo by the *Ægyptians* to be the Son of *Iſis*, and not to be called *Oſiris*, but *Arſaphes* in the Letter *A*, which denotes † *Valiant*. This is hinted at by *Hermæus* alſo, in his Firſt Book about the *Ægyptians*; for he ſaith the Name of *Oſiris* is to be interpreted *Stout*. I ſhall now paſs by || *Mnaſeas*, who joyns *Bacchus*, *Oſiris*, and *Serapis* together, and makes them the ſame with *Epaphus*. I ſhall alſo omit *Anticlides*, who ſaith, that *Iſis* was the Daughter of *Prometheus*, and that ſhe was married to *Bacchus*. For the forementioned Proprieties of their Feſtivals and Sacrifices afford us a much more clear Evidence than the Authorities of Writers. They believe likewiſe, that of all the Stars, the * *Sirius* (or *Dog*) is proper to *Iſis*, becauſe it bringeth on the Flowing of the *Nile*. And they pay Divine Honour to the *Lion*, and adorn the Gates of their Temples with the yawning Mouths of Lions, becauſe the *Nilus* then * overflows its Banks.

When firſt the mounting Sun the Lion reaches,

And

|| *Chen ba Sar*, in *Hebrew* is *Gratia Domini*. This Leaf, by being a *Thrion*, reſembles a Mans Virilities.

* For Πειρίσους υἱιδος I read περίσωσιν ἢ ἴδοι and ἢ ἴδοι ſeems a Gloſs.

† *Arſaphes* is *Mars Pater*, from the Hebrew *Hares Sol ferveſcens*, and *Ab Pater*.

|| I read *Mnaſeam* for *Mnaſeas*.

* It hath the Name of *Sirius* from *Oſiris*, and of *Dog* from *Mercury* or *Anubis*, which was the Sun. And he began his yearly Progreſs (or Hunting-bout, as they fancied it) at the riſing of this Star, which they therefore called his *Dog*.

And as they term the *Nilus* the *Efflux of Oſiris*, ſo they hold and eſteem the Earth for the *Body of Iſis*, and that not all of it neither, but that † Part only which the *Nilus*, as it were, leapes, and thereby impregnates and mixes with. And by this Amorous Congreſs they produce *Orus*. Now this *Orus* is that *Hora* or *Sweet Seaſon* and juſt Temperament of the Ambient Air, which nouriſheth and preſerveth all things; and they report him to have been nurſed by ‖ *Latona*, in the Marſhy Grounds about *Butos*; becauſe moiſt, and watry Land beſt feeds thoſe exhaled Vapors which quench and relax Drought and parching Heat. But thoſe Parts of the Country which are outmoſt, and upon the Confines and Sea-coaſt, they call * *Nephthys*: and therefore they give her the Name of *Teleutæa* (or *the Outmoſt*) and report her to be married to *Typhon*. And therefore when the *Nilus* is exceſſive great, and ſo far paſſes its ordinary Bounds, that it approaches to thoſe that inhabit the outmoſt Quarters, they call this *Oſiris's* Accompanying with *Nephthys*, found out by the ſpringing up of Plants thereupon: whereof the Melilot is one, which (as the Story tells us) being dropt behind and left there, gave *Typhon* to underſtand the Wrong that had been done to his Bed. Which made them ſay that *Iſis* had a † Lawful Son called *Orus*, and *Nephthys* a Baſtard, called *Anubis*. And indeed they record in the Succeſſions of their Kings, that *Nephthys* being married to *Typhon*, was at firſt Barren. Now if

† They compared the Rivers overflowing the Grounds to the Suns Illuminating the Moon.

‖ In antient *Greek*, *Leto*, or *Lato* ſignifies Water, whence the Latin *Latex*.

*

* *Nephthys* was the ſame with *Proſerpine*, as *Typhon* was with *Pluto*; and therefore the barren and unwatered part of *Ægypt* was ſacred to her. *Nephthuche* in *Hebrew* is *Aperta* or *Uncovered*, and the *Nephthuchim* were a Tribe of *Ægyptians*, according to the Scripture.

† For γνωσίως, I read γνήσιον.

they do not mean this of a Woman, but of a Goddeſs, they muſt needs hint that the Earth, by reaſon of its Solidity, is in its own Nature, infecund and Barren. And the Conſpiracy and uſurpation of Typhon, will be the Power of the Drought, which then prevails and diſſipates that Generative Moiſture, that both begets the Nile, and encreaſes it. And the ‖ Queen of *Æthiopia*, that abetted his Quarrel, will denote the Southern Winds that come from *Æthiopia*. For when theſe come to overpower the *Eteſiæ* (or *Anniverſary Winds*) which drive the Winds towards *Æthiopia*, and by that means prevent thoſe Showers of Rein which ſhould augment the Nile from diſcharging themſelves down, *Typhon* then being rampant, ſcorcheth all, and being wholly Maſter of the *Nile*, which now through Weakneſs and Debility, draws in his Head, and takes a contrary Courſe; he next thruſts him hollow, and ſunk as he is into the Sea. For the Story that is told us of the Cloſing up of *Oſiris* in a Cheſt, ſeems to me to be nothing elſe but an Imitation of the withdrawing and diſappearing of the Water. For which reaſon, they tell us that *Oſiris* was miſſing upon the Month of *Athyr*; at which time the *Eteſiæ* (or *Anniverſary Winds*) being wholly ceaſed, the *Nile* returns to his Channel, and the Country looks bare: The Night alſo growing longer, the Darkneſs encreaſes, and ſo the Power of Light fades away, and is overcome. * And as the Prieſts act ſeveral other Melancholy things

upon

‖ The Queen of *Æthiopia*, before called *Thueris* and *Aſo*, ſeems to be no other than *Aſtarte*, and the *Arabian Venus*, by the *Greeks* called *Aſtræa*, and *Nemeſis*, by the *Gauls* *Andraſte*, and by the *Germans* *Eaſter*, and ſhe was no other than the Moon. *Arabia* was the old *Æthiopia*, and the Mother of the New.

* For ἐι, I read ἐι ἁλ.

upon this occaſion, ſo they cover a † *Guilded Cow* with a black Linnen Pall, and thus expoſe her to publick View, at the Mourning of the Goddeſs, ‖ for four days together, beginning at the Seventeenth. For the things they mourn for are alſo four; the firſt whereof, is becauſe of the Falling and Receſs of the River *Nilus*; the ſecond, becauſe the Northern Winds are then quite ſuppreſſed by the Southern overpowering them; the Third, becauſe the Day is grown ſhorter than the Night; and the Laſt and Chiefeſt of all, becauſe of the Barrenneſs of the Earth, together with the Nakedneſs of the Trees, which then caſt their Leaves. And on the Nineteenth Day at Night, * they go down to the Sea-ſide, and the Prieſts and Sacred Livery bring forth the Cheſt, having within it *a little Golden Ark* (or † *Boat*) into which they pour freſh and potable Water, and all that are there preſent, give a great Shout for joy, that *Oſiris* is now found. Then they take ‖ Fertile Mold and ſtir it about in that Water, and when they have mixed with it ſeveral very coſtly Odours and Spices, they form it into a little Image, in faſhion like a Creſſent, and then dreſs it up in fine Cloaths and adorn it, intimating hereby, that they believe theſe Gods to be the Subſtance of ‖ *Earth* and *Water*. But *Iſis* again recovering *Oſiris*, and rearing up *Orus*, made ſtrong by Exhalations, Miſts and Clouds, *Typhon* was indeed reduced, but not Extinct; for the Goddeſs, who is Sovereign over the Earth, would not ſuffer

† This was the [illegible], or golden Calf mentioned in the Scripture.

‖ *For they look upon the Cow as the Image of* Iſis *and of the Earth*, was here inſerted out of the Margin, and that corruptly too, as appears by *Petavius*'s Copy.

* For [illegible], I read [illegible].

† [illegible].

‖ I read [illegible], for [illegible].

‖ The Moon of Earth, and the Sun of Water, but yet [illegible] to be both one as an Hermaphrodite; for ſo they thought.

ſuffer the oppoſite Nature to Wa utterly extinguiſhed, but looſed it and le it go, being deſirous the † Mixture ſh continue. For it would be impoſſible fo the World to be compleat and perfect, i the Property of Fire ſhould fail and b wanting. And as theſe things are no ſpoken by them ‖ without a conſiderabl ſhew of Reaſon, ſo neither have we reaſo wholly to contemn this other Accoun which they give us; which is, That Ty-phon *in the more antient Times, was Maſte of* Oſiris's *Portion.* For (they ſay) * *Ægyp* was once all Sea. For which reaſon, it i found at this Day to have abundance of Fiſh-ſhells, both in its Mines, and on it Mountains. And beſides that, all th Springs and Wells (which in that Country are extream numerous) have in them a ſalt and brackiſh Water, as if ſome † Re-mainder had run together thither, to be a it were laid up in ſtore. But in proceſs of time *Orus* got the upper hand of *Typhon*; that is, there happened ſuch an Opportu nity of ſudden and tempeſtuous Showers of Rain, that the *Nilus* puſht the Sea ou and diſcovered the Champagn-land, and afterwards filled it up with continual Pro fuſions of Mud. All which hath the Te-ſtimony of Senſe to confirm it. For we ſe at this Day, that as the River drives dow freſh Mud, and lays new Earth upo the old, the Sea by degrees gives back, and the ſalt Water runs off, as the Parts in the Bottom gain heighth by new ac ceſſions of Mud. We ſee moreover, tha

the

† I read [illegible] for [illegible].

‖ For εἰκό-τως, I read ἀπεικότως.

* That is, the Lower *Ægypt*.

† For ὑπό-λειμμα, I read ὑπο-λείμματος.

the Iſland *Pharus*, which *Homer* obſerved in his Time to be a whole Days Sayl from *Ægypt*, is now a part of it; not becauſe it changed its Place, or came nearer the Shore than before; but becauſe the River ſtill adding to, and encreaſing the main Land, the intermediate Sea was obliged to retire. To ſpeak the truth, theſe things are not far unlike the Explications which the *Stoicks* uſe to give of the Gods: for they alſo ſay, that the Generative and Nutritive Property of the || Air, is called *Bacchus*; the ſtriking and dividing Property *Hercules*; the Receptive Property, *Ammon*; that which paſſes through the Earth and Fruits, *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*; and that which paſſes through the Sea, *Neptune*. But thoſe who joyn with theſe Phyſiological Accounts, alſo certain Mathematical Matters relating to Aſtronomy, ſuppoſe *Typhon* to mean the Orb of the * Sun, and *Oſiris* that of the Moon. For that the Moon, being endued with a prolifick and moiſtning Light, is very favourable both to the breeding of Animals, and the ſpringing up of Plants; but the Sun having in it an immoderate and exceſſive Fire, burns and drys up ſuch things as grow up and look green, and by its ſcorching Heat, renders a great part of the World wholly uninhabitable, and very often gets the better of the Moon. For which reaſon, the *Ægyptians* always call *Typhon* † *Seth*, which in their Language ſignifies a *Domineering* and *Compelling Power*. And they tell us in their Mythology, that *Hercules*

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is placed in the Sun, and rides about the World in it, and that *Hermes* doth the like in the Moon. For the Operations of the Moon ſeem to reſemble Reaſon, and to proceed from Wiſdom; ‖ but thoſe of the Sun to be like unto Strokes, * effected by Violence and meer Strength. But the *Stoicks* affirm the Sun to be kindled and fed by the Sea, and the Moon by the Waters of Springs and Pools, which ſend up a ſweet and ſoft Exhalation to it. It is Fabled by the *Ægyptians*, that *Oſiris's* Death happened upon the Seventeenth Day of the Month, at which time, it is evident that the Moon is at the Fulleſt. For which reaſon, the *Pythagoreans* call that Day *Antiphraxis* (or *Disjunction*) and utterly abominate the very Number. For the middle Number XVII. falling in betwixt the ſquare Number XVI. and the oblong Parallelogram XVIII. (which are the only plain Numbers that have their Peripheryes equal with their *Areæ*) disjoyns and ſeparates them from each other; and being divided into equal Portions, it makes the Seſquioctave Proportion. Moreover, there are ſome that affirm *Oſiris* to have lived eight and twenty Years; and others again that ſay he only reigned ſo long, for that 'is the juſt Number of the Moons Degrees of Light, and of the Days wherein ſhe performs her Circuit. And after they have cleft the Tree at the Solemnity they call *Oſiris's Burial*, they next form it into an *Ark* (or *Boat*) in faſhion like a *Creſſent*, becauſe the Moon, when

‖ For τιὸδ' ἐν, I read τὰ δὲ.

* For περινομένης, I read περαινομένοις.

when it joyns the Sun, becomes firſt † of that Figure, and then vaniſhes away. Likewiſe the Diſcerption of *Oſiris* into Fourteen Parts, ſets forth unto us ſymbolically, the Number of Days in which that Luminary is decreaſing from the Full to the Change. Moreover, the Day upon which ſhe firſt appears, after ſhe hath now eſcaped the Solar Rays, and paſſed by the Sun, they term *Imperfect Good*; for *Oſiris* is Beneficent; and as this Name hath many other Significations, ſo what they call *Effectuating* and *Beneficent Force*, is none of the leaſt. *Hermæus* alſo tells us, that his other Name ‖ of *Omphis*, when interpreted, denotes a *Benefactor*. They moreover believe, that the ſeveral Riſings of the River *Nile* bear a certain Proportion to the Variations of Light in the Moon. For they ſay that its higheſt Riſe, which is at the *Elephantine* (or the *Iſle of Elephants*) is eight and twenty Cubits high, which is the Number of its ſeveral Lights, and the Meaſures of its monthly Courſe; and that that at *Mendes* and *Xois*, which is the * loweſt of all, is ſix Cubits high, which anſwers the Half-moon; but that the middlemoſt Riſe, which is at *Memphis*, is (when it is at its juſt Heighth) fourteen Cubits high, which anſwers the Full Moon. They alſo † ſay that the *Apis* is *The Living Image of* Oſiris, and that he is begotten when a Prolifick Light darts down from the Moon, and ‖ touches the Cow when ſhe is diſpoſed for Procreation; for which reaſon, many things in the *Apis* bear

† I read *μηνοειδὴς* for *μηνοειδὲς*, according to *Petavius*'s Copy.

‖ *Omphis* ſeems to be the ſame in ſenſe with *Ophi*, *Apis* and *Amun*.

* I read *βραχυτάτῳ* for *βραχυτέρῳ*.

† I add *φασὶ* after *Ἄπιν*.

‖ *Herodotus* makes it to be a Flaſh of Lightning.

Reſemblance to the Shapes of the Moon, it having light Colours, * intermixed with ſhady ones. † Moreover, upon the Kalends of the Month Phamenoth, they keep a certain Holy-day, by them called *Oſiris's Aſcent into the Moon*, and they account it the beginning of their Spring. Thus they place the Power of *Oſiris* in the Moon, || and affirm him to be there married with *Iſis*, which is *Generation*. For which cauſe, they ſtyle the Moon *The Mother of the World*, and believe her to have the Nature of both Male and Female; becauſe ſhe is firſt filled and impregnated by the Sun, and then her ſelf ſends forth Generative Principles into the Air, and from thence ſcatters them down upon the Earth. For that *Typhonian* Deſtruction doth not always prevail; but is very often ſubdued by Generation, and faſt bound like a Priſoner, and afterwards gets up again and makes War upon *Orus*. Now this * *Orus* is the Terreſtrial World, which is not wholly exempted from either Generation or Deſtruction. But there are ſome that will have this Tale to be a Figurative Repreſentation of the Eclipſes. For the Moon is under an Eclipſe at the Full, when the Sun is in oppoſition to her, becauſe ſhe then falls upon the Shadow of the Earth, as they ſay *Oſiris* did into his Cheſt. Beſides this, ſhe hides and diſappears of her ſelf upon the Thirtyeth Day of every Month, but doth not extinguiſh the Sun quite, no more than *Iſis* did *Typhon*. And when † *Nephthys* was delivered

* For [illegible] λαμπομένοις, I read [illegible].

† For ὅτι, I read ἔτι.

|| I here inſert καὶ.

* *Orus* is but *Oſiris* over again, after a later Inſtitution.

† The truth is, *Nephthys* was but a more Antique and rougher ſort of *Iſis*.

vered of Anubis, Iſis owned the Child. For Nephthys is that Part of the World which is below the Earth, and inviſible to us; and Iſis that which is above the Earth and viſible. But that which touches upon both ‖ theſe, and is called the Horizon (or Bounding Circle) and is common to them both, is called Anubis, and reſembles in Shape the Dog, becauſe the Dog makes uſe of his Sight by Night as well as by Day. And therefore Anubis ſeems to me to have a Power among the Ægyptians, * much like to that of Hecate among the Grecians, he being as well Terreſtrial as Olympick. Some again think Anubis to be * Saturn; wherefore (they ſay) that becauſe he produces all things out of himſelf, and breeds them in himſelf, he had the Name of Kyon (which ſignifies in Greek, both a Dog and a Breeder.) Moreover, thoſe that worſhip the Dog, have a certain † ſecret Meaning that muſt not be here revealed. And in the more remote and antient Times, the Dog had the ‖ higheſt Honours paid him in Ægypt; but after that Cambyſes had ſlain the Apis, and thrown him away contemptuouſly like a Carrion, no Animal came near to him except the Dog only; upon this he loſt his firſt Honour, and the Right he had of being worſhipped above other Creatures. There

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‖ For [illegible], I read [illegible].

* For ταύτην, I read τοιαύτην.

† Saturn or Cronos, in Ægyptian Kyranis or Coronus, was the ſame with Hercules and Moloch, i.e. the Jupiter of the antient Savages, and the ſame with Typhon.

‖ Not only for his being a Shepherd and a Huntſman, like their Apollo, but chiefly for his extraordinary Laſciviouſneſs and Salacity, which was the main Vertue of their Bacchus or Priapus. And therefore they call both the Dog and Mercury, Sothi or Thoth, which is Father.

are alſo ſome that will have the Shadow of the Earth, upon which they believe the Moon to fall when eclipſed, to be called *Typhon.* Wherefore it ſeems to me not to be unconſonant to reaſon to hold, that each of them a part is not in the right, but all together are. For * that it is not *Drought,* nor *Wind*, nor *Sea,* nor *Darkneſs,* but every part of Nature that is hurtful or deſtructive, that belongs to *Typhon.* For we are not to place the firſt Origins of the Univerſe in inanimate Bodies, as do *Democritus* and *Epicurus,* nor to take the Compiler of the † unqualified Matter, to be one Diſcourſe and one Forecaſt, overruling and containing all things, as do the *Stoicks.* For it is not poſſible for any one thing, ‖ whether it be Bad, or whether it be Good, to be the Cauſe of all things indifferently, where in the mean time God is the Cauſe of nothing. *For the Frame of the World is* (as *Heraclitus* ſpeaks) *in a State of Reſiliency, like a Harp or Bow*; and according to *Euripides*:

Nor Good, nor Bad, here's to be found apart;
But both immixt in one for greater Art.

And therfore this moſt antient Opinion hath been handed down from the Theologiſts and Law-givers, to the Poets and Philoſophers, it having an Original fathered upon no one, and having gained a Perſwaſion both ſtrong and indelible, being every where profeſſed and received by *Barbarians* as well

* For ἐςιν, I read εἶναι.

† For ἄποιον ου, I read ἀποίου.

‖ For ἢ ϗ φλαῦρον, I read ἢ φαῦλον. *Petavius*'s Copy wants ϗ.

as *Grecians*, and that not only in Vulgar Diſcourſes and Publick Fame, but alſo in their very ſecret Myſteries and open Sacrifices: That the World is neither hurried about by wild Chance without Intelligence, Diſcourſe and Direction, nor yet that there is but one Reaſon, which as it were with a Rudder, or with gentle and eaſie Reins, directs it and holds it in; but that on the contrary, there are in it ſeveral differing things, and thoſe made up of bad as well as good; or rather (to ſpeak more plainly) that Nature produces nothing here, but what is mixt and tempered. Not that there is as it were one Storekeeper, who out of * two differing *Casks*, diſpenſes to us Humane Affairs adulterated and mixed together, as an Hoſt doth his Liquors; but by reaſon of two contrary Origins and oppoſite Powers, whereof the one leads to the Right-hand, and in a direct Line, and the other turns to the contrary Hand, and goes athwart, both Human Life is mixed, and the World (if not all) yet that Part which is about the Earth and below the Moon, is become very unequal and various, and liable to all manner of Changes. For if nothing can come without a Cauſe, and if a good thing cannot afford a Cauſe of Evil, Nature then muſt certainly have a peculiar Source and Origin, as of Good, ſo of Evil. And this is the Opinion of the Greateſt and Wiſeſt Part of Mankind. For ſome believe there are † two Gods, as it were two Rival-Workmen; the one whereof

* He alludes to *Homer*, who feigns *Jupiter* to have in his Houſe two differing *Tubs*, the one filled with Good Things, and the other with Bad.

† There were two antient Sects in *Chaldæa*; the *Orcheni*, which worſhiped the Light, and the *Borſippeni*, which worſhiped the *Dark*.

whereof they make to be the Maker of Good Things, and the other of Evil. And ſome call the Better of theſe God, and the other *Dæmon*; as doth *Zoroaſtres* the *Magus*, whom they report to be five Thouſand Years elder than the Trojan Times. This *Zoroaſtres* therefore called the one of theſe ‖ *Oromazes*, and the other *Arimanius*; and affirmed moreover, that the one of them, did of any thing ſenſible, the moſt reſemble *Light*, and the other again *Darkneſs* and *Ignorance*. But that * *Mithras* was in the middle between them. For which Cauſe the *Perſians* call *Mithras* the *Mediator*. And they tell us, that he firſt taught Mankind to make Vows and Offerings of Thanksgiving to the one, and to offer Averting and Feral Sacrifice to the other. For they beat a certain Plant called *Homomy* in a Mortar, and call up *Pluto* and the *Dark*; and then mix it with the Blood of a ſacrificed Wolf, and convey it to a certain Place where the Sun never ſhines, and there caſt it away. For of Plants, they believe that ſome appertain to the Good God, and others again to the *Evil Dæmon*; and likewiſe they think, that of Animals, ſuch as Dogs, Fowls, and Urchins, belong to the Good; and Water Animals to the Bad; for which reaſon, they account him happy that kills moſt of them. Theſe Men moreover tell us a great many Romantic things about theſe Gods, whereof theſe are ſome. They ſay that *Oromazes* ſpringing from pureſt Light,

‖ *Heſychius* ſaith, that *Mazes* in the *Phrygian* Tongue ſignifies *Jupiter* and *Great*. *Oromazes* therefore is no other than *Cœlum* or *Uranus*, *Ora* being *Light*, and *Mazes Great*. He was above called *Maſdes* and *Menis*.

* *Mihter* in *Perſian* is the Comparativo Degree of *Mih* (as *Mai*, as *Heſychius* writes it) which ſignifies *Great*, and ſo ſignifies *Prince* or *Lord*. He was no other than *Apollo* or the *Sun*.

Light, and † *Arimanius* on the other hand, from pitchy Darkneſs, theſe two are therefore at War with one another. And that *Oromazes* made ſix Gods, whereof the firſt was the Author of Benevolence, the ſecond of Truth, the third of Juſtice; and the reſt, one of Wiſdom, another of Wealth, and a third of that Pleaſure which accrues from good Actions; and that *Arimanius* likewiſe made the like Number of contrary Operations to confront them. After this, *Oromazes* having firſt trebled his own Magnitude mounted up aloft, as far above the Sun, as the Sun it ſelf is above the Earth, and ſo beſpangled the Heavens with *Stars*. But one Star (called *Sirius*, or the *Dog*) he ſet as a kind of Centinel or Scout before all the reſt. And after he had made ‖ four and twenty Gods more, he placed them all in an Egg-ſhell. But thoſe that were made by *Arimanius* (being themſelves alſo of the like Number) breaking a Hole in this beauteous and glazed Egg-ſhell, bad things came by this means to be intermixed with good. But the fatal time is now approaching, in which *Arimanius*, who by means of theſe brings Plagues and Famines upon the Earth, muſt of neceſſity be himſelf utterly extinguiſhed and deſtroyed; at which time, the Earth being made plain and level, there will be one Life, and * one Society of Mankind, made all happy, and of one Speech. But *Theopompus* ſaith, that according to the Opi-

nion

† *Arimanius*, *Rimmon* or *Remphan*, as the Bible calls him, had his Name in *Syriack* from his Gigantick Height, for *Ram* is *High* in *Hebrew*. He was the ſame with *Moloch* and *Hercules*. The *Ægyptians* called him *Armsis*, and the *Greeks Hermes* and *Danaus*. It is like, he was not counted a Devil until the *Magees* founded a better Worſhip than that of *Mars*.

‖ The *Chaldæan* Sphere had XXIV. Signs upon the Meridian alſo; for they believed the World to be Oblong, like an Egg. Hence the Number of XXIV. Elders in antient Cities.

* The *Magi* ſerved the *Babylonians* and *Perſians* in their Deſign of an univerſal Monarchy.

nion of the *Magees*, ‡ each of theſe Gods ſubdues, and is ſubdued by turns, for the ſpace of three thouſand years a piece, and that for three thouſand years more, they quarrel and fight, and deſtroy each others Works; but that at laſt, *Pluto* ſhall fail, and Mankind ſhall be happy, and neither need Food nor yield a Shadow. And that the God, who projects theſe things, doth, ‖ for ſome time, take his Repoſe and Reſt; but yet this time is not much to him, although it ſeem ſo to Man, whoſe Sleep is but ſhort. Such then is the Mythology of the *Magees*. But the *Chaldæans* * ſay there are Gods of the Planets alſo, two whereof, they ſtyle Benefics, and two Malefics; the other three they pronounce to be common and indifferent. As for the *Grecians*, their Opinions are obvious and well known to every one, to wit, that they make the part of the † good God to appertain to *Jupiter Olympius*, and that of the *Averruncus* (or *Hurtful Dæmon*) to *Pluto*, and likewiſe, that they fable *Harmonia* to have been begotten by *Venus* and *Mars*, the one whereof is rough and quarrelſome, and the other ſweet and amorous. In the next place, conſider we the great Agreement of the Philoſophers with theſe People. For *Heraclitus* doth in plain and naked terms call *War* the *Father*, the *King*, and the *Lord* of *all things*; and ſaith, that *Homer*, when he thus pray'd,

Diſcord be damn'd from Gods and Human Race,

Little

‡ That is, the Barbarous and the Civil Factions in thoſe Parts, *viz.* The *Scythians* and *Perſians*, &c.

‖ For χρόνῳ ἄλλως, I read χρόνον ἀλλ' ὡς.

* I add here θεοὺς.

† For ἀγαθὸν, I read ἀγαθοῦ.

Little thought he was then curſing the Origination of all things, they owing their Riſe to Averſation and Quarrel. He alſo ‖ ſaith, that the Sun will never exceed his proper Bounds, and if he ſhould, that

Tongues, Aids of Juſtice ſoon will find him out.

Empedocles alſo calls the Benefic Principle *Love* and *Friendſhip*, and very often * *Sweet-look'd Harmony*, and the Evil Principle:

Pernicious Enmity and bloody Hate.

The *Pythagoreans* uſe a great number of Terms as Attributes of theſe two Principles; of the Good, they uſe the *Unite*; † the *Terminate*, the *Permanent*, the *Streight*, the *Odd*, the *Square*, the ‖ *Equal*, the *Dexter*, and the *Lucid*; and again of the Bad, the *Two*, the *Interminate*, the *Fluent*, the *Crooked*, the *Even*, the *Oblong*, the *Unequal*, the *Siniſter*, and the *Dark*; inſomuch that all theſe are lookt upon as Principles of Generation. But *Anaxagoras* made but two, the *Intelligence* and the *Interminate*; and *Ariſtotle* called the firſt of theſe *Form*, and the latter *Privation*. But *Plato* in many places, as it were ſhading and veiling over his Opinion, names the one of theſe oppoſite Principles *The ſame*, and the other the *T'other*. But in his Books of Laws, when he was now grown old, he affirmed (and that not in Riddles and Emblems, as uſual, but) in plain and proper Words, that the World is not moved by one Soul, but perhaps by a great many, but not by fewer than Two; the one of which is Beneficent, and the other contrary to it, and the Author of things contrary. He also leaves a certain Third Nature in the midst between, which is neither without Soul, nor without Diſcourſe, nor devoid of a ſelf moving Power, as ſome ſuppoſe; but communicates with both Principles; but yet ſo as ſtill to affect, deſire and purſue the better of them, as I ſhall make out in the enſuing part of this Diſcourſe, in which I deſign to reconcile the Theology of the *Ægyptians*, principally with this ſort of Philoſophy. For the Frame and Conſtitution of this World is made up of contrary Powers, but yet ſuch as are not of ſo equal Strength, but that the Better is ſtill Predominant. But it is impoſſible for the ill one to be quite extinguiſhed, becauſe much of it is interwoven with the Body, and much with the Soul of the Univerſe, and it always maintains a fierce Combat with the better Part. And therefore that Intellect and Diſcourſe in the Soul of the World, which is the Prince and Maſter of all the beſt things is *Oſiris*: And in the Earth, in the Winds, in the Waters, in the Heaven, and in the Stars, what is ranged, fixed, and in a ſound Conſtitution, (as orderly Seaſons, due Temperaments of Air, and the Revolutions of the Stars) is the † Efflux and appearing Image of *Oſiris*. Again, the Paſſionate, Titanick, Irrational and Brutal Part of the Soul is *Typhon*, and what in the Corporeal Nature, is Adventitious, Morbid and Tumultuous,

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‖ I here inſert *οὐκ*.

* I read *ἱμερῶπιν* for *μέγερων*, out of his Fragments.

† I add *τὸ*.

‖ *τὸ ἴσον* is well added here by *Xylander*.

* For *ἐπιλυγζόμενος*, I read *ἐπηλυγζόμενος* with *Xylander*.

† This is the *Platoniſts* λόγ☉ Δημιουργὸς, or the Fabricator of the World.

multuous (as ‖ Irregular Seaſons, Diſtemperatures of Air, Eclipſes of the Sun, and Diſappearings of the Moon) is as it were the Incurſions and Devaſtations * of Typhon. And the Name of † *Seth*, by which they call *Typhon*, declares as much; for it denotes a *Domineering and Compelling Power*, and alſo very often an *Overturning*, and again a *Leaping over*. There are alſo ſome that ſay that *Bebaon* was one of *Typhons* Companions; but *Manethos* ſaith, *Typhon* himſelf was called *Bebon*. Now that Name ſignifies ‖ *Reſtraining* and *Hindring*; as who ſhould ſay, while all things march along in a regular Courſe, and move ſteadily toward their natural End, the Power of *Typhon* ſtands in their way and ſtops them. For which reaſon they aſſign him, of all the tame Beaſts, the moſt brutal and ſottiſh, the *Aſs*; and of all the wild Beaſts, the moſt ſavage and fierce, the *Crocodile* and *River-Horſe*. Of the Aſs we have ſpoken already. They ſhew us at *Hermopolis*, the Statue of *Typhon*, which is *A River-Horſe with a Hawk upon his Back, fighting with a Serpent*: where they ſet out *Typhon* by the Horſe, and by the *Hawk* that Power and Principle, the which, when *Typhon* poſſeſſes himſelf of by Violence, he becomes oftentimes ſedate and undiſquieted, being neither diſturbed himſelf by the Malignant Nature within him, nor diſturbing others. For which reaſon alſo, when they are to offer Sacrifice upon the Seventh Day of the Month *Tybi*, which they call, * *The Arrival of* Iſis *out of* Phœnice, they print the River-

‖ For ἀβείαις, I read ἀναίαις.

* For ϗ̀ τοφῶνος, I read τῦ τυφῶνος.

† *Seth* or *Soth*, is the ſame with *Thoth*, which ſignifies *The Father* or *Lord*.

‖ The Name of *Bebon* is better derived from the Oriental Word *Baba*, which ſignifies a *Hole* or *Cavity*: His Temples being like his Nature, ſubterraneous, and the Pillars of *Seth* were in theſe *Syringes* or *Vaults*, and not in *Syria*, as is commonly ſuppoſed.

* The *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians* were one People, and of one Religion, and *Iſis* was the ſame with the *Dea Syria*.

River-Horſe bound upon their Sacred Beſides this, there is a conſtant Cu the *Town of Apollo*, for every one ſome part of a *Crocodile*; and having a certain ſet Day, hunted down as of them as they are able, they kill and throw down their Carkaſſes before Temple. And they tell us that *Typhon* his eſcape from *Orus* in the Form † *Crocodile*; for they make all bad and noxious things, whether Animals, Plants Paſſions, to be the *Works*, the *Members*, the *Motions* of *Typhon*. On the other they repreſent *Oſiris* by *an Eye and a Scep*the one whereof expreſſes *Forecaſt*, and other *Power*. In like manner *Homer*, he calleth the Governour and Monarch all the World,

Supreameſt Jove, *and mighty Counſellor*,

Seems to me to denote his Impery by *preme*, and his Well-adviſedneſs and cretion by *Counſellor*. They alſo oftentimes deſcribe this God by a *Hawk*, becauſe he exceeds in quickneſs of Sight, Velocity of Flying, and eaſily digeſts his Food. He is alſo ſaid to fly over the dies of Dead Men that lay unburied, to drop down Earth upon their Eyes. Likewiſe when he alights down upon the Bank of any River to aſſwage his Thirſt, he ſets his Feathers up on end, and after he hath done Drinking, he lets them again. ‖ Which he plainly doth becauſe he is now ſafe, and eſcaped from the dan-

† The LXX. took *Leviathan* in *Job* to be the Devil.

‖ *For* [illegible], I read [illegible]. The *Baſil* and *Aldine* Editions have [illegible] instead of [illegible].

ger of the *Crocodile*; for if he chances to be catcht, his Feathers then continue stiff as before. They also shew us every where *Osiris's* Statue in the Shape of a Man, with his private Part erect, to betoken unto us his Faculty of Generation and Nutrition; and they dreſs up his Images in a * Flame-coloured Robe, eſteeming the Sun as *the Body of the Power of Good,* † *and as the Viſible Part of Intelligible Subſtance.* Wherefore we have good reaſon to reject thoſe that aſcribe the Suns Globe unto *Typhon,* to whom appertaineth nothing of a Lucid or Salutary Nature, nor Order, nor Generation, nor Motion attended with Meaſure and Proportion, but the clean contrary to them. Neither is that parching Drought || which deſtroys many Animals and Plants, to be accounted as an Effect of the Suns; but of thoſe Winds and Waters, which in the Earth and Air, are not tempered according to the Seaſon; at what time the Principle of the Unordered and Interminate Nature, acts at random, and ſo ſtifles and ſuppreſſes thoſe Exhalations that ſhould aſcend. Moreover, in the Sacred Hymns of *Oſiris,* they call him up, * *who lyes hidden in the Arms of the Sun.* And upon the Thirtieth Day of the Month of *Epiphi,* they keep a certain Feſtival called *The Birth-day of the Eye of Orus,* at what time the Sun and the Moon are in one Direct Line, as eſteeming not only the Moon, but alſo the Sun to be the Eye and Light of † *Orus.* Likewiſe the Two and Twentieth Day of the Month

* For [illegible] I read [illegible]

† I inſert [illegible] in this place.

|| For [illegible], I read [illegible].

* This ſhews *Oſiris* to be the ſame with *Hercules,* who was ſaid above to go about in the Sun.

† This proves *Orus* to be the ſame with his Father *Oſiris.*

Month *Phaophi*, they make to be *the*
tivity of the Staves of the Sun, which
obſerve after the Autumnal *Æquinox*,
timating hereby, that he now ‖ wants,
it were, a * Prop and a Stay, he ſuffers
a great Diminution both of Heat an
Light, by his declining and moving o
liquely from us. Beſides this, they le
the Sacred Cow ſeven times about he
Temple, at the time of the Winter So
ſtice. And this going round is called *th*
Seeking of Oſiris, † the Goddeſs being i
great Diſtreſs for Water in Winter time
And the reaſon of her going ſo many
times round, is becauſe ‖ the Sun finiſhes
his Paſſage from the Winter to the Sum
Tropick in the Seventh Month. It is re
ported alſo, that * *Orus* the Son of *Is*
was the firſt that ever ſacrificed to the *Su*
upon the Fourth Day of the Month, a
we find it written in a Book, called *the*
Birth-Days of Orus. Moreover, they offer
Incenſe to the *Sun* three times every Day,
Roſin at his Riſing, *Myrrhe* when he is in
the Mid-Heaven, and that they call *Kyp*
about the time of his Setting: (what each
of theſe mean, I ſhall afterwards explain.)
Now they are of Opinion, that the *Sun* i
atton'd and pacified by all theſe. But to
what purpoſe ſhould I heap together many
things of this Nature? For there are ſome
that ſcruple not to ſay plainly, that *Oſi*
is the *Sun*, and that he is called † *Sirius* by
the Greeks, although the *Ægyptians* adding
the Article to his Name, have obſcured i
and brought its Senſe into queſtion. They

‖ This proves the Lame and Dumb *Harpocrates* to be the Sun.

* I leave out the former ὀνδιᾶ.

† I leave out τοῦ ἡλίου, it being but a Marginal Gloſs.

‖ Here I add ὁ Ἥλιος.

* That is, the Prieſts of *Orus*, who were founded by thoſe of *Iſis*.

† *Sirius* is frequently uſed by the Poets for the Sun.

alſo || declare *Iſis* to be no other than the Moon, and ſay that ſuch Statues of her as are horned, were made in imitation of her Creſcent; and that the black Habits in which ſhe ſo paſſionately purſues the Sun, ſets forth her Diſappearings and Eclipſes. For which reaſon they uſe to invoke the Moon in Love Concerns; and *Eudoxus* alſo ſaith, that *Iſis* preſides over Love Matters. Now theſe things have in them a ſhew and ſemblance of Reaſon; but they that would make * *Typhon* to be the Sun, deſerve not to be heard. But we muſt again reſume our proper Diſcourſe. † *Iſis* is indeed the Female Property of Nature, and her Receptivity of all Production, in which Senſe ſhe was called the *Nurſe* and the *All-receiver* by *Plato*, and *Myrionymus* (or *the Goddeſs with ten thouſand Names*) by the common ſort, becauſe that being tranſmuted by *The Diſcourſe*, ſhe receives all manner of *Shapes* and *Guiſes*. But ſhe hath a Natural Love to the Prime and Principal of all Beings (which is the ſame with the Good Principle) and eagerly affects it, and purſues after it; and ſhe ſhuns and rejects the Part of the Evil one. And although ſhe be indeed both the Receptacle and Matter of either Nature, yet ſhe always of her ſelf inclines to the Better of them, and readily gives way to it to generate upon her, and to ſow its *Effluxes* and *Reſemblances* into her, and ſhe rejoyces, and is very glad when ſhe is impregnated and filled with Productions. For a Production is an Image of the Real

|| For ἀποφαίνοντες ἔν, I read ἀποφαίνοντας εἶναι.

* *Typhon* was the *Sun* of the antient Savages; the *Greeks* make him Pilot to the Ship *Argo*, and call him *Typhis*.

† *Iſis* in the Greek Tongue ſignifies *Excelſa* or *Sublata*, which ſhews her to be the very ſame with *Urania* or *Celeſtial Venus* and the *Moon*. The *Pythagoreans* called the *Moon* the [illegible], and attributed all [illegible] Matter to her. The Prieſts called [illegible] the Body [illegible] for the ſame reaſon. She was the ſame with *Io*, which in *Egyptian* is the *Moon*.

Subſtance upon Matter, and what is generated is an Imitation of what is in Being. And therefore they do not without some Conſonancy, Fable the Soul of Oſiris to be eternal and incorruptible, but that his Body is often torn in pieces and deſtroyed by Typhon; and that Iſis wanders to and fro to look him out, and when ſhe hath found him, puts him together again. For the Permanent Being, the Mental Nature, and the Good is it ſelf above Corruption and Change; but the ſenſitive and corporeal Part, takes off certain Images from it, and receives certain Proportions, Shapes and Reſemblances, || which like Impreſſions upon Wax, do not continue always, but are ſwallowed up by the Diſorderly and Tumultuous Part, which is chaſed hither from the upper Region, and makes War with Orus, who is born of Iſis, being the * Image of the Mental World. For which reaſon, he is ſaid to be proſecuted for Baſtardy by Typhon, as not being pure and entire, and alone by himſelf (like his Father the Diſcourſe) nor unmixt and impaſſible, but embaſed with Matter by Corporeity. † But he gets the Better of him, and carries the Cauſe: Hermes, that is, The Diſcourſe, witneſſing and proving, that Nature produces the World by becoming her ſelf of like Form with the Mental Property. Moreover, the Generation of Apollo by Iſis and Oſiris, while theſe Deities were yet in Rhea's Womb, hints out unto us, that before this World became viſible and was completed

|| Here I add a.

* So that Oſiris, Iſis and Orus, that is, Mind, Matter and the Univerſe made up the Pythagorean and Platonick Triad.

† For [illegible] ἢ νι-[illegible], I read [illegible] ἢ [illegible].

pleaſed ‖ by *The Diſcourſe*; *Matter* being convinced by Nature, that ſhe was imperfect alone, brought forth the firſt Production. For which reaſon they alſo ſay, that Cripple Deity was begotten in the Dark, and they call him *The* * *Elder Orus*; for he was not the World, but a kind of a Picture and Phantom of the World to be. But this *Orus* is Terminate and Compleat of himſelf, yet hath he not quite deſtroyed *Typhon*, but only taken off his over great Activity and Brutal Force. Whence it is that they tell us, that at *Coptos*, the Statue of *Orus* holds faſt in his Hand the Privities of *Typhon*; and they Fable that *Mercury* took out *Typhons* Sinews, and uſed them for Harp-ſtrings, to denote unto us, that when *The Diſcourſe* compoſed the Univerſe, it made one Concord out of many Diſcords, and did not aboliſh, but accompliſh the Corruptible Faculty. Whence it comes, that being weak and feeble in the preſent State of things, it blends and mixes with the crazy and mutable Parts of the World, and ſo becomes in the Earth the Cauſer of Concuſſions and Shakings; † and in the Air, of parching Droughts and Tempeſtuous Winds, as alſo of Hurricanes, and Thunders. It likewiſe infects both Waters and Winds with peſtilential Diſeaſes, and runs up, and inſolently rages as high as the very Moon, ſuppreſſing many times, and blackening the Lucid Part; as the *Ægyptians* believe and relate, that *Typhon* one while ſmote *Orus's Eye*, and another while pluckt it out and ſwallowed it up, and afterwards gave it back to the *Sun*; intimating by the *Eye*, the Monthly Diminution of the Moon, and by the || *Blinding* of him, the Eclipse, which the Sun cures again by shining presently upon it, as soon as it hath escaped from the Shadow of the Earth. Now the better and more Divine Nature consists of *Three*; of the Intelligible Part, of Matter, and of that which is made up of both, which the *Greeks* call *Cosmus* (that is, *Trimness*) and we *the World*. *Plato* therefore uses to name the Intelligible Part the * *Form*, the *Sample* and the *Father*, and Matter the *Mother*, the *Nurse*, and the *Seat and Receptacle of Generation*; and that again, which is made up of both, the *Off-spring* and the *Production*. And one would conjecture that the *Ægyptians* called it the most perfect of Triangles, because they likened the Nature of the Universe principally to that; which *Plato* also in his Common-wealth seems to have made use of † to the same purpose, when he forms his *Nuptial Diagram*. Now that *Diagram* consists of three Angles, whereof that which makes the Right Angle Consists of three Parts, the Base of four, and the Subtense of five, being equal in value with the two that contain it. We are therefore to take the Perpendicular to represent the Male Property, the Base the Female, and the Subtense that which is produced by them both. We are likewise to look upon *Osiris* as the *First Cause*, *Isis* as the *Faculty of Reception*, and *Orus* as the *Effect*. For the Number *Three* is the first odd and perfect Number, and the Number *Four* is a Square, having for

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‖ I add ὑπὸ before λόγῳ.

* Or *Arueris*: he is called in *Euſebius*, *Agrueris*, and was the ſame with *Harpocrates*.

† For Καὶ αὐχμῶν τε ἐν ἀέρι δὲ, I read αὐχμῶν δὲ ἐν ἀέρι. See the Edition of *Aldus*.

|| For πλήρωσιν, I read πήρωσιν.

* ἰδέαν.

† For τοῦτο, I read εἰς τὸ αὐτό.

for its Side the Even Number *Two*. The Number *Five* alſo in ſome reſpects reſembles the *Father*, and in ſome again the *Mother*, being made up of *Three* and *Two*; beſides, *Panta* (*All things*) ſeems to be derived from *Pente* (*Five*) and they uſe *Pempaſaſthai* (which is || *telling Five*) for *Counting*. Moreover the Number *Five* makes a Square equal to the Number of Letters uſed among the *Ægyptians*, as alſo to the Number of Years which * *Apis* lived. They are alſo uſed to call *Orus* † *Kaimis*, which ſignifieth as much as *Seen*; for the World is perceptible to Senſe, and viſible; and *Iſis* they ſometimes call *Muth*, and ſometimes again *Athyri*, and ſometimes *Methuer*. And by the Firſt of theſe Names they mean || *Mother*, by the Second * *Orus's Mundan Houſe* (as *Plato* calls it, *The Place and the Receptacle of Generation*) but the Third is compounded of two Words, the one whereof ſignifies † *Full*, and the other *the Cauſe*; for the Matter of the World is full, and it is cloſely joyned with the good, and pure, and well ordered Principle. And it may be *Heſiod* alſo, when he makes the firſt things || of all to be *Chaos*, *Earth*, *Hell* and *Love*, may be thought to take up no other Principles than theſe, if we apply theſe Names as we have already diſpoſed them, to wit, that of *Earth* to *Iſis*, that of *Love* to *Oſiris*, and that of *Hell* to *Typhon*; for he ſeems to lay the *Chaos* under all, as a kind of *Room* or *Place* for the World to lye in. And the Subject we are

|| The Number of Fingers upon one Hand.

* For [illegible], I read [illegible].

† *Kaima* in the *Syriack*, is *Redivivus*.

|| and *Mud* or *Wet*.

* *Ath Uro*, is *Domus Ori vel Regis*, in the *Coptick* Tongue.

† *Methuer* is an Epithet of *Iſis*, or the Moon, and it ſeems to me to be the ſame with the *Egyptian Meth to er*, i.e. *Dead and made* [illegible] *again*; to denote her Mutations.

|| For [illegible], I read [illegible].

are now upon, ſeems in a manner to for *Plato*'s Tale, which *Socrates* tells in the *Sympoſion* about the Production of Eros (or *Love*,) where he ſaith, how that once on a Time, *Penia* (or *Poverty*) having a mighty deſire of Children, laid her down by *Porus* (or *Plenty's*) Side as he was aſleep, and that ſhe thereupon conceiving by him, brought forth *Eros*, who was by Nature both * frowzy and very cunning, as coming of a Father that was Good and Wiſe, and had Sufficiency of all things; but of a Mother that was very Needy and Poor; and that by reaſon of her Indigence, ſhe hankered after another, and was eagerly importunate for another. For this ſame *Porus* is no other than the Firſt Amiable, Deſirable, Compleat and Sufficient Being; and Matter is that which he calleth *Penia*, ſhe being of her ſelf alone deſtitute of the Property of Good, and (when impregnated by it) ſhe ſtill deſires and craves for more. Moreover, the World, or *Orus*, that's produced out of theſe two, being not Eternal, nor Impaſſible, nor Incorruptible, but † *Ever-a-making*, therefore Machinates partly by ſhifting of Accidents, and partly by Circular Motions, to remain ſtill Young and never to dye. But we muſt remember that we are not to make uſe of Fables as if they were Doctrinal throughout, but only to take that in each of them, which we ſhall judge to make a pertinent Reſemblance. And therefore when we treat of || Matter, we need not (with reſpect to the Sentiments of ſome Philoſo-

phers)

* I read αὐχμηρὸν for μακρὸν out of *Plato*.

† Ἀειγενής.

|| It is plain from hence, that he accounts *Matter* and *Form* to be but Romantick or Mythologick Principles, and not real ones.

phers) to conceit in our Minds a certain Body devoid of Soul and of all Quality, and of it ſelf wholly idle and unactive. For we uſe to call Oyl the Matter of an Unguent, and Gold the Matter of a Statue, though they are not deſtitute of all * Quality. And we render the very Soul and Mind of Man to Diſcourſe, to be dreſt up and compoſed into Science and Vertue. There have been ſome alſo that have made the Mind to be a Receptacle of Forms, and a kind of an † Imprimery for things intelligible; and ſome are of Opinion again, that the Genital Humidity in the Female Sex is no active Property, nor efficient Principle; but only the Matter and Nutriment of the Production. The which, when we retain in our Memories, we ought to conceive likewiſe, that this Goddeſs, which always participates of the Firſt God, and is ever taken up with the Love of thoſe Excellencies and Charms that are about him, is not by Nature oppoſite to him; but that as ‖ we are uſed to ſay of a very good natured Woman, that (though ſhe be married to a Man, and conſtantly enjoys his Embraces) yet ſhe hath a fond kind of Longing after him; ſo hath ſhe always a ſtrong Inclination to the God, though ſhe be preſent and round about him, and though ſhe be impregnated with his moſt prime and pure Particles; and that moreover where *Typhon* falls in and touches upon her extream Parts, it is there ſhe appears melancholy, and is ſaid to mourn, and to

look

* For [illegible], I read [illegible].

† Ἐκμαγεῖον.

‖ Here is inſerted out of the Margin theſe Words. *To love a Lawful and juſt Husband is accounted a piece of Juſtice,* and therefore I have quitted it.

looks for certain Relicks and Pieces of *Oſiris*, and to wrap them up carefully in fine Cloath; ſhe receiving all things that dye and laying them up within her ſelf, as ſhe again brings forth and ſends up out of her ſelf all ſuch things as are produced. And thoſe * Proportions, Forms and Effluxes of the God that are in the Heaven and Stars, do indeed continue always the ſame, but thoſe that are ſown abroad into mutable things, as into Land, Sea, Plants and Animals are † reſolved, deſtroyed and buried, and afterwards ſhew themſelves again very often, and come up a new in ſeveral different Productions. For which reaſon, the Fable makes *Typhon* to be married to *Nephelys*, and *Oſiris* to have accompanied with her by ſtealth. For the outmoſt and moſt extream Parts of Matter which they call || *Nephelys*, and the End is moſtly under the Power of the Deſtructive Faculty; but the Fecund and Salutary Power diſpenſes but a feeble and languid Seed into thoſe Parts, and it is all deſtroyed by *Typhon*, except only what *Iſis* taking up doth preſerve, cheriſh, and improve; But in the main, *Typhon* is ſtill the prevailing Power, as both *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* inſinuate. Moreover, the Generative and Salutary Part of Nature hath its Motion towards him, and in order to procure Being; but the Deſtroying and Corruptive Part hath its Motion from him, and in order to procure Not-being. For which reaſon, they call the former Part * *Iſis*, from *Going* and being *Born-along* with

Knowledge;

* λόγοι.

† For, διαλεγόμενα, I read διαλυόμενα.

|| The extream Parts of *Ægypt*, which were never covered by the *Nilus*, were reckoned the Body of *Nephthys* or *Proſerpina*, as the other Parts the Body of *Iſis*. But the Philoſophical Prieſts carried this Notion higher.

* *Iſis* may be ſtrain'd to ſignifie both *Going* and *Science*.

Knowledge; ſhe being a kind of a living and prudent Motion. For her Name is not of a Barbarous Original; but as all the Gods have one Name († *Theos*) in common, and that is derived from the two firſt Letters of *Theon* (*Runner*) and of *Theatos* (*Viſible*) ſo alſo this very Goddeſs is both from *Motion* and *Science* at once called *Iſis* by us, and *Iſis* alſo by the *Ægyptians.* So *Plato* likewiſe tells us, that the Antients opened the Nature of the Word ‖ *Uſia* (or *Subſtance*) by calling it *Iſia* (that is, *Knowledge* and *Motion*;) as alſo that *Noëſis* (*Intellection*) and *Phroneſis* (*Diſcretion*) had their Names given them for being a *Phora* (or *Agitation*) and a kind of *Motion* or *Nüs* (or *Mind*) which was then as it were *Hiëmenos* and *Pheromenos* (that is, *moved* and *agitated*) and the like he affirmeth of * *Syniénai* (which ſignifies *To underſtand*) that it was as much as to ſay, *To be in Commotion.* Nay, he ſaith moreover, that they attribute the very Names of the *Agathon* (or *Good*) and of *Arete* (or *Vertue*) to the *Theontes* (or *Runners*) and the *Eureïontes* (or † *Well-movers.*) As likewiſe on the other hand again, they uſed Terms oppoſite to Motion by way of reproach; for they called ‖ what *clogged*, *tyed up*, *locked up*, and confined Nature from *Jeſthai* and *Jenai* (that is, from *Agitation* and *Motion*) *Kakia* (*Badneſs* or *Ill Motion*) *Aporia* (*Difficulty* or *Difficult Motion*) *Deilia* (*Fearfulneſs* or *Fearful Motion*) and *Ania* (*Sorrow* or *want of Motion.*) But *Oſiris* had his Name from *Hoſion* and *Hieron*

ron

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† *Theos*, or according to the more antient *Laconick* Dialect *Sior*, is the ſame with *Thor*, *Sar*, and *Sirius*, and ſignifies *Lord* and *Sire*.

‖ I read *eiſia* for *iſia*.

* For *vũ*, I read *rò*.

† I read *eueyũn* for *euellen*.

‖ For *apud*, I read *ā*.

are compounded together; for the Diſcourſe is common both to Coeleſtial and Subterreſtrial Beings; the former of which, the Antients thought fit to ſtyle *Hiera* (or *Sacred*) and the latter *Hoſia* (or * *Pious*). But that *Diſcourſe* which diſcloſes things Heavenly, and which appertains to things whoſe Motion tends *Ano* (or *Upwards*) is called *Anubis*; and ſometimes he is alſo named *Hermanubis*, the latter part of his Name referring to things *Above*, and the former to things † *Beneath*. For which reaſon they alſo ſacrifice to him two Cocks, the one whereof is white, and the other of a Saffron Colour, as eſteeming the things above to be entire and clear, and the things beneath to be mixt and various. Nor need any one to wonder at the Formation of theſe Words from the *Grecian* Tongue, for there are many || Thouſand more of this kind which accompanying thoſe who at ſeveral times removed out of *Greece*, do to this very day ſojourn and remain among Forreigners; ſome whereof, when Poetry would bring back into uſe, it hath been falſly accuſed of Barbariſm by thoſe Men, who love to call ſuch Words *Gloſſes* (or *Tongues*.) They ſay moreover, that in the Books * inſcribed to *Hermes*, there is an account given about the Sacred Names, how that Power which preſides over the Circulation of the Sun, is called *Orus*, and by the *Greeks*, *Apollo*, and that which is over the Winds is by ſome called *Oſiris*, and by others again *Sarapis*, and by others *Sothi*,

* With relation to the *Manes*.

† Becauſe *Hermes*, *Armais*, or *Armais*, as the *Ægyptians* called him, differed not from *Arimanius* and *Typhon*.

|| Yet there muſt be great Prudence in diſtinguiſhing ſuch Words.

* The Prieſts did never put their own Names to the Sacred Books, but that of their God *Hermes*: See *Jamblichus de Myſteriis Ægyptiorum*.

Sothi, in the *Ægyptian* Tongue. Now that Word ſignifies in *Greek Kyein* (to *Breed*) and *Kyeſin* (*Breeding*) and therefore by an Obliquation of the Word *Kyon* the Star which they account proper to the Goddeſs *Iſis* is called in *Greek Kyon* (which is as well *Dog* as † *Breeder*.) And although it be but a fond thing to be over contentious about Words, yet I had rather yield to the *Ægyptians* the Name of *Sarapis* than that of *Oſiris* ; ‖ I therefore account the former to be forraign, and the latter to be *Greekiſh*, but believe both to appertain to one God and to one Power. And the *Ægyptian* Theology ſeems to favour this Opinion. For they oftentimes call *Iſis* by the Name of * *Minerva*, which in their Language expreſſeth this Sentence, *I came from my ſelf*, which is ſignificative of Motion proceeding from it ſelf. But *Typhon* is called (as hath been ſaid before) *Seth*, *Bebon* and † *Smu*, which Names would inſinuate a kind of a *forcible Reſtraint*, and an *Oppoſition* and *Subverſion*. Moreover, they call the Load-ſtone *Orus*'s *Bone*, and Iron *Typhon*'s *Bone*, as *Manethos* relates. For as the Iron is oftentimes like a thing that were drawn to, and that followed the Load-ſtone, and oftentimes again flies off and recoils to the oppoſite Part, ſo the Salutary, the Good and the Diſcurſive Motion of the Univerſe doth, as by a gentle Perſwaſion, invert, reduce and make ſofter the rugged and *Typhonian* one ; and when again it is reſtrained and forced back ‖ *Typhon* returns into himſelf, and ſinks into his former * Interminateneſs. *Eudoxus* alſo ſaith, that the *Ægyptians* Fable of † *Jupiter*, how that being once unable to go, becauſe his Legs grew together, he for very Shame ſpent all his time in the Wilderneſs; but that by dividing and ſeparating theſe Parts of his Body, he came to have the right Uſe of his Feet. This Fable alſo hints to us by theſe Words, that the Intelligence and Diſcourſe of the God which walk'd before in the unſeen and inconſpicuous State came into Generation by means of Motion. The *Siſtrum* likewiſe (or *the Rattle of Iſis*) doth intimate unto us, that all things ought to be agitated and ſhooke, and not be ſuffered to reſt from their Motion; but be as it were rung up and awoke, when they begin to grow drowzy and to droop. For they tell us, that the *Siſtres* avert and fright away *Typhon*, inſinuating hereby, that as Corruption locks up and fixes Natures Courſe, ſo Generation again reſolves and excites it by means of Motion. Moreover, as the *Siſtre* hath its upper part convex, ſo its ‖ Circumference contains the Four things that are ſhaken: for that part of the World alſo which is liable to Generation and Corruption is contained by the Sphere of the Moon; but all things are moved and changed in it by means of the Four Elements, of Fire, Earth, Water and Air. And upon the upper part of the Circumference of the *Siſtre*, on the out ſide, they ſet the *Effigies* of a Cat carved with a Human Face; and again, on

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† The Dog is Sacred to the Sun, for being Prolifick and Wiſe,

‖ For ἡγούμε-νον, I read ἡγοῦμαι τό.

* *Saoſis* of *Sais*,

† The *Jews* call the Devil *Samael*, i.e. *The Deſtroying Power*,

‖ I add ὁ Τυ-φῶν.

the

* For *ἀνοησίαν*, I read *ἀορασίαν*.

† *Harpocrates* or the *Hybernal Sun.*

‖ I read *ἄψις* for *ὄψις*.

the under part below the four jingling things, they set on one side the Face of *Isis*, and on the other the Face of *Nephthys*, symbolically representing by these two Faces Generation and Death (for these are Changes and Alterations of the Elements;) and by the Cat the Moon, because of the different Colours, the Night-motion, and the great Fecundity of this Animal. For they say that she brings forth first One, then Two, and Three, and Four and Five, and so adds untill she comes to Seven; so that she brings Eight and Twenty in all, which are as many as there are several Degrees of Light in the Moon; but this looks more like a * Romance. This is certain, that the Pupils of her Eyes are observed to fill up and grow large upon the Full of the Moon, and again, to contract and grow less upon the Decrease of this Star. To sum up all then in one Word, it is not reasonable to believe, that either the Water, or the Sun, or the Earth, or the Heaven is *Osiris* or *Isis*; Nor again, that the Fire, or the Drought, or the Sea is *Typhon*; but if we simply ascribe to *Typhon* whatever in all these is through Excesses or Defects intemperate or disorderly; and if on the other hand we reverence and honour what in them all is Orderly, Good and Beneficial, esteeming them as the Operations of *Isis*, and as the Image, Imitation and Discourse of *Osiris*, we shall not err. And we shall besides, take off the Incredulity of Eudoxus, who makes a great Question how it

comes

* It is therefore to be understood of the Cœlestial Cat.

dertake to paſs, that whether † *Ceres* had any part in the Care of Love Affairs (but only *Iſis*;) nor *Bacchus* any Power, either to encreaſe the *Nile*, or to preſide over the Dead. For we hold that theſe Gods are ſet over the whole ſhare of Good in our common *Diſcourſe*, and that whatever is either Good or Amiable in Nature, is all owing to theſe, the one yielding the Principles, and the other receiving and ‖ diſpenſing them. By this means we ſhall be able to deal with the Vulgar and more importune ſort alſo, whether their Fancy be to accommodate the things that refer to theſe Gods, to thoſe Changes which happen to the Ambient Air at the ſeveral Seaſons of the Year, or to Productions, and to the Times of Sowing and * Earing, affirming that *Oſiris* is then buried when the ſown Corn is covered over by the Earth, and that he revives again, and re-appears when it begins to ſprout. Which they ſay is the reaſon that *Iſis* is reported upon her finding her ſelf to be with Child, to have hung a certain † Amulet or Charm about her upon the ſixth day of the Month *Phaophi*; and that ſhe was delivered of *Harpocrates* about the Winter Tropick, he being in the firſt Shootings and Sprouts very Imperfect and Tender. Which is the reaſon (ſay they) that when the *Lentiles* begin to ſpring up, they offer him their Tops for Firſt Fruits. They alſo obſerve the Feſtival of her *After-birth* after the Vernal *Æquinox*. For they that hear theſe things are much taken

† *Ceres* in Greek *Demeter* or *Mother Deo*, and alſo *[illegible]*, or *Libera*, is the ſame with *Iſis* and *Venus*.

‖ For *διαμένουσι*, I read *διανέμουσι* with *Petavius*'s Copy.

* I read *ἀρότους* for *ἀρότρους*, out of the ſame Copy.

† For a Scare-crow I ſuppoſe.

taken with them, and readily give aſſent to them, and preſently infer their Credibility from the Obviouſneſs and Familiarneſs of the Matter. Nor would this be any great harm neither, would they ſave us theſe Gods in common, and not make them to be peculiar to the *Ægyptians*, nor confine theſe Names to the River *Nilus*, and only to that one Piece of Ground which the River *Nilus* waters; nor affirm their *Fens* and their *Lotuſes* to be the Subject of this || Mythology, and ſo deprive the reſt of Mankind of great and mighty Gods, who have neither a *Nilus* nor a *Butos*, nor a *Memphis*. As for *Iſis*, all Mankind have her, and are well acquainted with her and the other Gods about her; and although they had not antiently learnt to call ſome of them by their *Ægyptian* Names, yet they from the very firſt both knew and honoured the Power which belongs to every one of them. In the ſecond place, what is yet of greater conſequence, is, that they take a mighty care, and that they fear, leaſt before they are aware, they, as it were * crumble and diſſolve the Divine Beings into Blaſts of Winds, Streams of Water, Sowings of Corn, † Earings of Land, Accidents of the Earth, and Changes of Seaſons; as thoſe who make *Bacchus* to be Wine, and || *Vulcan* to be *Flame*. *Cleanthes* alſo ſomewhere ſaith, that * *Pherſephone* (or *Proſerpine*) is that Air that is firſt *Pheromenon* (or *that paſſes*) through the Fruits of the Earth, and is afterwards, as it were, *Phe-*

|| For μυθο-ποιίαν, I read μυθοποιίας.

* Διαγγα-φοντες.

† I read ἀρό-τους for ἀρό-τρους.

|| *Vulcan* is called in Greek *Hephæſtus* from the *Coptick Phtha*, which is *God*.

* She hath her Name from φέρειν φόνον, or *Bringing Bloodſhed*.

neuomenon (or *Slain*:) and again, a certain Poet ſaith of Reapers:

Then when the Youths the Legs of Ceres *cut.*

For theſe men ſeem to me to be nothing wiſer than ſuch as would take the Sails, the †Cables and the Anchor of a Ship for the Pilot; the Yarn and the Webb for the Weaver; and the Bowl, or the Mead, or the Ptiſan for the Doctor. And they over and above produce in Men moſt dangerous and Atheiſtical Opinions, while they give the Names of Gods to thoſe Natures and Things that have in them neither Soul nor Senſe, and that are neceſſarily deſtroyed by Men, who have occaſion for them, and who conſtantly uſe them. For no Man can imagine theſe things can be Gods in themſelves. And therefore nothing can be a God to Men, that is either without Soul, ‖ or under their Power. But yet by means of theſe things we come to think them Gods that uſe them themſelves, and beſtow them upon us, and that render them perpetual and continual; and thoſe not ſome in one Country, and others in another; nor ſome *Grecians*, and others *Barbarians*, nor ſome Southern and others Northern; but as the Sun, Moon, Land and Sea are common to all Men, but yet have different Names in different Nations; ſo that one *Diſcourſe* that orders theſe things, and that one *Forecaſt* that adminiſters them, and thoſe *Subordinate Powers* that are ſet over

† I read κά-λως for κάλυς, and a little before ἔτι for τῦτο.

‖ I add οὐδὲ before ὑπο-χείριον.

ver every Nation in particular, have aſſigned them by the *Laws* of ſeveral Countries, ſeveral kinds of Honours and Appellations. And thoſe that have been conſecrated to their Service, make uſe * ſome of them of darker, and others again of clearer Symbols, thereby guiding the Underſtanding to the Knowledge of things Divine, not without much Danger and Hazard. For ſome not being able to reach their true Meaning, have ſlid into downright Superſtition; and others again, while they would fly the Quagmire of Superſtition, have fallen unwittingly upon the Precipice of Atheiſm. And for this reaſon we ſhould here make moſt uſe of the Reaſonings from Philoſophy, which introduce us into the Knowledge of things Sacred, that ſo we may think piouſly of whatever is ſaid or acted in Religion: Leſt, as *Theodorus* once ſaid, that *as he reached forth his Diſcourſes in his Right-hand, ſome of his Auditors received them in their Left*; ſo we judging otherwiſe than they are, of what things the Laws have wiſely conſtituted about the Sacrifices and Feſtivals thereby fall into moſt dangerous Errors and Miſtakes. That therefore we are to conſtrue all theſe things to refer to the *Diſcourſe*, we may eaſily perceive by them themſelves. For upon the Nineteenth Day of the Firſt Month, they keep a ſolemn Feſtival to *Hermes*, wherein they eat *Honey* and *Figs*, and withal, ſay theſe Words; † *Truth is a ſweet Thing.* And that *Amulet* or Charm, which they fable

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* For μὲν, I read οἱ μὲν.

† *Iſis* was before called *Juſtice*, and how *Truth*, [illegible] which muſt participate of *Religion* is *Sweet* [illegible] *Temper*. See 3 *Eſdr.* 4. [illegible]

Iſis to hang about her, is, when interpreted into our Language] *A true Voice.* Nor are we to underſtand *Harpocrates* to be either ſome Imperfect or Infant God, or a ſort of Puls (as ſome will have him) but to be the Governour and Reducer of the Tender, Imperfect and Inarticulate *Diſcourſe* which Men have about the Gods. For which reaſon, he hath always ‖ his Finger upon his Mouth, as a Symbol of talking little and keeping Silence. Likewiſe upon the Month of *Meſore*, they preſent him with certain * Puls, and pronounce theſe Words; † *THE TONGUE IS FORTUNE, THE TONGUE IS GOD.* And of all the Plants that *Ægypt* produces, they ſay the *Peach-tree* is moſt Sacred to the Goddeſs; becauſe its Fruit reſembles the ‖ *Heart*, and its Leaf the *Tongue*. For there is nothing that Man poſſeſſes that is either more Divine, or that hath a greater tendency unto Happineſs than *Diſcourſe*, and eſpecially that which relates to the Gods. For which reaſon * they lay a ſtrict Charge upon ſuch as go down to the Oracle there, to have pious Thoughts in their Hearts, and Words of good ſound in their Mouths. But the greater part act Ludicrous Things in their Proceſſions and Feſtivals, firſt proclaiming good Expreſſions, and then both ſpeaking and thinking Words of moſt lewd and wicked meaning, and that even of the Gods themſelves. † How then muſt we manage our ſelves at theſe tetrical, moroſe and mournful Sacrifices, if we

‖ The natural Reaſon, was becauſe *Jupiter* ſeldom thundered in the Winter Seaſon.

* The Emblem of Generation.

† Fortune is *Iſis* or the *Moon*, and *God*, *Hermes* or the *Sun*, i. e. The Tongue provides for Body and Soul.

‖ The *Heart* and the *Tongue* a e apt Symbols of *Alethia* or *Truth*.

* For [illegible], I read [illegible].

† *Hic labor, hoc opus eſt.*

we are neither to omit what the Laws preſcribe us, nor yet to confound and diſtract our Thoughts about the Gods with vain and uncouth Surmiſes? There are among the *Greeks* alſo many things done, that are very like to thoſe which the *Ægyptians* do at their Solemnities, and much about the ſame time too. For at the *Theſmophoria* at *Athens*, the Women faſt ſitting upon the bare ‖ Ground. The *Bœotians* alſo remove that they call *Achaias Megara* (or *the Houſe of the Achæan* Ceres) terming that Day the *Afflictive Holy-day*, becauſe *Ceres* was then in great *Affliction* for her Daughters Deſcent into Hell. Now upon this Month, about the Riſing of the *Pleiades*, is the Sacred Time; and the *Ægyptians* call it *Athyr*, the *Athenians*, *Pyanepſion* and the *Bœotians Damatrios* (or *the Month of* Ceres.) Moreover, *Theopompus* relates, that * thoſe that live towards the Sun-ſetting (or the *Heſperii*) believe the *Winter* to be *Saturn*, the *Somer Venus*, and the *Spring-time Proſerpine*, and that they call them by thoſe Names, and maintain all things to be produced by † *Saturn* and *Venus*. But the *Phrygians* being of Opinion that the *Sun* ſleeps in the *Winter*, and wakes in the *Somer*, do in the manner of Eſtaticks, in the Winter-time ſing certain ‖ Lullabyes to make him ſleep, and in the Somer-time again, certain * Rouzing Carols to make him wake. In like manner the *Paphlagonians*, ſay he is bound and impriſoned in the Winter, and walks abroad again in the Spring, and is at liber-

‖ The Earth being the Body of *Iſis* or *Ceres*.

* The *Moors* and *Spaniards*.

† *Sol* and *Luna*.

‖ Κατευνασμὺς.

* Ἀνεγέρσεις.

ty; and the Nature of the Seaſon gives us ſuſpition that this tetrical ſort of Service † was occaſioned by the abſenting of the ſeveral ſorts of Fruits at that time of the Year; which yet the Antients did not believe to be Gods, but ſuch Gifts of the Gods as were both great and neceſſary in order to preſerve them from a Savage and Beſtial Life. And at what time they ſaw both the Fruits that came from Trees wholly to diſappear and fail, and thoſe alſo which themſelves had ſown, ‖ to be yet but ſtarved and poor, they taking up freſh Mold in their Hands, and laying it about their Roots, and committing them a ſecond time to the Ground, with uncertain Hopes of their ever coming to Perfection, or arriving to Maturity, did herein many things that might well reſemble People at Funerals, and a Mourning for the Dead. Moreover, as we uſe to ſay of one that hath bought the Books of *Plato*, that he hath bought *Plato*, and of one that hath taken upon him to act the Compoſitions of *Menander*, that he hath acted *Menander*; in like manner they did not ſtick to call the Gifts and Creatures of the Gods by the Names of the Gods themſelves, paying this Honour and Veneration to them for their neceſſary Uſe. But thoſe of After-times receiving this Practice unſkilfully and ignorantly, applying the Accidents of Fruits, and the Acceſſes and Receſſes of things neceſſary to Human Life unto the Gods, did not only call them the Generations and Deaths of the

† I read γενέσθαι for γεννᾶσθαι.

‖ For γλίσχρως and ἀπόρως, I read γλίσχρους and ἀπόρους.

the Gods, but alſo believed them ſuch, and ſo filled themſelves with abundance of abſurd, wicked and diſtempered Notions; and this, although they had the Abſurdity of ſuch a monſtrous Opinion before their very Eyes. And therefore *Xenophanes* the *Colophonian* might not only * put the *Ægyptians* in mind, *If they believed theſe they worſhipped to be Gods, not to lament for them, and if they lamented for them, not to believe them to be Gods*; but alſo that it would be extreamly ridiculous at one and the ſame time to lament for the Fruits of the Earth, and to pray them to appear again, and make † themſelves ripe, that ſo they may be over again conſumed and lamented for. But now this in its true intention is no ſuch thing; but they make their Lamentation for the Fruits, and their Prayers to the Gods, who are the Authors and Beſtowers of thoſe Fruits, that they would be pleaſed to produce and bring up again other new ones in the place of them that are gone. Wherefore it is an excellent Saying among Philoſophers, *That they that have not learnt the true Senſe of Words, will miſtake alſo in the Things*; as we ſee thoſe among the *Greeks*, who have not learned nor accuſtomed themſelves to call the Copper, the Stone, and the painted Repreſentations of the Gods, their Images or their Honours, but them themſelves, are ſo adventurous as to ſay, that *Lacharis* ſtripped *Minerva*, that *Dionyſius* cropt off *Apollo*'s Golden Locks; and that *Jupiter Capitolinus* was burnt and deſtroyed in the

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* For ἀξιῶσαι, I read ὑπομνῆσαι, or to that Senſe.

† For ἑαυτοῖς? I read ἑαυτούς.

Civil Wars of [illegible]. They [illegible] ‖ before they are aware, [illegible] and re-ceive bad Opinions with these Improper Words. And the *Ægyptians* are not the leaſt Guilty herein, with reſpect to the Animals which they worſhip. For the *Grecians* both ſpeak and think aright in theſe Matters, when they tell us that the *Pigeon* is Sacred to *Venus*, the *Serpent* to *Minerva*, the *Raven* to *Apollo*, and the *Dog* to *Diana*, as *Euripides* ſomewhere ſpeaks (concerning *Hecuba*.)

‖ For μανθάνουσιν, I read λανθάνουσιν.

Into a Bitch, transformed you * *ſhall be,*
And be the Play-thing of bright Hecate.

* For ἐστὶν, I read ἔσῃ.

But the greater Part of the *Ægyptians* worſhipping the very Animals themſelves, and courting them as Gods, have not only filled their Religious Worſhip with Matter of Scorn and Deriſion (for that would be the leaſt harm that could come of their † blockiſh Ignorance) but a dire Conception alſo ariſes therefrom, which blows up the feeble and ſimple Minded into an Extravagance of Superſtition, and when it lights upon the more ſubtle and daring Tempers, it outrages them into Atheiſtical and Brutiſh Cogitations. Wherefore it ſeems not inconſonant here to recount what is probable upon this Subject. For that the Gods being afraid of *Typhon*, changed themſelves into theſe Animals, and did as it were hide themſelves in the Bodies of *Ibiſes Dogs* and *Hawks*, is a Foolery beyond all Prodigiouſneſs and Legend.

† Ἀβελτηρία.

And that ſuch Souls of Men deprived this Life, as remain undiſſolved after Death, have leave to be Reborn into this Life by theſe Bodies only, is equally incredible. And of thoſe who would aſſign ſome Political Reaſon for theſe things, there are ſome that affirm that *Oſiris* in his great Army, dividing his Forces into many Parts, which we || in *Greek* call *Lochoi* and *Taxeis*, (that is, *Decuries* and *Centuries*) at the ſame time gave every of them certain Enſigns or Colours with the Shapes of ſeveral Animals upon them, which in proceſs of time came to be lookt upon as Sacred, and to be worſhiped by the ſeveral Kindreds and Clans in that Diſtribution. Others ſay again, that the Kings of After times did for the greater Terror of their Enemies, wear about them in their Battles, the Golden and Silver Heads and upper Parts of fierce Animals. But there are others that relate, that one of theſe ſubtle and crafty Princes, obſerving the *Ægyptians* to be of a light and vain Diſpoſition, and very inclinable to Change and Innovation, and that they were withal, when Sober and Unanimous, of an Inexpugnable and Irreſtrainable Strength, by reaſon of their mighty Numbers, therefore taught them in their ſeveral Quarters, a perpetual Kind of Superſtition to be the Ground of endleſs Quarrels and Diſputes among them. For the Animals which he commanded them to obſerve and reverence, ſome of them one ſort, and ſome another, being at Enmity and War with

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|| For Ἑλληνικοῖς, I read Ἑλληνικῶς.

one another, and themſelves deſiring ſome of them one ſort of them, and ſome another for their Food, each Party among them * being upon the perpetual Defence of their proper Animals, and highly reſenting the Wrongs that were offered them; it happened, that being thus drawn into the Quarrels of their Beaſts, they were, before they were aware, engaged in Hoſtilities with one another. For at this very Day, the *Lycopolitans* (or *Wolf-Town-men*) are the only People among the *Ægyptians* that eat the Sheep, becauſe the *Wolf*, which they eſteem to be a God, doth ſo too. And in our own Times, the *Oxyrynchites* (or *thoſe of Pike-Town*) becauſe the *Kynopolitans* (or *thoſe of Dog-Town*) did eat a *Pike*, catcht the *Dogs*, and ſlew them, and eat of them as they would do of a Sacrifice; and there ariſing a Civil War upon it, in which they did much Miſchief to one another, they were all at laſt chaſtiſed by the *Romans*. And whereas there are many that ſay that the Soul of *Typhon* himſelf took its Flight into theſe Animals, this Tale may be lookt upon to ſignifie that every Irrational and Brutal Nature appertains to the Share of the *Evil Dæmon*. And therefore when they would pacifie him and ſpeak him fair, they make their Court and Addreſſes to theſe Animals. But if there chance to happen a great and exceſſive Drought, which ſhows what is ordinary at other times brings along with it either waſting Diſeaſes, or other monſtrous and prodigious Calamities, the

* For ἀμύνονται, I read ἀμύνοντες.

the Prieſts then conduct into a dark place with great ſilence and ſtilneſs, ſome of the Animals which are honoured by them: and they firſt of all menace and terrifie them: and if the Miſchief ſtill continues, they then conſecrate and offer them up, looking upon this as a way of puniſhing the *Evil God*, or at leaſt as ſome grand Purgation in time of greateſt Diſaſters. For, as *Manethos* relateth, they were uſed in antient times to burn live Men in the City of *Idithya*, entitling them to *Typhon*, and then they made Wind and diſperſed and ſcattered their Aſhes into the Air. And this was done publickly, and at one only Seaſon of the Year, which was the Dog-days. But thoſe Conſecrations of the Animals worſhipped by them, which are made in ſecret, and at irregular and uncertain times of the Year, as occaſions require, are wholly unknown to the vulgar Sort, except only at the time of their Burials, at which they produce certain other Animals, and in the Preſence of all Spectators, throw them into the Grave with them, thinking by this means to vex *Typhon*, and to abate the Satisfaction he received by their Deaths. For it is the *Apis* with a few more that is thought Sacred to *Oſiris*; but the far greater part are aſſigned to *Typhon*. And if this account of theirs be true, I believe it ſignifies the Subject of our Enquiry to be ſuch Animals as are univerſally reſceived, and have their Honours in common amongſt them all; and of this kind is the *Ibis*, the *Hawk*, the

† *Kynokephalus*, ‖ and the *Apis* hinde
and indeed they call the Goat, which i
kept at *Mendes* by the ſame Name. I
remains yet behind, that I treat of their Beneficialneſs to Man, and of their Symbolical Uſe; and ſome of them participate of ſome one of theſe, and others of both. It is moſt manifeſt therefore that they worſhiped the *Ox*, the *Sheep*, and the *Ichneumon* for their Benefit and Uſe, as the *Lemniotes* did the *Larks*, for finding out the Catarpillars Eggs, and breaking them; and the *Theſſalians* the *Storks*, becauſe that as their Soil bred abundance of Serpents, they at their appearance deſtroyed them all. For which reaſon they enacted a Law, that whoever killed a *Stork* ſhould be baniſhed the Country. Moreover, the *Ægyptians* honour the *Aſp*, the *Weezle* and the *Beetle*, obſerving * in them certain dark Reſemblances of the Power of the Gods, like thoſe of the Sun in Drops of Water. For there are many that to this Day believe that the *Weezle* engenders by the Ear, and brings forth by the Mouth, and is therein a Reſemblance of the Production of the † *Diſcourſe*; and that the *Beetle* Kind alſo hath no Female, but that the Males caſt out their Sperm into a round Pellet of Earth, which they rowl about by thruſting it backwards with their hinder Feet, while themſelves move forwards; and this in imitation of the *Sun*, which while it ſelf moves from Weſt to Eaſt, turns the Heaven the contrary way. They alſo ‖ compared the *Aſp* to a *Star*,

for

† That is, a *Drill*, or a Mungrel betwixt a Dog and a Man.

‖ Here I add ὡς.

* For ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, I read ἐν αὐτοῖς.

† That is that Efflux or Emanation of the *Nus* or *Mental Principle*, which gives Form unto Matter, and to the Parts of the Univerſe.

‖ I leave out ἢ.

for being always young, and for performing its Motions with great eaſe and glibneſs, and that without the help of Organs. Nor had the *Crocodile* his Honour given him without a ſhew of probable reaſon for it: it is *therefore reported to have been produced for a Repreſentation of God, it being the only Animal that is without Tongue. For the *Divine Diſcourſe* hath no need of Voice, and

Marching by ſtill and ſilent ways,

And by exact Juſtice, it tranſacts mortal Affairs according to Juſtice. Beſides, they ſay he is the only Animal that lives in Water that hath his Eye-ſight covered over with a thin and tranſparent Film, which deſcends down from his Fore-head, ſo that he ſees without being ſeen himſelf by others, in which he agrees with the Firſt God. Moreover, in what place ſoever in the Country the Female Crocodile lays her Eggs, that may be certainly concluded to be the utmoſt extent of the Riſe of the River *Nilus* for that year. For not being able to lay in the Water, and being afraid to lay far from it, they have ſo exact a Knowledge of Futurity, that though they enjoy the Benefit of the approaching Stream at their Laying and Hatching, they yet preſerve their Eggs dry and untouched by the Water. And they lay ſixty in all, and are juſt as many days a hatching them, and the longeſt liv'd of them, live as many years; that being

* For ἐ, I read ὢν.

ing the firſt Meaſure which thoſe that are employed about the Heavens make uſe of. But of thoſe Animals that were honoured for both reaſons, we have already treated of the *Dog*; but now the *Ibis*, beſides that he killeth all deadly and poiſonous Vermine, was alſo the firſt that taught Men the * Medicinal Evacuation of the Belly, ſhe being obſerved to be after this manner waſhed and purged by her ſelf. Thoſe alſo of the Prieſts that are the ſtricteſt Obſervers of their Sacred Rites, when they conſecrate Water for Luſtration uſe to fetch it from ſome place where the *Ibis* had been drinking. For ſhe will neither taſte nor come near any unwholſome or infectious Water. Beſides, the Diſtance of her two Legs from one another, with the length of her Bill while croſs, make betwixt them an *Æquilateral* Triangle; and the patchedneſs and mixture of her Feathers, where there are black ones about the white, ſignifie the Gibbouſneſs of the Moon on either ſide. Nor ought we to think it ſtrange that the *Ægyptians* ſhould affect ſuch poor and ſlender Compariſons * when we find the *Grecians* themſelves, both in their Pictures and Statues make uſe of many ſuch Reſemblances of the Gods as theſe are. For Example, there was in *Crete* an Image of *Jupiter*, having no Ears, for he that is Commander, and Chief over all, ſhould hear no one. *Phidias* alſo ſet a *Serpent* by the Image of *Minerva*, and a *Snail* by that of *Venus* at *Elis*, to ſhew that Maids need-

ed

* That is, a Clyſter.

* For [illegible], I read [illegible].

et a Guard upon them, and that Silence and keeping at Home became married Women. In like manner the Trident of *Neptune* is a Symbole of the Third Region of the World, which the Sea possesses, ſeituated below that of the Heaven and Air. For which reaſon they alſo gave their Names to *Amphitrite* and the *Tritons*. The *Pythagoreans* alſo honoured Numbers and Geometrick Figures, with the Names of Gods. For they called an Æquilateral Triangle *Minerva*, *Coryphagenes*, (or *Crown-born*) and *Tritogenia*, becauſe it is divided by three Perpendiculars drawn from the three Angles. They likewiſe called the Unite *Apollo*; † the Number of Two, *Contention*, and alſo *Audaciouſneſs*; and the Number Three, *Juſtice*; for wronging and being wronged, being two Extreams cauſed by Deficiency and Exceſs, Juſtice came by Equality in the middle. But that which is called *Tetractys* (or the *Sacred Quaternion*) being the Number Thirty Six, was (according to common Fame) the greateſt Oath among them, and was called by them the *World*, becauſe it is made up of the even Number Four, and of || Four odd Numbers ſummed up together. If therefore the moſt approved of the Philoſophers did not think meet to paſs over, or diſeſteem any ſignificant Symbole of the Divinity, which they obſerved even in things that had neither Soul nor Body, I believe they regarded yet more thoſe Properties of Government and Conduct which they ſaw in ſuch Natures as had Senſe,

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† Πεῖθον προσθέσω ἢ ἀπολοιπῶν τοῦ μορφῶς, I reſtore to the Margin whence it was taken.

|| That is, four times Nine, which plainly refer to the XXXVI. Decanates in the Zodiack.

Senſe, and were endued with Soul and Paſſion, and with Moral Temper. We are not therefore to approve of those that worſhip theſe things, but God by these things, as being the more clear Mirrors of him, and produced by Nature; ſo as ever worthily to conceive of them as the Inſtruments or Artifices of that God which orders all things. And it is reaſonable to believe, that no * Inanimate Being can be more excellent than an Animate one, nor an Inſenſible than a Senſible; no, though one ſhould heap together all the Gold and Emerauds in the Univerſe. For the Property of the Divinity conſiſts not in fine Colours, Shapes and Slickneſſes, but on the contrary, those Natures are of a Rank below the very Dead, that neither did, nor ever can partake of Life. But now that that Nature which hath Life, and which ſees and hath the Source of her Motion from her own Self, as alſo the Knowledge of things Proper and Aliene to her, hath certainly derived an Efflux, and a Portion of that Prudence which (as *Heraclitus* ſpeaks) manages *ſteers how both it ſelf and the whole is governed*. And there the Deity is no worſe repreſented in theſe Animals than in the Workmanſhips of Copper and Stone, which ſuffer Corruptions and Decays as well as they, and are beſides naturally void of Senſe and Perception. This then is what I eſteem the beſt account that is given of their Adoration of Animals. As to the Sacred Veſtments, that of *Iſis* is

partly

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* For ἔμψυχον ἀψύχου, I read ἄψυχον, ἐμψύχου.

party-coloured, and of different Hues; for her Power is about Matter, which becomes every thing, and receives every thing, as Light, Darkneſs, Day, Night, Fire, Water, Life, Death, Beginning and Ending; but that of *Oſiris* hath no Shade nor variety of Colours, but one only ſimple one, reſembling Light. For the firſt Principle is untempered, and that which is Firſt, and of an Intelligible Nature is unmixt, which is the reaſon why after they have once made uſe of theſe things, they lay them up and keep them cloſe. For that which is Intelligible is inviſible, and not to be toucht. But thoſe of *Iſis* are uſed often. For ſenſible things being of dayly uſe and familiar to us, afford us many Overtures and Scenes of their Mutations; but the apprehenſion of what is Intelligible, Sincere and Holy, darting through the Soul like a Flaſh of Lightning, attends but to ſome one ſingle Glance or Glimpſe of its Object. For which reaſon, both *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* call this part of Philoſophy by the Name of the *Epoptick* or Intuitive Part, intimating, that thoſe who by help of Reaſon, have got beyond theſe Opinable, mixed and various things, mount up to that Firſt, Simple and Immaterial Being; and when they have certainly reached the pure Truth about it, they believe they have at laſt attained to compleat Philoſophy. And that which the preſent Prieſts do darkly hint out and intimate to us, though with much Obſcurity, great Shyneſs and Pre-caution, which is, that this God is the † Governour and Prince of thoſe that are dead, and that he is no other than he who is called by the *Greeks* *Hades* and *Pluto*, being not taken in its true Senſe, ‖ diſturbs the Minds of the greater part, while they ſuſpect that the truly Holy and good God *Oſiris* lives within and beneath the Earth, where the Bodies of thoſe who are ſuppoſed to have an end lye hid and buried. But he himſelf is at the remoteſt diſtance from the Earth imaginable, being unſtained and unpolluted, and clean from every Subſtance that is liable to Corruption and Death. But Mens Souls, encompaſſed here with Bodies and Paſſions, have no Communication with God, except what they can reach to in Conception only, by means of Phyloſophy, as by a kind of an obſcure Dream. But when they are looſed from the Body, and removed into the Unſeen, Inviſible, Impaſſible and Pure Region, this God is then their Leader and King, they there as it were hanging on him wholly, and beholding without Wearineſs, and paſſionately affecting that Beauty that cannot be expreſt or uttered by Men; which the Goddeſs *Iſis* alway careſſing, affecting and enjoying, by that means filled theſe lower things with all thoſe goodly and excellent Beings, which partake of Generation. This then is that account of theſe things which beſt ſuits the Nature of the Gods. And if I now muſt, according to my Promiſe, ſpeak ſomething concerning the things they daily offer by way

† He that perſonated *Oſiris*, was certainly a *Dæmon*.

‖ For διαταράττων, I read διαταράττει.

way of Incenſe, you are in the firſt place to underſtand this, that theſe People make the greateſt account imaginable of all Endeavours that relate to Health; and more eſpecially in their Sacrifices, Purgations and Diets, Health is then no leſs reſpected than Devotion. For they think it would be an unſeemly thing to wait upon that Nature that is pure and every way unblemiſht and untouch'd, with crazy and diſeaſed Minds or Bodies; whereas therefore the Air that we moſt uſe and live in, hath not always the ſame Diſpoſition and Temperament; but in the Night time grows condenſe, compreſſes the Body, and contracts the Mind into a kind of melancholy and thoughtful Habit, it becoming then as it were foggy and doz'd. They therefore, as ſoon as they are up in the Morning, burn Reſin about them, refreſhing and cleanſing the Air by its ſcattered Particles, and fanning up the Native Spirit of the Body, which is now grown languid and dull; this ſort of Scent having ſomething in it that is very impetuous and ſtriking. And perceiving again at Noon-time, that the Sun hath drawn up by violence, a copious and groſs Exhalation out of the Earth, they by cenſing, mix Myrrh alſo with the Air; for Heat diſſolves and diſſipates that puddled and ſlimy Vapour, which at that time gathers together in the Ambient. And Phyſicians are alſo found to help Peſtilential Diſeaſes, by making great Flames to rarifie the Air; but it would be much better rarified if they would burn Sweet-ſcent-ed Woods, ſuch as Cypreſs, Juniper and Pine. And therefore * *Acron* the Phyſician is ſaid to have gained a mighty Reputation at *Athens*, in the time of the great Plague, by ordering People to make Fires near to the Sick; for not a few were benefited by it. *Ariſtotle* likewiſe ſaith, that the odoriferous Exhalations of Perfumes, Flowers and ſweet Meadows, are no leſs conducing to Health than to Pleaſure; for that their Warmth and Delicacy of Motion gently relax the Brain, which is of its own Nature cold and clammy. And if it be true, that the *Ægyptians*, in their Language call Myrrh † *Bal*, and that the moſt proper Signification of that Word, is *Scattering away Melancholy*, this alſo adds ſome Teſtimony to our account of the reaſon why they burn it. Moreover, that they call *Kyphi*, is a kind of a Compoſition made up of Sixteen ‖ Ingredients, that is, of *Honey*, *Wine*, *Raiſins*, *Cyperus*, *Roſin*, *Myrrh*, *Aſpalathus*, *Seſeli*, *Schœnanthus*, *Bitumen*, *Deadly Night-ſhade* and *Dock*; to to which they add, *the Berries of both the Junipers*, (the one whereof they call the *Greater*, and the other the *Leſſer Sort*) as alſo *Calamus Aromaticus*, and *Cardamums*. Neither do they put them together ſlightly, or at a random Rate, but the *Sacred Books* are read to the * *Perfumers* all the while they are compounding them. As for the Number of the Ingredients, although it plainly appears to be a Square of a Square, and to be the only Number, which having an orderly equal Proportion, draws

* *Acron* the *Agrigentine*, lived before *Hippocrates*.

† *Bal* or *Baal* ſignifies in the Eaſtern Tongues the *Lord* or the *Sun*. So *Balſam* is *Baal Samen*, that is, *The Lord of Heaven*.

‖ For μυρῶν, I read γενῶν.

* *Myrepſus* and *Myropola*, was anciently both a *Perfumer* and an *Apothecary*.

draws a Periphery equal to its *Area*, very much to the preſent Purpoſe; yet I muſt needs ſay, that this contributes but very little here; but that it is the contain'd *Specieſes* (moſt of which, are of Aromatick Properties) that ſend up a ſweet Fume, and an agreeable Exhalation, which changing the Air, and the Body being put by the Air into its regular and proper Motion, † becomes gently chaſed, and retains a gay and an entertaining Temperament, and without the Diſorders of Drunkenneſs, as it were looſens and unties like a ſort of Knots, the Dozineſs and Intenſneſs of the Thoughts by Day-time, and the Phantaſtick Part, and that which is Receptive of Dreams, it wipes like a Looking-glaſs, and renders clearer, with no leſs Efficacy than thoſe Strokes of the Harp which the *Pythagoreans* made uſe of before they went to ſleep, to charm and allay the diſtempered and irrational part of the Soul. For we find that ſtrong Scents many times call back the failing Senſe, and many times dull and obſtruct it, their waſted Parts diffuſing themſelves by their great Fineneſs and Subtlety through the whole Body; like as ſome Phyſicians tell us, that Sleep is produced when the Fumes of Meat, by creeping gently about the Inwards, and as it were groping every Part, cauſes a certain ſoft Titillation. They alſo uſe this *Kyphi* both for a Drink, and for a Medicinal Potion; for when drunk, it is found to cleanſe the Inwards, it being a Looſner of the Belly. Beſides all this, *Reſin* is the

† For πρὸς ἡγαῖς ὑπνοῦται, I read προσηνῶς ἐπινοῦται.

‖ Here is wanting συ-νάγειν, or ſomething like it,

Creature of the *Sun*, and ‖ they gather *Myr* as the Trees weep it out by Moon-ligh; but now, of thoſe Ingredients that make up *Kyphi*, there are ſome that deligh more in the Night, as thoſe whoſe Natur it is to be nouriſhed by cool Blaſts, Shades, Dews and Humidities. For the Light of Day is one thing and ſimple, and *Pindar* ſaith, the Sun is then ſeen.

—*Through ſtill and quiet Air.*

* I leave out σύμμιγμα as a Gloſs.

But the Air of Night is a kind of * Compoſition, for it is made up of many Lights and Powers, which like ſo many ſeveral Seeds flow down from every Star into one place. They therefore very pertinently cenſe the former things by Day-time, as being Simples, and deriving their Original from the Sun; and the latter at the Entrance of the Night, they being mixt, and of many and different Qualites.

Plutarch's Morals:

Vol. IV.

Concerning ſuch whom God is ſlow to Puniſh.

Tranſlated from the Greek *by* J. Phillips *Gent.*

THeſe and ſuch like things, O *Cynius*! when *Epicurus* had ſpoken, before any Perſon could return an Anſwer, while we were buſie at the farther end of the *Portico*, he flung away in great haſt. However we could not but in ſome meaſure admire at the odd Behaviour of the Man, though without taking any farther notice of it in Words; and therefore, after we had gaz'd a while one upon another, we return'd to walk as we were ſingl'd out in Company before. At what time *Patroclea* firſt breaking ſilence, How ſay ye Gentlemen, ſaid he, if you think fitting, Why may not we diſcuſs this Queſtion of the laſt Propoſer, as well in his Abſence, as if he were preſent? To whom *Timon* replying, ſurely, ſaid he, it would but ill become us, if at us he aim'd upon his Departure, to neglect the Arrow ſticking in our Sides. For *Braſidas*, as Hiſtory reports, drawing forth the Javelin out of his own Body, with the ſame Javelin, not only wounded him that threw it, but ſlew him out right. But as for our ſelves, with far leſs Difficulty may we defend, with far more Eaſe may we revenge our ſelves on them that pelt us with abſurd and fallacious Reaſonings; and it will be ſufficient that we ſhake them off, before they reach the Opinion it ſelf. Then ſaid I, which of his Sayings is it, that has given you the greateſt Cauſe to be moved? For the Man writes of many things confuſedly, but of nothing in order, gleaning up and down from this and t'other Place, without Method or Judgment, and ſuffering himſelf, as it were in the Tranſports of his Pride and Choler, to wreck his reproachful Malice upon the *Providence* of *God*. To which *Patrocleas*, The ſlowneſs of the Supream Deity, ſaid he, and his Procraſtination in reference to the Puniſhment of the Wicked, ſeems to me a Point, ſo deeply myſterious, that it has long perplex'd my thoughts; but now puzl'd by theſe Arguments which he produces, I am as it were a Stranger to the Opinion, and newly beginning again to learn. Formerly I could not with patience hear that Expreſſion of *Euripides*.

——If they delay and ſlowly move,
'Tis but the Nature of the Gods above.

For indeed it becomes not the Supream Deity to be remiſs in any thing, but more eſpecially in the Proſecution of the Wicked, ſince they themſelves are no way negligent or dilatory in doing Miſchief, but always driven on by the moſt rapid Impetuoſities of their Paſſions to Acts of Injuſtice. For certainly, according to the Saying of *Thucydides*, that Revenge which follows Injury cloſeſt at the Heels, preſently puts a Stop to the Progreſs of ſuch as make Advantage of ſucceſsful Wickedneſs. Therefore there is no Debt, with ſo much Prejudice put off, as that of Juſtice, for it weakens the Hopes of the Perſon wrong'd, and renders him Comfortleſs and Penſive, but heightens the Boldneſs and daring Inſolence of the Oppreſſer: whereas on the other ſide, thoſe Puniſhments and Chaſtiſements that immediately withſtand preſuming Violence, not only reſtrain the committing of future Outrages, but more eſpecially bring along with them a particular Comfort and Satisfaction to the Sufferers. Which makes me no leſs troubl'd at that ſame Saying of *Bias*, which frequently comes into my Mind: For, ſaid he, once, to a notorious Reprobate, 'tis not that I doubt but thou wilt ſuffer the juſt Reward of thy Wickedneſs, but I fear that I my ſelf ſhall not live to ſee it. For what did the Puniſhment of *Ariſtocrates* avail the *Meſſenians*, who were kill'd before it came to paſs? who having betray'd them at the Battle of *Cyprus*, yet remain'd undetected for above twenty years together; and all that while raign'd King of the *Arcadians*, till at length, diſcover'd and apprehended, he receiv'd the merited Recompence of his Treachery. But alas! they whom he had betray'd were all dead at the ſame time. Or when the *Orchomenians* had loſt their Children, their Friends and Familiar Acquaintance, through the Treachery of *Lyciſcus*, what Conſolation was it to them, that many years after, a foul Diſtemper ſeiz'd the Traitor, and fed upon his Body, till it had conſum'd his putrify'd Fleſh? who, as often as he dipt and bath'd his Feet in the River, with horrid Oaths and Execrations, bann'd the Loſs of his Members, putrify'd and gangreen'd to expiate the Treachery and Villainy which himſelf had committed. For it was not poſſible for the Childrens Children of the *Athenians*, who had been murther'd long before, to behold the Bodies of thoſe Sacrilegious Caitiffs, which were afterwards torn out of their Graves, and tranſported beyond the Confines of their native Soil. Whence in my Opinion, *Euripides* abſurdly makes uſe of theſe Expreſſions, to divert a Man from Wickedneſs.

> *If thou fear'ſt Heav'n, thou fear'ſt in vain;*
> *Juſtice is not ſo haſty, fooliſh Man,*
> *To pierce thy Heart, or with contagious Wound,*
> *Or thee, or weaker Mortals to confound:*
> *But with ſlow pace, and creeping Feet cuts off*
> *The Malefactor, then Chaſtiſement-proof.*

And I am apt to perſwade my ſelf, that upon theſe, and no other Conſiderations it is, that wicked Men encourage and give themſelves the Liberty to attempt and commit all manner of Impieties, ſeeing that the Fruit which Injuſtice yields is ſoon ripe, and offers it ſelf early to the Gatherers Hand; whereas Puniſhment comes late, and lagging long behind the Pleaſure of Enjoyment.

After *Patrocleas* had thus diſcours'd, *Olympicus* taking him up: There is this farther, ſaid he, O *Patrocleas!* which thou ſhouldſt have taken notice of; for how great an Inconvenience and Abſurdity ariſes beſides from theſe Delays and Procraſtinations of Divine Juſtice? In regard the ſlowneſs of its Execution takes away the Belief of Providence. For the Wicked perceiving that Calamity and Revenge does not preſently follow at the Heels of every enormous Crime, but a long time after, looking upon their Calamity as a Miſfortune, and calling it Chance, not Puniſhment, are nothing at all thereby reform'd; troubled indeed they well may be at the dire Accident befallen them, but never repent of the Villanies they have committed. For as in uſual Diſcipline, the Puniſhment which immediately attends the Fault, and the Stripes and Pinches that purſue the Tranſgreſſion, on, correct and reduce the Party to his Duty; but the Luggings by the Ears, the Baſtings and Thumpings which are late and out of time laid on, ſeem to be inflicted for ſome other Reaſon then to teach or inſtruct, which puts the Sufferer to Pain, without underſtanding his Error: In like manner, were the Impieties of enormous Tranſgreſſors and hainous Offenders ſingly ſcourg'd and repreſs'd by immediate Severity, it would bring them at length to a Senſe of their Folly, humble them, and ſtrike them with an Aw of the Divine *Being*, whom they find with a watchful Eye beholding the Actions and Paſſions of Men, and feel to be no dilatory, but a ſpeedy Avenger of Iniquity. Whereas that ſame remiſs and ſlow-pac'd *Juſtice*, as *Euripides* deſcribes it, that falls upon the Wicked by Accident, by reaſon of its incertainty, ill-tim'd Delay, and diſorderly Motion, ſeems rather to reſemble Chance then Providence: So that I cannot conceive what Benefit there is in theſe Grindſtones of the Gods, which are ſaid to grind ſo late, by which Celeſtial Puniſhment is obſcur'd, and the Aw of evil doing rendred vain and deſpicable.

Theſe things thus uttered, and I in a deep Meditation of what he had ſaid, *Timon* interpoſing, Is it your Pleaſure, ſaid he, that I ſhall put an end to the Difficulties of this knotty Queſtion, or ſhall I firſt permit him to argue in oppoſition to what has been propounded already? Nay then, ſaid I, to what purpoſe is it, to let in a third Wave to drown the Argument, if he be not able to repel or avoid the Objections already made?

To begin therefore, as from the *Veſtal Hearth*, from that ancient Circumſpection and Reverence which our Anceſtors, Academic Philoſophers alſo, bare to the Supream God-head, we ſhall utterly decline to meddle with that myſterious *Being*, as if we could preſume to utter poſitively any thing concerning it. For though it may be born withal, for Men unſkill'd in Muſick, talk at random of Notes and Harmony, or for ſuch never experienc'd Warfare, to diſcourſe of Arms an Military Affairs; it would be a bold and daring Arrogance in us, that are but mortal Men, to dive too fa into the incomprehenſible Myſteries of Deities and *Demons*. Juſt as if Perſons void of Knowledge, ſhould undertake to Judge of the Methods and Reaſon of cunning Artiſts by ſlight Opinions and probable Conjectures of their own. Thus, it is not for one that underſtands nothing of the Science, to give a Reaſon why the Phyſician did not let Blood before, but afterwards; or why he did not bath his Patient yeſterday, but to day. And ſo likewiſe neither is it eaſie nor ſafe to ſpeak otherwiſe of the Supream Deity, then only this, that he alone it is, who knows the moſt convenient time to apply moſt proper Corroſives for the Cure of Sin and Impiety, and as Medicaments to adminiſter Puniſhments to every Tranſgreſſor, yet not confin'd to an equal Quality and Meaſure common to all Diſtempers, nor to one and the ſame time. Now that the Phyſical Knowledge, in order to the Cure and Preſervation of the Soul, is the moſt tranſcendent of all other Sciences, beſides ten thouſand other Witneſſes, even *Pindar* himſelf teſtifies, where he gives to God, the Ruler and Lord of all things, the Title of the moſt *Perfect Artificer*, as being the grand Author and Diſtributer of Juſtice, to whom it properly belongs to determine, at what time, in what manner, and to what degree to puniſh every particular Offender. And *Plato* aſſerts, that *Minos* being the Son of *Jupiter*, was the Diſciple of his Father, to learn this Science. Intimating thereby, as if it were impoſſible for any other then a Scholar, bred up in the School of Equity, rightly to behave himſelf in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, or to make a true Judgment of another, whether he does well or no. For the Laws which are conſtituted by Men, do not always preſcribe that which is unqueſtionably and ſimply Decent, or of which the Reaſon, is altogether without Exception perſpicuous, in regard that ſome of their Ordinances ſeem to be on purpoſe ridiculouſly contriv'd. Particularly, what in *Lacedæmon*, the *Ephori* ordain at their firſt entring into the Magiſtracy, that no Man ſuffer the Hair of his upper Lip to grow; only that they be obedient to the Laws, to the end they may not ſeem grievous to them. Thus the *Romans*, when they aſſerted the Freedom of any one, caſt a ſlender Straw upon his Body; and when they make their laſt Wills and Teſtaments, ſome they leave to be their Heirs, while others ſell their Eſtates. Which ſeems to be altogether contrary to Reaſon. But that of *Solon* is moſt abſurd, who when a City is up in Arms, and all in Sedition, brands with Infamy, the Perſon who ſtands Neuter, and adheres to neither Party. And thus a Man that apprehends not the Reaſon of the Lawgiver, or the Cauſe why ſuch and ſuch things are ſo preſcribed, might number up ſeveral Abſurdities of many Laws. What Wonder then, ſince the Actions of Men are ſo difficult to be underſtood, if it be no leſs difficult to determine concerning the Gods, wherefore they inflict their Puniſhments upon Sinners, ſometimes later, ſometimes, ſooner. Nor do I alledge theſe things as a Pretence to avoid the Diſpute, but to ſecure the Pardon which I beg. To the end that our Diſcourſe, having a Regard, as it were to ſome Port or Refuge, may proceed the more boldly in producing probable Circumſtances to clear the Doubt. But firſt, conſider this, that God, according to *Plato*, when he propos'd himſelf in the middle, the Exemplar of all that was good and Holy, indulges Human Vertue, by which Man is in ſome meaſure render'd like himſelf, to thoſe that are able to follow the Deity by Imitation. For univerſal *Nature* being at firſt void of Order, before it came to

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to be form'd into a World, had this Beginning of Change, from a certain infus'd Similitude of that Idea and Vertue which is in God. And the ſelf ſame Pla aſſerts, that Nature firſt kindled the Sence of Seeing within us, to the end that the Soul, by the Sight and Admiration of the Heav'nly Bodies being accuſtom'd to love and embrace Decency and Order, might be induced to hate the Diſorderly Motions of wild and raving Paſſions, and avoid Levity and Raſhneſs depending upon Chance, as the Original of all Improbity and Vice. For there is no greater Benefit that Men can enjoy from God, then by the Imitation and Purſuit of those Perfections, and that Sanctity which is in him, to be excited to the Study of Vertue. Therefore God with Forbearance and at Leiſure, inflicts his Puniſhment upon the Wicked, not that he is afraid of committing an Error, or of repenting, ſhould he accelerate his Indignation; but to eradicate that bruitiſh and eager Deſire of Revenge, that reigns in human Breaſts, and to teach us that we are not, in the Heat of Fury, nor when our Anger heaving and palpitating, boyls up above our Underſtanding, to fall upon thoſe who have done us an Injury, like thoſe who ſeek to gratifie a vehement Thirſt or craving Appetite; but that we ſhould in imitation of this Mildneſs and Forbearance, with due compoſure of Mind, till after ſuch ſufficient time for conſideration taken, as may admit of no Repentance, give way to the Deſire of Chaſtiſement or Correction. For as *Socrates* obſerv'd, it is far the leſſer Miſchief for a Man, diſtemper'd with Ebriety and Gluttony, to drink Puddle-water, then when the Mind is diſturb'd and ſurcharg'd with Anger and Fury, before it be ſettled and become limpid again, for a Man to ſeek the ſatiating his Revenge upon the Body of his Friend or Kinſman. For according to the Saying of *Thucydides*, Revenge is not the neareſt to Injury, but taking at a reaſonable diſtance from it, obſerves the moſt convenient Opportunity. For as Anger, according to that of *Melanthius*,

> *Quite from the Brain tranſplants the Wit,*
> *Vile Acts deſigning to commit.*

So Reaſon does that which is juſt and moderate, laying Paſſion and Fury aſide. Whence it comes to paſs, that Men giving ear to Humane Examples, become more manſuete and gentle, as *Plato*, who holding his Cudgel over his Pages Shoulders, as himſelf relates, paus'd a good while, correcting his own Anger. In like manner *Archytas*, obſerving the Sloth and wilful Negligence of his Servants in the Field, and perceiving his Paſſion to riſe at a more then uſual rate, did no more, but as he went away, *'Tis your good Fortune*, ſaid he, *that ye have anger'd me*. If then the Sayings of Men, when call'd to mind, and their Actions being read, have ſuch a power to mitigate the Roughneſs and Vehemency of Wrath, much more becomes it us, beholding God, with whom there is neither Dread or Repentance of any thing, deferring nevertheleſs his Puniſhments to future Time, and admitting Delay, to be cautious and circumſpect in theſe Matters, and to deem a Divine Part of Vertue that Mildneſs and long Suffering, of which God affords us an Example, while by puniſhing, he reforms ſome few; by ſlowly chaſtiſing, helping and Admoniſhing many.

In the ſecond place therefore let us conſider this, That Human Puniſhments of Injuries regard no more then that the Party ſuffers in his turn, and are ſatisfy'd that the Offender has ſuffer'd according to his Merit, and farther they never proceed. Which is the reaſon that they run after Provocations, like Dogs that bark in their Fury, and immediately purſue the Injury as ſoon as committed. But probable it is that God, whatever diſtemper'd Soul it be, which he proſecutes w his Divine Juſtice, obſerves the Motions and Inclin of it, whether they be ſuch as tend to Repentance, a allows Time for Reformation to thoſe whoſe Wick neſs is neither invincible nor incorrigible. Well kno ing what a Proportion of Vertue, Souls from him conveyed to Generation, carry along with them, a how ſtrong and vigorous their innate and primi Good yet continues. For Wickedneſs buds forth p ternaturally upon the Corruption of bad Diet and Converſation; but then ſome Souls recovering again perfect cure, or an indifferent Habitude, this is the re ſon the Deity does not inflict his Puniſhments alike up all. But thoſe that are incurable, he preſently lops o and deprives of Life, as being altogether hurtful to o thers, but moſt baneful to themſelves, as always wa lowing in Wickedneſs. But as for thoſe who probab may be thought to tranſgreſs, rather out of Ignora of what is Vertuous and Good, then through Choice o what is foul and vitious, he grants them time to tur but if they remain obdurate, then likewiſe he infli his Puniſhments upon them; for there is no fear le they ſhould *eſcape*.

Now let us conſider how oft the Cuſtoms and Live of Men have been chang'd; for which reaſon the Change of Manners was by the *Greeks* call'd *τρόπος*, from running, as alſo ἦθος, which ſignifies *Manners* was derived from ἔθος, ſignifying *Cuſtom*, as chiefly prevailing in their Change. Therefore I am of Opinion, that the Ancients reported *Cecrops* to have two Bodies, not as ſome believe, becauſe of a good King he became a mercileſs and Dragon-like Tyrant, but rather on the contrary, for that being at firſt both cruel and *formidable*, afterwards he became a moſt mild and gentle Prince. However if this be uncertain, yet we know both *Gelo* and *Hiero* the *Sicilians*, and *Piſiſtratus* the Son of *Hippocrates*, who having obtain'd the Sovereignty by Violence and Wickedneſs, made a vertuous uſe of their Power, and coming unjuſtly to the Throne, became moderate Rulers, and beneficial to the Public; for by recommending wholſome Laws, and the Exerciſe of uſeful Tillage to their Subjects, they reduc'd them from idle Scoffers and talkative Romancers, to be modeſt Citizens and induſtrious good Husbands. And as for *Gelo*, after he had been ſucceſful in his War, and vanquiſh'd the *Carthaginians*, he refus'd to grant them the Peace which they ſu'd for, unleſs they would conſent to have it inſerted in their Articles, that they would ſurceaſe from ſacrificing their Children to *Saturn*.

Over *Megalopolis*, *Lydiades* was Tyrant; but then, even in the time of his Tyranny, changing his Manners and Maxims of Government, and growing into a Hatred of Injuſtice, he reſtor'd to the Citizens their Laws, and fighting for his Country againſt his own and his Subjects Enemies, fell an illuſtrious Victim for his Countries Welfare. Now if any one bearing an Antipathy to *Miltiades*, or *Cimon*, had ſlain the one tyrannizing in the *Cherroneſe*, or the other committing Inceſt with his own Siſter, or had expell'd *Themiſtocles* out of *Athens*, at what time he lay rioting and revelling in the Market-place, and affronting all that came near him, according to the Sentence afterwards pronounc'd againſt *Alcibiades*, had we not been depriv'd of the Glory obtain'd at *Marathon*, the Honour gain'd over the *Eurymedontes*, and the *Dianium*.

———*Where the* Athenian *Youth*
The fam'd Foundations of their Freedom lay'd.

For great and lofty Genius's produce nothing that is Mean and Little; the innate *ſtoutneſs* of their Parts will not endure the Vigor and *Activity* of their Spirits

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to grow lazy; but they are toſs'd to and again as with the Waves, by the rowling Motions of their own inordinate Deſire, till at length they arrive to a fixt and ſettl'd Conſtitution of Manners. Therefore as a Perſon that is unskilful in Husbandry, would by no means make choice of a piece of Ground thick over-run with Brakes and Weeds, abounding with wild Beaſts, and covered with ſtanding Lakes and Mud; yet to him who hath learnt to underſtand the Nature of the Earth, theſe are certain Symptoms of the Softneſs and Fertility of the Soil; thus great Genius's many times produce many abſurd and vile Enormities, of which we not enduring the rugged and uneaſie Vexation, are preſently for pruning and lopping off the lawleſs Tranſgreſſors. But the more prudent Judge, who diſcerns the abounding Goodneſs and Generoſity covertly reſiding in thoſe tranſcending Genius's, waits the co-operating Age and Seaſon for Reaſon and Vertue to exert it themſelves, and gathers the ripe Fruit when Nature has matur'd it. And thus much as to thoſe particulars.

Now to come to another part of our Diſcourſe, do you not believe that ſome of the *Greeks* did very prudently to regiſter that Law in *Egypt*, among their own, whereby it is enacted, that if a Woman with Child be ſentenc'd to dye, ſhe ſhall be repriev'd till ſhe be deliver'd? All the reaſon in the World, you'l ſay. Then, ſay I, though a Man cannot bring forth Children, yet if he be able, by the Aſſiſtance of Time, to reveal any hidden Action or Conſpiracy, or to diſcover ſome conceal'd Miſchief, or to be Author of ſome wholſome piece of Advice; or ſuppoſe that in time, he may produce ſome neceſſary and uſeful Invention, is it not better to delay the Puniſhment, and expect the Benefit, then haſtily to rid him out of the World? It ſeems ſo to me, ſaid I; and truly you are in the right, reply'd *Patrocles*. For let us conſider; had *Dionyſius*, at the beginning of his Tiranny, ſuffer'd according to his Merits; never would any of the *Greeks* have re-inhabited *Sicily*, laid waſte by the *Carthaginians*. Nor would the *Greeks* have re-poſſeſs'd *Apollonia*, nor *Anactorium*, nor the *Peninſule* of the *Leucadians*, had not *Perianders* Execution been delay'd for a long time: and if I miſtake not, it was to the delay of *Caſſanders* Puniſhment, that the City of *Thebes* was beholding for her Recovery from Deſolation. But the moſt of thoſe *Barbarians*, who aſſiſted at the Sacrilegious Plunder of that Temple, following *Timoleon* into *Sicily*, after they had vanquiſh'd the *Carthaginians*, and diſſolv'd the Tirannical Government of that Iſland, wicked as they were, came all to a wicked End. For aſſuredly, the Deity makes uſe of wicked Men, as we make uſe of Common Executioners to puniſh the Wickedneſs of others, and then deſtroys thoſe Inſtruments of his Wrath; which I believe to be true of moſt Tyrants. For as the Gall of a *Hyæna*, and the Rennet of a Sea-Calf, and many other filthy Monſters, contain ſomething in them for the Cure of Diſeaſes, thus when ſome People deſerve a ſharp and biting Puniſhment, God ſubjecting them to the implacable Severity of ſome certain Tyrant, or the cruel Oppreſſion of ſome Ruler, does not remove either the Torment, or the Trouble, till he has cur'd and purifi'd the diſtemper'd Nation. Such a ſort of Phyſick was *Phalaris* to the *Agrigentines*, and *Marius* to the *Romans*. And God expreſly foretold the *Sicionians*, how much their City ſtood in need of moſt ſevere Chaſtiſement, when after they had violently raviſh'd out of the Hands of the *Cleonians*, *Teletias*, a young Lad, who had been crown'd at the *Pythian* Games; they tore him Limb from Limb, as their own Fellow Citizen. Therefore *Orthagoras* the Tyrant, and after him, *Myro* and *Cleiſthenes* put an end to the Luxury and Laſciviouſneſs of the *Sicyonians*; but the *Cleone-*

aus, not having the good Fortune to meet with the ſame Cure, went all to wrack. To this purpoſe, hear what *Homer* ſays:

> *From Parent vile, he far the better Son*
> *did ſpring, whom various Vertues did renown.*

And yet we do not find that ever the Son of *Copreus* perform'd any famous or memorable Atchievement; but the Off-ſpring of *Siſiphus*, *Autolycus*, and *Phlegyas*, flouriſh'd among the Number of the moſt famous and vertuous Princes. *Pericles* at *Athens* deſcended from a wicked Family; and *Pompey* the Great at *Rome*, was the Son of *Strabo*, whoſe dead Body, the *Roman* People in the height of their Hatred conceiv'd againſt him when alive, caſt forth into the Street, and trampl'd in the Dirt. Where is the Abſurdity then, as the Husbandman never cuts away the Thorn till it injures the *Aſparagus*, or as the *Libians* never burn the Stalks till they have gather'd all the *Ladanum*, if God never extirpates the evil and thorny Root of a Renowned and Royal Race, before he has gather'd from it the mature and proper Fruit? For it would have been a far greater Diſadvantage to the *Phocians*, though a thouſand more of *Iphitus*'s Horſes and Oxen had periſh'd, or that they had loſt a far greater Sum in Gold and Silver out of their Temple of *Delphos*, then to have miſs'd among them the Birth of *Ulyſſes* and *Æſculapius*, and thoſe many others, who of wicked and vicious Men, became highly vertuous and beneficial to their Country. I would gladly know whether it be not better to inflict deſerved Puniſhment in due ſeaſon, and at convenient times, then haſtily and raſhly, when a Man is in the heat and hurry of Paſſion? Witneſs the Example of *Calippus*, who under the Pretence of being his Friend, having ſtabb'd *Dio*, was himſelf ſoon after ſlain by *Dio*'s Intimates, with the ſame Daggar. Thus again, when Mitius of Argos was ſlain in a City Tumult, the Brazen Statue which ſtood in the Market-place, ſoon after, at the time of the publick Shews, fell down upon the Murtherers Head and kill'd him. What befel Beſſus the Pæonian, and Ariſto the Oetæan, chief Commander of the foreign Souldiers? I ſuppoſe you underſtand full well, Patrocles. Not I, by Jove, but I deſire to know. Well then, I ſay this Ariſto, having with Permiſſion of the Tyrants, carry'd away the Jewels and Ornaments belonging to Eriphyle, which lay depoſited in that City, made a Preſent of them to his Wife. The Puniſhment for this was, that the Son being highly incens'd againſt his Mother, for what reaſon it matters not, ſet Fire to his Fathers Houſe and burnt it to the Ground, with all the Family that were in it.

As for Beſſus, it ſeems he kill'd his own Father, and the Murther lay conceal'd a long time. At length, being invited to Supper among Strangers, after he had ſo looſen'd a Swallows Neſt with his Spear that it fell down, he kill'd all the young ones. Upon which, being asked by the Gueſts that were preſent, what injury the Swallows had done him, that he ſhould commit ſuch an irregular Act? Did you not hear, ſaid he, theſe curſed Swallows, how they clamor'd and made a Noiſe, falſe Witneſſes as they were, that I had long ago kill'd my Father? This Anſwer ſtruck the reſt of the Gueſts with ſo much Admiration, that after a due pondering upon his Words, they made known the whole Story to the King. Upon which, the matter being div'd into, Beſſus was brought to condign Puniſhment. Theſe things I have alledg'd, as it was but reaſon upon a ſuppoſition, that there is a forbearance of inflicting puniſhment upon the Wicked. As for what remains, it behoves us to liſten to Heſiod, where he aſſerts not like Plato, that the Puniſhment of Injuſtice [illegible] the Suffering, but that it is of the ſame Age with it, and ariſes from the ſame Place and Root. For, ſays he,

Bad Counſel, ſo the Gods ordain,
Is moſt of all the Adviſer's Bane.

And in another Place,

He that his Neighbours Harm contrives, his Art
Contrives the Miſchief 'gainſt his own falſe Heart.

It is reported, that the *Cantharides* Fly, by a certain kind of Antipathy, carries within it ſelf, the Cure of the Wound which it inflicts. On the other ſide, Wickedneſs, at the ſame time it is committed, engendring its own Vexation and Torment, not at laſt, but at the very Inſtant of the Injury offer'd, ſuffers the Reward of the Injuſtice it has done. And as every Malefactor bears his own Croſs to the Place of his Execution, ſo are all the various Torments of various wicked Actions, prepar'd by the ſeveral ſorts of Wickedneſs themſelves. Such a diligent Architectreſs of a miſerable and wretched Life is Wickedneſs, wherein Shame is ſtill accompany'd with a thouſand Terrors and Commotions of the Mind, inceſſant Repentance, and never ceaſing Tumults of the Spirits. However, there are ſome People that differ little or nothing from Children, who many times beholding Malefactors upon the Stage, in their gilded Veſtments, and ſhort purple Cloaks, dancing with Crowns upon their Heads, admire and look upon 'em as the moſt happy Perſons in the World, till they ſee 'em goaded and laſh'd, and Flames of Fire curling from underneath their ſumptuous and gawdy Garments. Thus there are many wicked Men, ſurrounded with numerous Families, ſplendid in the Pomp of Magiſtracy, and Illuſtrious for the Greatneſs of their Power, whoſe Puniſhments never diſplay themſelves till theſe glorious Perſons come to be the publick Spectacles of the People, either ſlain and lying weltring in their Blood, or or elſe ſtanding on the top of the Rock, ready to be tumbl'd headlong down the Precipice; which indeed cannot ſo well be ſaid to be a Puniſhment, as the Conſummation and Perfection of Puniſhment. Moreover as *Herodicus* the *Selimbrian*, falling into a Conſumption, the moſt incurable of all Diſeaſes, was the firſt who intermix'd the Gymnaſtic Art with the Science of Phyſic (as *Plato* relates) on purpoſe to ſpin out in length a tedious time of dying, as well for his own, as the Sake of others labouring under the ſame Diſtemper. In like manner there are ſome wicked Men, who flatter themſelves to have eſcap'd the preſent Puniſhment, yet not after ſuch a Space, but for a longer Tract of Time, endure a more laſting, not a ſhorter Puniſhment; not puniſh'd with Old Age, but growing old under the Tribulation of tormenting Affliction. When I ſpeak of a long time, I ſpeak in reference to our ſelves. For as to the Gods, every diſtance and diſtinction of Human Life, is nothing: And *now*, and *not thirty years ago*, is the ſame thing, as that ſuch a Malefactor was tormented or hang'd in the Morning, and not in the Afternoon. More eſpecially, ſince a Man is but ſhut up in this Life, like a cloſe Priſoner in a Goal, from whence it is impoſſible to make an Eſcape; and yet we Feaſt and Banquet, are full of Buſineſs, receive Rewards, and enjoy Offices. Though certainly theſe are but like the Sports of thoſe that play at Dice, or any other Game in the Goal, while the Rope all the while hangs over their Heads. So that what ſhould hinder me from affirming, [illegible] they who are ſhut up in Priſon, are truly [illegible] the Executioner has chopt of their Heads; [illegible] who has drunk Hemlock, then walks about and till a Heavineſs ſeizes his Limbs, is in any other Con tion before the Extinction of his natural Heat, and Coagulation of his Blood deprive him of his Senſe That is to ſay, if we deem the laſt Moment of Puniſhment to be only the Puniſhment, and omit Commotions, Terrors, Expectations and Embitterm of Repentance, with which every Malefactor and wicked Men are teiz'd upon the committing of heinous Crime. But this is to deny the Fiſh to b taken that falls into the Net, before we ſee it boil'd and cut into Pieces by the Cook. For every Offender is within the Gripes of the Law, ſo ſoon as he has committed the Crime; and no ſooner has he ſwallow'd the ſweet Bait of Injuſtice, but he may be truly ſaid to be caught, while his Conſcience within, gnawing and gnawing upon his Vitals, allows him no Reſt.

Like the ſwift Tunny, frighted from his Prey,
Rowling and plunging in the anger'd Sea.

For the daring Raſhneſs and precipitate Boldneſs of Iniquity, continues violent and active till the Fact be perpetrated. But then the Paſſion, like a ſurceaſing Tempeſt, growing ſlack and weak, ſurrenders it ſelf to Superſtitious Fears and Terrors. So that *Steſichorus* may ſeem to have compos'd the Dream of *Clytemneſtra*, to ſet forth the Events and Truth of Things:

——Then ſeem'd a Dragon to draw near,
With gory Blood all o'er his Head beſmear'd;
And then the King Pliſthenides *appear'd.*

For Viſions in Dreams, noon-day-Apparitions, Oracles, Deſcents into Hell, and whatever Objects elſe which may be thought to be tranſmitted from Heaven, raiſe continual Tempeſts and Horrors in the very Souls of the Guilty. Thus it is reported, that *Apollodorus*, in a Dream, beheld himſelf flead by the *Scythians*, and then boyl'd; and that his Heart ſpeaking to him out of the Kettle, utter'd theſe Words, *I am the Cauſe thou ſuffer'ſt all this.* And another time, That he ſaw his Daughters run about him, their Bodies burning and all in a Flame. *Hipparchus* alſo, the Son of *Piſiſtratus*, had a Dream, that the Goddeſs *Venus*, out of a certain Vial, flung Blood in his Face. The Favorites of *Ptolemy*, Sirnam'd the *Thunderer*, dreamt that they ſaw their Maſter cited to the Judgment-Seat by *Seleucus*, where Wolves and Vultures were his Judges; and then diſtributing great Quantities of Fleſh among his Enemies. *Pauſanias*, in the heat of his Luſt, ſent for *Cleonice*, a freeborn Virgin of *Byzantium*, with an Intention to have enjoy'd her all Night; but when ſhe came, out of a ſtrange ſort of Jealouſie and Perturbation, for which he could give no reaſon, ſtabb'd her. This Murther was attended with frightful Viſions; inſomuch that his Repoſe in the Night was not only interrupted with the Appearance of her Shape, but ſtill he thought he heard her uttering theſe Lines;

To Execution go, the Gods are juſt,
And rarely pardon Murther join'd with Luſt.

After this, the Apparition ſtill haunting him, he ſail'd away to the *Pſychopompium* in *Heraclea*, and by Propitiations, Charms and Dirges, call'd up the Ghoſt of the Damſel; Which appearing before him, told him in few Words, that he ſhould be freed from all his Affrights and Moleſtations upon his Return to *Lacedæmon*. Where he was no ſooner arriv'd, but he died. So that notwithſtanding all thing, if there were nothing that befel the Soul after the Expiration of this Life, but the Death were the end of al-

all Reward and Puniſhment, I might infer from thence, that the Deity was remiſs, and indulgent in ſwiftly puniſhing the Wicked, and depriving them of Life. For if a Man ſhall aſſert, that ſpace of time no otherwiſe afflicts the Wicked, but that the Convincement of the Crime is a fruitleſs and barren thing, that produces nothing of Good, nothing worthy of Amendment from the many great and terrible Combats and Agonies of the Mind, the Conſideration of theſe things altogether ſubverts the Soul. As it is related of *Lyſimacus*, who being under the violent Conſtraint of a parching Thirſt, ſurrender'd up his Perſon and his Dominions to the [illegible] for a little Drink; but after he had quench'd his Drought, and found himſelf a Captive, Shame of this Wickedneſs of mine, cry'd he, that for ſo ſmall a Pleaſure, have loſt ſo great a Kingdom: But it is a difficult thing for a Man to reſiſt the natural Neceſſity of mortal Paſſions. Yet when a Man, either out of Avarice, or Ambition of civil Honour and Power, or to gratifie his Venereal Deſires, commits any enormous and hainous Crime, after which the Thirſt and Rage of his Paſſion being allay'd, he comes to ſet before his Eyes the ignominious and horrible Paſſions tending to Injuſtice ſtill remaining, but ſees nothing uſeful, nothing neceſſary, nothing conduceable to make his Life happy; may it not be probably conjectur'd, that ſuch a Perſon is frequently ſollicited by theſe Reflexions, to conſider, how raſhly, either prompted by vain Glory, or for the ſake of a Lawleſs and barren Pleaſure, he has overthrown the nobleſt and greateſt Maxims of Juſtice among Men, and overflow'd his Life with Shame and Trouble? As *Simonides* jeſting, was wont to ſay, that he often found a Cheſt full of Silver, but always empty of true Benefit. Thus wicked Men, contemplating their own Wickedneſs, and obſerving the Returns of Pleaſure ſo barren and fruitleſs, find [illegible]

[illegible]

pectations fruſtrated, but their Minds diſtreſs'd with Fears and Sorrows, ungrateful Remembrances, Suſpicions of Futurity, and Diſtruſts of preſent Accidents; as we hear *Ino* complaining upon the Theatre, after her Repentance of what ſhe had done.

> ——*Dear Women, tell me, with what Face*
> *ſhall I return to dwell with* Athamas?
> *As if it ne're had been my luckleſs Fate,*
> *The worſt of foul Miſdeeds to perpetrate?*

Thus is it not reaſon to believe, that the Soul of every wicked Man revolves and reaſons within it ſelf, which was by burying in oblivion former Tranſgreſſions, and caſting from it ſelf the Guilt of hitherto committed Crimes, to fit frail Mortality under her Conduct for a new Courſe of Life. For unleſs we will allow unjuſt and impious Perſons to be wiſe and prudent, there is nothing for a Man to confide in, nothing but what vaniſhes like Smoak, nothing durable or conſtant in whatever Impiety propoſes to its Self; but where ever Avarice, Voluptuouſneſs, inexorable Hatred, Enmity and Improbity aſſociate together; there you ſhall alſo be ſure to find Superſtition neſtling and herding with Effeminacy and Terror of Death; a ſwift Change of the moſt violent Paſſions, and an arrogant Ambition after undeſerved Honour. Such Men as theſe ſtand in continual dread of their Contemners and Backbiters, they fear their Applauders, believing themſelves injur'd by their Flatteries; and more eſpecially, are at Enmity with bad Men, becauſe they are ſo free to extol thoſe that ſeem good. However, that which hardens Men to Miſchief, ſoon cankers, grows brittle, and ſhivers in pieces like bad Iron. So that in proceſs of time, coming to underſtand themſelves better, and to be more ſenſible of their Miſcarriages, they [illegible] and utterly diſclaim their former Courſe of Life. Nor is every wicked Man, who reſtores a Truſt, or becomes Surety for his Friend, or ambitious of Honour, contributes more largely to the Benefits of his Country, may be ſaid to be in a Condition of Repentance, or to be ſorry for what he has done amiſs, by reaſon of the natural Inclination of the Mind to ramble and change; and therefore ſome men being clapp'd and humm'd upon the Theatre, preſently fall a weeping, their Deſire of Glory relapſing into Covetouſneſs. But as for thoſe which ſacrific'd the Lives of Men to the Succeſs of their Tyrannies and Conſpiracies, as *Apollodorus*, or plunder'd their Friends of their Treaſure, and depriv'd them of their Eſtates, as *Glaucus* the Son of *Epicides*, can we believe ſuch Men did not repent and abhor themſelves, or that they were not ſorry for the Perpetration of ſuch foul Enormities? For my part, if it may be lawful for me to deliver my Opinion, I believe there is no occaſion, either for the Gods or Men to inflict their Puniſhments upon the moſt wicked and ſacrilegious Offenders; ſeeing that the Courſe of their own Lives is ſufficient to chaſtize their Crimes, while they remain under the Conſternations and Torments attending their Impiety. And now conſider whether my Diſcourſe have not enlarg'd it ſelf too far. To which, *Timon*, perhaps ſaid he, it may ſeem to have been too long, if we conſider what remains behind, and the length of time requir'd for the Diſcuſſion of our other Doubts. For now I am going about to propoſe the laſt Queſtion, in purſuit of the firſt, which has hitherto, with an indifferent clearneſs been explain'd. Now as to what we have farther to ſay, we find that *Euripides* delivers his Mind freely, and condemns the Gods for impoſing the Tranſgreſſions of Fore-fathers upon their Offſpring: And I am apt to believe, that they who are moſt ſilent among us do the like. For if the Offenders themſelves have already receiv'd their Reward, then there is no reaſon why the Innocent ſhould be puniſh'd, ſince it is not equal to puniſh even Criminals twice for the ſame Fact. But if remiſs and careleſs, the Gods omitting opportunely to inflict their Penalties upon the Wicked, ſend down their tardy Rigor on the Blameleſs; they do not well to repair their defective Slowneſs by Injuſtice. As it is reported of *Eſop*, that he came upon a time to *Delphos*, having brought along with him a great quantity of Gold, which *Crœſus* had beſtow'd upon him, on purpoſe to offer a moſt magnificent Oblation to the Gods, and with a Deſign moreover to diſtribute among the Prieſts and People of *Delphos* four *Minæ* apiece. But there happening ſome diſguſt and Difference between him and the *Delphians*, 'tis true, he perform'd his Solemnity, but ſent back his Money to *Sardis*, not deeming thoſe ingrateful People worthy of his Bounty. Upon which the *Delphians* laying their Heads together, accus'd him of Sacriledge, and then threw him down headlong from a ſteep and prodigious Precipice, which is there call'd *Hyampea*. Upon which it is reported, that the Deity being highly incens'd againſt them for ſo horrid a Murther, brought a Famine upon the Land, and infeſted the People with noiſom Diſeaſes of all ſorts: inſomuch that they were conſtrain'd to make it their Buſineſs to travel to all the General Aſſemblies and Places of publick Concourſe in *Greece*, making publick Proclamation, where e're they came, that whoever they were that would demand Juſtice for the Death of *Eſop*, they were prepar'd to give him Satiſfaction, and to undergo whatever Penalty he ſhould require. Three Generations afterwards, came one *Idmon* a *Samian*, no way of Kin, or otherwiſe related to *Eſop*, but only deſcended from thoſe who had purchas'd *Eſop* in *Samos*; to whom the *Delphians* paying thoſe Forfeitures which he demanded, were deliver'd from all their preſſing Calamities. And from hence, by repo it was, that the Puniſhment of Sacrilegious Perſons w tranſlated from the Rock *Hyampeia*, to that other Cli which bears the Name of *Nauplia*. Neither is *Alexan-der* applauded by thoſe who have the greateſt Eſteem for his Memory (of which Number are we our ſelves) who utterly lay'd waſt the City of the *Branchidæ*, putting Men, Women and Children to the Sword, for tha their Anceſtors had long before deliver'd up the Temple of *Miletum*. In like manner, *Agathocles*, Tyrant o *Syracuſe*, when the *Corcyræans* requeſted to know the reaſon of him, why he depopulated their Iſland, deriding and ſcoffing at their Demand, *By* Jove, ſaid he, *for no other reaſon, but becauſe your Fore-fathers entertain'd* Ulyſſes. And when the Iſlanders of *Ithaca* expoſtulated with him, why his Souldiers carry'd away their Sheep. Becauſe, ſaid he, when your King came to our Iſland, he put out the Eyes of the Shepherd himſelf. And therefore do you not think *Apollo* more extravagant then all theſe, for puniſhing ſo ſeverely the *Phedeatæ*, by ſtopping up that profound and ſpacious Receptacle of all thoſe Floods that now cover their Country, upon a bare Report that *Hercules*, a thouſand years ago, took away the *Prophetic Tripos*, and carry'd it to *Pheneum*? Or when he foretold to the *Sybarites*, that all their Calamities ſhould ceaſe, upon condition they appeas'd the Wrath of *Leucadian Juno*, by enduring three ruinous Calamities upon their Country. Nor is it ſo long ſince, that the *Locrians* ſurceas'd to ſend their Virgins to *Troy*.

Who barefoot, all day long, nor yet allow'd
One ſingle Tatter, naked Skins to ſhroud,
Like worſt of Slaves are forc'd to ſcrub and ſcowr
Minervas *Altar, and the ſacred Floor,*
With hourly Pains to bruſh; yet all the while
No Priviledge for Age from weary Toil.

Nor when with years decrepit, can they claim
The thinneſt vail to hide their Aged Shame.

And all this to gratifie the Laſciviouſneſs of *Ajax*.

Now where is the Reaſon or Juſtice of all this? Nor is the Cuſtom of the *Thracians* to be approv'd, who to this day abuſe their Wives in revenge of their Cruelty to *Orpheus*: And with as little reaſon are the *Barbarians* about *Eridanus*, or the River *Po*, to be extoll'd, who once a year put themſelves into Mourning for the Misfortune of *Phaeton*. And ſtill more ridiculous then all this, it would certainly be, when all thoſe People that liv'd at the time took no notice of *Phaeton*'s Miſchance, that they who happen'd to be born five or ten Generations after, ſhould be ſo idle, as to take up the Cuſtom of going into Black, and bewailing his Downfall. However, in all theſe things there is nothing to be obſerv'd but meer Folly; nothing pernicious, nor any thing dangerous.

But as for the Anger of the Gods, what reaſon can be given why their Wrath ſhould ſtop and conceal it ſelf upon a ſudden, after the Fact committed, like ſome certain Rivers, and when all things ſeem to be forgot, break forth with ſo much Fury, as not to be atton'd, but with ſome remarkable Calamities?

Upon that, ſo ſoon as he had done ſpeaking, not a little afraid, leaſt, if he ſhould begin again, he would run himſelf into many more and greater Abſurdities. Do you believe, Sir, ſaid I, all that you have ſaid to be true? Then he, though all that I have alledg'd may not be true, yet if only ſome part may be allow'd for Truth, do not you think there is the ſame Difficulty ſtill remaining in the Queſtion? It may be ſo, ſaid I. And thus it is with thoſe who labour under a vehement burning Fever, for whether cover'd with one Blanket or many, the Heat is ſtill the ſame, or very little different; yet for Refreſhments Sake, it may be convenient ſometimes to lighten the Weight of the Glebe. For if the Gueſt can refuſe your Courteſie, let him alone. For I muſt tell ye, the greateſt part of theſe Examples look like Fables and Fiction. Call to mind therefore thoſe honorary Entertainments of the Gods in mortal Habitations, and that moſt noble Portion, which the publick Cryers proclaim to be receiv'd as their due, by the Off-ſpring of *Pindar*; and collect with your ſelf, how majeſtick and graceful a Mark of Grandeur you look upon this to be. Truly, ſaid he, I judge there's no Man living, who would not be ſenſible of the Curioſity and Elegancy of ſuch an Honour, diſplaying Antiquity void of Tincture and falſe Glitter, after the Greek manner, unleſs he were ſuch a Brute, that I may uſe the Words of *Pindar* himſelf;

Whoſe cole black Heart from natural Droſs unpurg'd,
Had only by cold Flames at firſt been forg'd.

Therefore, I forbear, ſaid I, to mention that ſame Proclamation, not much unlike to this, and uſually made after the Concluſion of the *Lesbian Ode*, to the Honour, and in Memory of the ancient *Terpander*. But you on the other ſide, deem your ſelf worthy to be preferr'd above all the reſt of the *Bœotians*, as being of the noble Race of the *Opheltiadæ*, and among the *Phocians*, you claim undoubted Preeminence, for the Sake of your Anceſtor *Diophantus*. And for my part, I muſt acknowledge that you were one of the firſt, who aſſiſted me as my Second, againſt the *Lycormeans* and *Satilæans*, claiming the Priviledge and Honour of wearing Crowns, due by the Laws of *Greece* to the *Deſcendants* from *Hercules*; at what time I affirm'd that thoſe Honours and Guerdons ought more eſpecially to be preſerv'd inviolable to the immediate Progeny of *Hercules*, in regard that though he were ſo great a Benefactor to

the *Greeks*, yet in his Life time, he was not thought
worthy of any Reward or Return of Gratitude. You
recal to my Remembrance, ſaid he, a moſt noble Con-
reſt, and worthy the Debate of Philoſophy it ſelf. Dif-
miſs, therefore, ſaid I, that vehement Humor of yours,
that excites ye to accuſe the Gods; nor take it ill, if
many times Celeſtial Puniſhment diſcharges it ſelf upon
the Off-ſpring of the Wicked and Vicious. Neither
be too much overjoy'd, nor too forward to applaud
thoſe Honours which are due to Nobility of Birth.
For it becomes us, if we believe that the Reward of
Vertue ought to be extended to Poſterity, by the
ſame reaſon to take it for granted, that Puniſh-
ment ought not to overſlip and connive at Impieties
committed, but to run forward, and reciprocally puniſh
the Progeny of the Tranſgreſſors, according to the
Demerits of their Fore-fathers. And therefore they that
with Pleaſure behold the Race of *Cimon* highly ho-
nour'd in *Athens*; on the other ſide, they that fret and
fume at the Exilement of the Poſterity of *Lachares* or
Ariſton, are both too remiſs and Oſcitant in their Searches
after the true Reaſon of things, or elſe too moroſe and
overquarrelſome with the Deity it ſelf. One while ac-
cuſing the Divinity, if the Poſterity of an unjuſt and
wicked Perſon ſeems to proſper in the World; another
time, no leſs moody and finding fault, if it fall out
that the Race of the Wicked come to be utterly de-
ſtroy'd and extirpated from the Earth. And thus whether
the Children of the Wicked, or the Children of the
Juſt fall under Affliction, the Caſe is all one to them,
the Gods muſt ſuffer alike in their bad Opinions. Theſe,
ſaid I, are the Preliminaries, which I would have you
make uſe of againſt thoſe cholerick Accuſers, and teſty
Snarlers, of whom I have given you warning.

But now to take in hand once more, as it were the
firſt end of the Bottom of Thread, in this ſame dark
bes.

Diſcourſe of the Gods, wherein there are ſo many Windings and Turnings, and gloomy Labyrinths; let us by degrees, and with caution, direct our Steps to what is moſt likely and probable. Since even in those things which fall under our dayly Practice and Management, we are many times at a *Loſs* to determine the undoubted and unqueſtion'd Truth. For Example, what certain *Reaſon* can be given for that Cuſtom amongſt us, of ordering the Children of Parents that dye of a Conſumption, or a Dropſie, to ſit with both their Feet ſoaking in the Water, till the Dead Body be burnt. Only People believe, that thereby the Diſeaſe is not only prevented from becoming Hereditary, but that it is a Charm to ſecure thoſe Children from it as long as they live. Again, what ſhould be the Reaſon that if a Goat, lighting upon a Piece of *Sea-Holly*, holding it chewing in her Mouth, the whole Heard will ſtand ſtill till the Goatheard come and take it out? Other hidden Properties there are, which by Vertue of certain incredible Touches and Tranſitions, paſs either ſwifter or ſlower from ſome peculiar Bodies into Others. But we admire the Intervals of Time, and not the Diſtances of Place. And yet there is more reaſon to wonder, that *Athens* ſhould be infected with an Epidemic Contagion, taking its Riſe in *Ethiopia*; that *Pericles* ſhould dye, and *Thucidides* be ſmitten with the Infection; than that upon the Impiety of the *Delphians* and *Sybarites*, delay'd Vengeance ſhould at length overtake their Poſterity. For theſe hidden Powers and Properties have their ſecred Connexions and Correſpondences between their utmoſt Endings, and their firſt Beginnings; of which, although the Cauſes be conceal'd from us, yet ſilently they bring to paſs their proper Effects. Not but that there is a Reaſon ready at hand for the Juſtice, which publick Puniſhments ſhower'd down from Heaven upon particular Cities. For a City is a kind of entire Thing and a continued Body; a certain ſort of Creature, never ſubject to the Changes and Alterations of Age, nor varying through proceſs of time, from one thing to another, but ſympathizing, and peculiar to its ſelf, and receiving the Puniſhment or Reward of what ever it has done, or ever acted in common, ſo long as the Community, which makes it a Body, and binds it together with the mutual Bands of Human Benefit, preſerves its Unity. For he that goes about, of one City to make many, and perhaps an infinite Number, by diſtinguiſhing the Intervals of Time, ſeems to be like a Perſon who would make ſeveral of one ſingle Man, becauſe he is now grown Elderly, who before was a Young Man, and before that a meer Stripling. Or rather, it reſembles the Method of Diſputing amongſt the *Epicharmians*, the firſt Authors of that Manner of Arguing, call'd the *Increaſer*. He that formerly ran in Debt, although he never pay'd it, ows nothing now, as being become another Man. And he that was invited Yeſterday to Supper, the next Night comes an Unbidden Gueſt, for that he is quite another Perſon; and indeed the Diſtinctions of Ages cauſe greater Alterations in every one of us, then commonly they do in Cities. For he that has ſeen *Athens* may know it again thirty years after; the preſent Manners, Motions, Paſtimes, ſerious Studies, their Familiarities and Marks of their Diſpleaſure, little or nothing differing from what formerly they were. But after a long Abſence, there's many a Man, who meeting his own Familiar Friend, hardly knows him again, by reaſon of the great Alteration of his Countenance, and the Change of his Manners, which are ſo eaſily ſubject to the Alterations of Language, Labour and Employment, all manner of Accidents, and Mutation of Laws, that even they who are moſt uſually converſant with him, admire to find the ſtrangeneſs and Novelty of the

Change; and yet the Man is reputed ſtill to be the ſame from his Birth to his Deceaſe. In the ſame manner does a City ſtill remain the ſame; and for that reaſon we think it but Juſtice, that a City ſhould as well be obnoxious to the Blame and Reproach of its ancient Inhabitants, as participate the Glory of their former Puiſſance and Renown; unleſs our Careleſneſs be ſuch as not to mind the throwing all things into the *Heraclitian* River, into which, by common Report, it was impoſſible to caſt the ſame thing twice; as having a ſecret Property to change the Nature of all things thrown into it. Now then, if a City be one entire and continued Body; the ſame Opinion is to be conceived of a Race of Men, depending upon one and the ſame Beginning, and carrying along with it a certain Power and Communion of Qualities; in regard that what is begotten cannot be thought to be ſever'd from what is begot, like a Piece of Workmanſhip from the Artificer; the one being begotten of the Perſon, the other framed by the Work-man; whereas that which is engendred is a part of the Original from whence it ſprung, whether meriting Honour, or deſerving Puniſhment. So that were it not that I might be thought to be too ſportive in a ſerious Diſcourſe, I would affirm, that the *Athenians* were more unjuſt to the Statue of *Caſſander*, when they caus'd it to be melted down and defac'd, and that the *Syracuſians* were more rigorous to the Dead Carcaſs of *Dionyſius*, when they caſt it forth of their own Confines, than if they had puniſh'd their Poſterity. For that the Statue did no way partake of the Subſtance of *Caſſander*, and the Soul of *Dionyſius* was abſolutely departed from the Body deceaſ'd. Whereas *Nyſæus*, *Apollocrates*, *Antipater*, *Philip*, and ſeveral others, deſcended from wicked Parents, ſtill retain'd the moſt principal Part of thoſe who begot them, not lazy and ſluggiſhly dormant, but that very Part by which they live, are nouriſh'd, live and move, and become rational and ſenſible Creatures. Neither is there any thing of Abſurdity, if being the Off-ſpring of ſuch Parents, they ſhould retain many of their bad Qualities. In ſhort therefore, I affirm, as it is in the Practiſe of Phyſick, that whatever is wholeſome and profitable, is likewiſe juſt; and he would be accounted ridiculous, that ſhould aver it to be an Act of Injuſtice to Cauterize the Thumb for the Cure of the *Sciatica*; or when the *Liver* is Impoſthumated, to Scarifie the Belly; or when the Hoofs of Labouring Oxen are over tender, to anoint the Tips of their Horns. In the ſame manner is he to be laugh'd at, who ſeeks for any other Juſtice in the Puniſhment of Vice, then the Cure and Reformation of the Offender; and is angry to ſee the Medicine apply'd to ſome Parts for the Cure of others; as when a Chyrurgeon opens a Vein, to give his Patient Eaſe upon an Inflammation of the Eyes; for ſuch a one ſeems to look no further than what he reaches by his Senſes; forgetting that a Schoolmaſter, by Chaſtizing one, admoniſhes all the reſt of his Schollars; and that a General Condemning only one in ten, reduces all the reſt to Obedience. And thus there is not only a Cure and Amendment of one part of the Body by another, but many times the very Soul it ſelf is inclin'd to Vice or Reformation, by the Lewdneſs or Vertue of another. For there is great reaſon to believe, that as the Impreſſion, ſo the Alteration is the ſame. But the Soul being agitated by Fancy and Imagination, as it is either Daring and Confident, or Timorous and Miſtruſtful, becomes better or worſe.

While I was yet ſpeaking, *Olympicus* interrupting me, You ſeem, ſaid he, by this Diſcourſe of yours, to infer as if the Soul were Immortal, which is a Suppoſition of great Conſequence. 'Tis very true, ſaid I, nor is it any more then what your ſelves have granted, [illegible] the whole Diſcourſe has tended [illegible] ning to this, that the Supream Deity overlooks, and deals to every one of us according to our Deserts. To which the other, Do you then believe, ſaid he, it follows of Neceſſity, that if the Deity obſerves our Actions, and diſtributes to every one of us according to our Merits, that our Souls ſhould exiſt, and be altogether incorruptible, or elſe for a certain time ſurvive the Body after Death? Not ſo faſt, good Sir, ſaid I, But can we think that God ſo little conſiders his own Actions, or is ſuch a Waſter of his Time in Trifles, if we had nothing of Divine within us, nothing that in the leaſt reſembled his Perfection, nothing permanent and ſtable, but were only poor Creatures, that according to *Homer's* Expreſſion, faded and dropt like wither'd Leaves, and in a ſhort time too; that he ſhould make ſo great account of us, like Women that beſtow their Pains in making little Gardens, no leſs delightful to them than the Gardens of *Adonis*, in earthen Pans and Pots, as to create us Souls to bloſſom and flouriſh only for a Day in a ſoft and tender Body of Fleſh, without any firm and ſolid Root of Life, and then to be blaſted and extinguiſh'd in a Moment, upon every ſlight Occaſion? And therefore if you pleaſe, not concerning our ſelves with other Deities, let us go no farther than the God *Apollo*, whom here we call our own; whether he, knowing ſo well as we pretend he does, that the Souls of the Deceaſed vaniſh away like Clouds or Smoak, exhaling from our Bodies like a Vapour, would accept of ſo many Propitiations for the Dead, or require ſuch Honours to be pay'd, ſuch Veneration to be given to the Deceas'd, as if he did it to delude and cozen his Believers? And therefore, for my part, I will never deny the Perpetuity of the Soul, till ſome body or other, as they ſay *Hercules* did of old, ſhall be ſo daring as to come and take away the Prophetical [illegible] and ſo quite ruine and deſtroy the Oracle. Wa[illegible]

[illegible]

that even in theſe our days ſeveral Anſwers have been utter'd by the Delphick Soothſayer, the ſame in ſubſtance which was formerly given to *Corax* the *Naxian.*

It ſounds prophane Impiety,
To teach that Humane Souls e're dye.

Then *Patrocles*, What Oracle was this? who was that famous *Corax*? For both the Maſter it ſelf, and the Perſon whom you mention, are Strangers to my Remembrance. Certainly, ſaid I, that cannot be; only 'twas my Error which occaſioned your Ignorance, in making uſe of the Addition to the Name, instead of the Name it ſelf. For it was *Callondas* who ſlew *Archilochus* in Fight. Who being thereupon ejected by the *Pythian* Prieſteſs, as one who had ſlain a Perſon devoted to the Muſes, but afterwards, humbling himſelf by Prayers and Supplications, intermix'd with undeniable Excuſes of the Fact, was enjoyn'd by the Oracle to repair to the Habitation of *Tettix*, there to expiate his Crime, by appeaſing the Ghoſt of *Archilochus*. That Place was call'd *Taenarus*, for there it was, as the Report goes, that *Tettix* the *Cretan* coming with a Navy to the Cape of *Taenarus*, landed, built a City not far from *Pſyco Pompeius*, and ſtor'd it with Inhabitants; next to which, there is a peculiar Place devoted and ſet apart for appeaſing the Ghoſts of Perſons ſent out of the World by violent Deaths.

In like manner, when the *Spartans* were commanded by the Oracle to atone the Ghoſt of *Pauſanias*, they ſent for ſeveral Exorciſers and Conjurers out of *Italy*, who by Vertue of their Sacrifices, chas'd the Apparition out of the Temple. Therefore, ſaid I, there is one and the ſame reaſon to confirm the Providence of God, and the Immortality of the Soul; Neither is it poſſible to admit the one, if you deny the other. Now then the Soul ſurviving after the Deceaſe of the Body, the Inference is the ſtronger, that it partakes of Puniſhment and Reward; for during this mortal Life, the Soul is in continual Combat like a Wreſtler; but after all thoſe Conflicts are at an end, ſhe then receives according to her Merits. But while the Soul is thus alone by it ſelf, what thoſe Puniſhments, what the Rewards of paſt Trangreſſions, or juſt and laudable Actions are, is nothing at all to us that are alive; for either they are altogether conceal'd from our Knowledge, or elſe we give but little Credit to them. But thoſe Puniſhments that reach ſucceeding Poſterity, being conſpicuous to all that are living at the ſame time, reſtrain and curb the Inclinations of many wicked Perſons. Now, in regard there is no Puniſhment more grievous, or that touches more to the Quick, then for a Man to behold his Children born of his Body, ſuffering for his Crimes; ſince nothing can more afflict the ſurviving Soul of a wicked and lawleſs Criminal, not ſo much to ſee his Statues defac'd, and his Memory diſhonoured, by reverſing the Enſigns of his Dignity; but to look down upon his own Children, his Friends, or neareſt Kindred, ruin'd and overwhelm'd with Calamity; certainly, were the ſame Perſon to live again, he would rather chooſe the Refuſal of all *Jupiters* Honours, then to abandon himſelf a ſecond time to his wonted Injuſtice and Extravagant Deſires.

And here I could relate a Story which I lately heard, but that I fear, leaſt you ſhould cenſure it for a Fable. And therefore I deem it much the better way to keep cloſe to what is probable and conſentaneous to Reaſon. By any means, reply'd *Olympicus*, proceed, and gratifie us with your Story alſo, ſince it was ſo kindly offer'd. Thereupon, when the reſt of the Company likewiſe made me the ſame Requeſt, Permit me, ſaid I, to [illegible] firſt place, to purſue the rational Part of my Diſcourſe; and then, according as it ſhall ſeem proper and convenient, if it be a Fable, you ſhall have it as cheap as I heard it.

Bio was of Opinion, that God, in puniſhing the Children of the Wicked, for the Sins of their Fathers, ſeems more irregular then a Phyſician that ſhould adminiſter Phyſick to a Son or a Grand-child, to cure the Diſtemper of a Father or a Grand-Father. But this Compariſon does not run cleverly, ſince the Amplification of the Similitude agrees only in ſome things; but in others is altogether defective. For if one Man be cur'd of a Diſeaſe by Phyſick, the ſame Medicine will not cure another; nor was it ever known that any Perſon troubl'd with ſore Eyes, or labouring under a Fever, was ever reſtor'd to perfect Health, by ſeeing another in the ſame Condition anointed or plaiſter'd. But the Puniſhments or Executions of Malefactors are done publickly in the Face of the World, to the end that Juſtice appearing to be the Effect of Prudence and Reaſon, ſome may be reſtrain'd by the Correction inflicted upon others. So that *Bio* never rightly apprehended where the Compariſon anſwer'd to our Queſtion. For oftentimes it happens, that a Man comes to be haunted with a troubleſome, though not incurable Diſeaſe, and through Sloath and Intemperance, improves his Diſtemper, and weak'ns his Body to that Degree, that he occaſions his own Death. After this, 'tis true, the Son does not fall ſick, only has receiv'd from his Fathers Seed ſuch a Habit of Body as makes him liable to the ſame Diſeaſe: which a good Phyſician, or a tender Friend, or a ſkilful Apothecary, or a careful Maſter obſerving, confines him to a ſtrict and ſpare Diet, withholds him from all manner of Superfluity, keeps him from all the Temptations of delicious Fare, Wine and Women, and making uſe of wholſom and proper Phyſick, together with convenient Exerciſe, diſſipates and extirpates the Original Cauſe of a Diſtemper at the beginning, before it grow to a Head, and gets a maſterleſs Dominion over the Body. And is it not our uſual Practice, thus to admoniſh thoſe that are born of Diſeas'd Parents, to take timely Care of themſelves, and not to neglect the Malady, but to expel the Original Nouriſhment of the Inbred Evil, as being then eaſily moveable, and apt for Expulſion? 'Tis very true, cry'd they. Therefore, ſaid I, we cannot be ſaid to do an abſurd thing, but what is abſolutely neceſſary; not that which is ridiculous, but what is altogether uſeful; while we preſcribe to the Epileptick, the Hypochondriacal, and to thoſe that are ſubject to the Gout, ſuch Exerciſes, Diet and Remedies that are proper, not ſo much becauſe they are at that time troubled with the Diſtemper, but to prevent the Malady. For a Man begotten by an unſound Body, does not therefore deſerve Puniſhment, but rather the Preſervation of proper Phyſick and good Regiment; which if any one call the Puniſhment of Fear or Effeminacy, becauſe the Perſon is debarr'd his Pleaſures, and put to ſome ſort of Pain by Cupping and Bliſtring, we mind not what he ſays. If then it be of ſuch Importance to preſerve by Phyſick and other proper Means, the vitiated Off-ſpring of another Body, foul and corrupted, ought we to ſuffer the innate and reſembling Principles of a wicked Nature, ſprouting up, and budding through evil Cuſtom in Youth, and to ſtay till being diffus'd into all the Affections of the Mind, they bring forth and ripen the viſible and malignant Fruit of a miſchievous Diſpoſition? for ſuch is the Expreſſion of *Pindar*. Or can you otherwiſe believe, but that in this particular God is wiſer then *Heſiod*, admoniſhing and exhorting us in this manner?

Nor mind the Pleasures of the Genial Bed,
Returning from th' Interment of the Dead;
But propagate thy Race, when Heavenly Food,
And Feasting with the Gods, have warm'd thy Blood.

Intimating thereby, that a Man was never to attempt the Work of Generation, but in the height of a jocond and merry Humour, and when he found himself as it were diſſolved into jollity; as if from Procreation proceeded the Impreſſions not only of Vice or Vertue, but of Sorrow and Joy, and of all other Qualities and Affections whatever. However, it is not the Work of Human Wiſdom, as *Heſiod* ſuppoſes, but of Divine Providence, to foreſee the Sympathies and Differences of Mens Natures, before the Malignant Infection of their unruly Paſſions come to utter it ſelf by hurrying their unadviſed Youth into a thouſand Villanous Miſcarriages. For though the Cubs of Bears, and Whelps of Wolves and Apes, immediately diſcover their ſeveral inbred Qualities and natural Conditions, without any Diſguiſe or artificial Concealment; Man is nevertheleſs a Creature more refin'd, who many times curb'd by the Shame of tranſgreſſing common Cuſtoms, univerſal Opinions, or the Law, conceals the Evil that is within him, and imitates only what is laudable and honeſt. So that he may be thought to have altogether cleans'd and rins'd away the Stains and Imperfections of his vicious Diſpoſition, and ſo cunningly for a long time to have kept his natural Corruption wrapt up under the Covering of Craft and Diſſimulation, that we are ſcarce ſenſible of the Fallacy till we feel the Stripes or Sting of his Injuſtice; believing him to be only then unjuſt, when they offer Wrong to our ſelves; Laſcivious when we ſee them abandoning themſelves to their Luſts; and Cowardly when we ſee [illegible]

[illegible]

them turning their Backs upon the Enemy; juſt as if any Man ſhould be ſo idle, as to believe a Scorpion had no Sting until he felt it; or that a Viper had no Venom, until it bit him; which is a ſilly Conceit. For there is no Man that only then became Wicked, when he appear'd to be ſo. But having the Seeds and Principles of Iniquity within him long before, the Thief then ſteals when he meets with a fit Opportunity; and the Tyrant violates the Law, when he finds himſelf ſurrounded with ſufficient Power. But neither is the Nature and Diſpoſition of any Man conceal'd from God, as taking upon him with more Exactneſs to ſcrutinize the Soul then Body; nor does he tarry till actual Violence or Lewdneſs be committed, to puniſh the Hands of the Wrong-doer, the Tongue of the Prophane, or the tranſgreſſing Members of the Laſcivious and Obſcene. For he does not exerciſe his Vengeance on the Unjuſt, for any Wrong that He has receiv'd by his Injuſtice: nor is he angry with the High-way Robber, for any Violence done to himſelf; nor does he abominate the Adulterer, for defiling his Bed. But many times, by way of Cure and Reformation chaſtizes the Adulterer, the Covetous Miſer, and the Wronger of his Neighbour, as Phyſicians endeavour to ſubdue an Epilepſie, by preventing the coming of the Fits.

What ſhall I ſay? But even a little before we were offended at the Gods protracting and delaying the Puniſhments of the Wicked; and now we are as much diſpleas'd, that they do not curb and chaſtize the Depravities of an evil Diſpoſition before the Fact committed. Not conſidering that many times a Miſchief conceiv'd for future Execution, may prove more dreadful than a Fact already committed; and dormant Villany may be more dangerous than open and apparent Iniquity. Not being able to apprehend the Reaſon wherefore it is much ſafer to bear with the unjuſt Actions of ſome Men, then to prevent the Meditating and Contrivance of Miſchief in others. As in truth, we do not rightly comprehend, why ſome Remedies and Phyſical Druggs are no way convenient for thoſe that labour under a real Diſeaſe, yet wholſome and profitable for thoſe that are ſeemingly in Health, but yet perhaps in a worſe Condition then they who are Sick. Whence it comes to paſs, that the Gods do not always turn the Tranſgreſſions of Parents upon their Children; but if a vertuous Son happen to be the Off-ſpring of a Wicked Father, as often it falls out that a Sane Child is born of one that is unſound and crazie, ſuch a one is exempted from the Puniſhment which threatens the whole Deſcent, as one begot in Sin, as it is barely a Quality. But for a young Man that treads in the Footſteps of a Criminal Race, it is but juſt, that as Heir to his Fathers Eſtate, he ſhould ſucceed to the Puniſhment of his Anceſtors Iniquity. For neither was *Antigonus* puniſh'd for the Crimes of *Demetrius*, nor *Phyleus* for the Tranſgreſſions of *Augeas*; nor *Neſtor* for the Impiety of *Neleus*, in regard that though their Parents were wicked, yet they were vertuous themſelves. But as for thoſe whoſe Nature has embrac'd and eſpous'd the Vices of their Parentage, them holy Vengeance proſecutes, purſuing the Likeneſs and Reſemblance of Sin. For as the Warts and Moles, and Freckles of Parents not ſeen upon the Children of their own begetting, many times afterwards appear again upon the Children of their Sons and Daughters; and as the *Grecian* Woman that brought forth a Blackamore Infant, for which ſhe was accus'd of *Adultery*, prov'd her ſelf, upon diligent enquiry, to be the Off-ſpring of an *Æthiopian*, after four Generations; and as among the Children of *Pytho*, the *Niſibian*, ſaid to be deſcended from the *Spartans*, that were the Progeny of thoſe Men that ſprung from the Teeth of *Cadmus's* Dragon, the youngeſt of his Sons, who lately dy'd, was born with the Print of a Spear upon his Body, the uſual Mark of that ancient *Line*, which not having been ſeen for many Revolutions of Years before, ſtarted up again, as it were out of the Deep, and ſhew'd it ſelf the renew'd Teſtimonial of the Infants Race; ſo many times it happens, that the firſt Deſcents and eldeſt Races hide and drown the Paſſions and Affections of the Mind peculiar to the Family, which afterward bud forth again, and diſplay the natural *Propenſity* of the ſucceeding Progeny to Vice or Vertue. Having thus concluded, I held my Peace, at what time *Olympicus* ſmiling, We forbear, as yet ſaid he, to give you our Approbation, that we may not ſeem to have forgot the Fable; not but that we believe your Diſcourſe to have been ſufficiently made out by Demonſtration, only we reſerve our Opinion till we ſhall have heard the Relation of that likewiſe. Upon which I began again after this manner: There was one *Soleus a Theſpeſian*, the Friend and familiar Acquaintance of that *Protogenes*, who for ſome time convers'd among us. This Gentleman in his Youth leading a debauch'd and intemperate *Life*, in a ſhort time ſpent his Patrimony, and then for ſome years became very Wicked; but afterwards repenting his *former* Follies and Extravagancies, and purſuing the Recovery of his loſt Eſtate, by all manner of Tricks and Shifts, did as is uſual with diſſolute and laſcivious Youth, who when they have Wives of their own, never mind them at all; but when they have diſmiſs'd them, and find them married to others that watch them with a more vigilant Affection, endeavour to corrupt and vitiate them by all the unjuſt and wicked Provocations imaginable. In this Humour, abſtaining from nothing that was lewd and *illegal*, ſo it tended to his Gain and *Profit*, he got no great matter of Wealth, but procur'd to himſelf a World of Infamy by his unjuſt and Knaviſh Dealing with all *ſorts* of People. Yet nothing made him more the Talk of Country, than the *Anſwer* which was brought him back from the Oracle of *Amphilochus.* For thither it ſeems he ſent to enquire of the Deity, whether he ſhould live any better the remaining part of his Life. To which the Oracle return'd, that it would be better with him after he was dead. And indeed, not long after, in ſome meaſure it ſo fell out; for that happening to fall from a certain Precipice upon his Neck, though he receiv'd no Wound, nor broke any Limb, yet the Force of the Fall beat the Breath out of his Body. Three Days after, being carry'd forth to be bury'd, as they were juſt ready to let him down into the Grave, of a ſudden he came to himſelf, and recovering his Strength, ſo alter'd the whole Courſe of his Life, that it was almoſt incredible to all that knew him. For by the Report of the *Cilicians,* there never was in that Age a juſter Perſon in common Dealings between Man and Man, more Devout and Religious, as to Divine Worſhip, more an Enemy to the Wicked, nor more conſtant and faithful to his Friends; which was the reaſon that they who were moſt converſant with him, were deſirous to hear from himſelf the Cauſe of ſo great an Alteration, not believing that ſo great a Reformation could proceed from bare Chance; though it were true that it did ſo, as he himſelf related to *Protogenes* and others of his choiceſt Friends. For when his Sence firſt left his Body, it ſeem'd to him as if he had been ſome Pilot flung from the Helm by the force of a Storm into the midſt of the Sea. Afterwards, riſing up again above Water by degrees, ſo ſoon as he thought he had fully recover'd his Breath, he look'd about him every way, as if one Eye of his Soul had been open. But he beheld nothing of thoſe things which he was wont formerly to ſee, only he ſaw Stars of a vaſt Magnitude, at an immenſe diſtance one from the other, and ſending forth a Light moſt wonderful for the brightneſs of its

Colour, which ſhot it ſelf out in length with an incredible force; on which the Soul riding, as it were in a Chariot, was moſt ſwiftly, yet as gently and ſmoothly carried from one place to another. But omitting the greateſt part of the Sights which he beheld, he ſaw, as he ſaid, the Souls of ſuch as were newly departed, as they mounted from below, reſembling little fiery Bubbles, to which the *Air* gave way. Which Bubbles afterwards breaking inſenſibly, and by degrees, the Souls came forth in the *Shapes* of *Men* and Women, light and nimble, as being diſcharg'd of all their Earthly Subſtance. However, they differ'd in their Motion; for ſome of them leap'd forth with a wonderful Swiftneſs, and mounted up in a direct Line. Others like ſo many Spindles of Spinning-Wheels turn'd round and round, ſometimes whirling upward, ſometimes darting downward, with a confus'd and mix'd Agitation, that in a very long time, and then hardly could be ſtopp'd.

The moſt part of theſe Souls he knew not who they were, only perceiving two or three of his Acquaintance, he endeavour'd to have approach'd and diſcours'd them. But they neither heard him ſpeak, neither indeed did they ſeem to be in their right Senſes, but in a deep Conſternation, avoiding either to be ſeen or felt; they friſk'd up and down at firſt alone and apart by themſelves, till meeting at length with others in the ſame Condition, they clung together; but ſtill their Motions were with the ſame giddineſs and uncertainty as before, without any ſteerage of Diſcretion, or purpoſe of tending any whither: yet ſending forth inarticulate Sounds like the Cries of Souldiers in Combat, intermix'd with the doleful Yels of Fear and Lamentation. Others there were that tow'r'd aloft in the upper Region of the Air, and theſe look'd gay and pleaſant, and kindly and familiarly accoſted each other with a more than ordinary ſhew of Civility and Reſpect. Nevertheleſs they ſeem'd to ſhew a kind of Diſcontent when they were crouded and huddl'd together, but to rejoyce, and were well pleas'd when expanded and at Liberty. One of theſe, ſaid he, being the Soul of a certain Kinſman, which becauſe the Perſon dy'd when he was but very young, he did not very well know, drew near him, and ſaluted him by the Name of *Theſpeſius*; at which, being in a kind of Amazement, and ſaying, his Name was not *Theſpeſius*, but *Aridæus*; the Spirit reply'd, 'twas true, that formerly he was ſo call'd, but that from thenceforth he muſt be *Theſpeſius*, that is to ſay, Divine. For thou art not in the Number of the Dead as yet, but by a certain Deſtiny and Permiſſion of the Gods, thou art come hither only with thy intellectual Faculty, having left the reſt of thy Soul, like an Anchor, in thy Body. And that thou may'ſt be aſſured of this, obſerve it for a certain Rule, both now and hereafter, that the Souls of the Deceas'd neither caſt any Shadow, neither do they open and ſhut their Eyelids. *Theſpeſius* having heard this Diſcourſe, was ſo much the more encourag'd to make uſe of his own Reaſon, and therefore looking round about to prove the Truth of what had been told him, he could perceive that there follow'd him a kind of obſcure and Shadow-like Line, whereas thoſe other Souls ſhone like a round Body of perfect Light, and were tranſparent within; and yet there was a very great difference between them too; for that ſome yielded a ſmooth, even and contiguous Luſtre, all of one Colour, like the Full-moon in her brighteſt Splendor. Others were mark'd with long Scales, or ſlender Streaks, diſtinguiſhing the Spaces between. Others were all over ſpotted and very ugly to look upon, as being cover'd with black Speckles like the Skins of Vipers.

Moreover, this Kinſman of *Theſpeſius* (for nothing hinders but that we may call the Souls by the Names of the Perſons which they enliven'd) proceeding to a farther Relation of ſeveral other things, inform'd his Friend How that *Adraſtia*, the Daughter of *Jupiter* and Neceſſity, was ſeated in the higheſt Place of all, to puniſh all manner of Crimes and Enormities, and that in the whole Number of the Wicked and Ungodly, there never was any one, whither Great or Little, High or Low, Rich or Poor, that ever could by Force or Cunning, eſcape the ſevere Laſhes of her Rigour. But as there are three ſorts of Puniſhments, ſo there are three ſeveral Furies, or Female Miniſters of Juſtice, and to every one of theſe belongs a peculiar Office and Degree of Puniſhment. The firſt of theſe was call'd *Pœna* or *Pain*; whoſe Executions are ſwift and ſpeedy upon thoſe that are preſently to receive Bodily Puniſhment in this Life, and which ſhe manages after a more gentle manner, omitting the Correction of ſlight Offences, which need but little Expiation. But if the Cure of Impiety require a greater Labour, the Deity delivers thoſe, after Death, to *Dice* or *Revenge*. But when *Dice* has given them over as altogether incurable, then the third and moſt ſevere of all *Adraſtia*'s Miniſters, *Erinnys* takes them in hand, and after ſhe has chas'd and courſ'd them from one place to another flying, yet not knowing where to fly for Shelter or Relief, plagu'd and tormented with a thouſand Miſeries, ſhe plunges them headlong into an inviſible Abyſs, the Hideouſneſs of which no Tongue can expreſs.

Now of all theſe three ſorts of Puniſhments, that which is inflicted by *Pœna* in this Life, reſembles the Practice among the *Barbarians*. For as among the *Perſians*, they take off the Garments and Turbants of thoſe that are to be puniſh'd, and tear and whip them before the Offenders Faces, while the Criminals, with Tears and Lamentations, beſeech the Executioners to give over; ſo Corporeal Puniſhments and Penalties by Mulcts and

Fines, have not that Sharpneſs of Severity, nor do they reach the Deſerts of the Vice, but are accounted great or exceſſive, according to Opinion, and a Senſe of the Pain or Detriment which the Offendor feels. But if any one comes hither, that has eſcap'd Puniſhment while he liv'd upon Earth, and before he was well purg'd from his Crimes, *Dice* takes him to task, naked as he is, with his Soul diſplay'd, as having nothing to conceal or vail his Impiety; but on all ſides, and to all Mens Eyes, and every way expos'd, ſhe ſhews him firſt to his honeſt Parents, if he had any ſuch, to let them ſee how degenerate he was, and unworthy of his Progenitors. But if they were wicked likewiſe, then are their Sufferings rendred yet more terrible by the mutual Sight of each others Miſeries, and thoſe for a long time inflicted, till the remorſleſs Fury has effac'd each individual Crime with Pains and Torments, as far ſurmounting in Sharpneſs and Severity all Puniſhments and Tortures of the Fleſh, as what is real and evident ſurpaſſes an idle Dream. But the Wheals and Stripes that remain after Puniſhment, appear more ſignal in ſome, in others are leſs evident. View there, ſaid he, thoſe various Colours of Souls. That ſame black and ſordid Hue, is the Tincture of Avarice and Fraud. That bloody and flame-like Dye, betokens Cruelty, and an imbitter'd deſire of Revenge. Where you perceive a bleewiſh Colour, 'tis a ſign that Soul will hardly be cleans'd from the Impurities of Laſcivious Pleaſure and Voluptuouſneſs. Laſtly, that dark violet and venomous Colour, reſembling the ſordid Ink which the Cuttle-Fiſh ſpews up, proceeds from Envy. For as during Life, the Wickedneſs of the Soul being animated by Human Paſſions, and governing the Body, occaſions this variety of Colours, ſo here they are the end of Expiation and Puniſhment; which being cleans'd away, the Soul recovers her Native Luſtre,

clear

Luſtre, and becomes clear and ſpotleſs. But ſo long as theſe remain, there willl be ſome certain Returns of the Paſſions, accompany'd with little Pantings and Beatings, as it were of the Pulſe; in ſome remiſs and languid, and quickly extinguiſh'd; in others more quick and vehement, which being thoroughly chaſtiz'd, recover a due Habit and Diſpoſition. But the other, by the force of Ignorance, and the enticeing ſhew of Pleaſure, are carry'd into the Bodies of Brute Beaſts. For the Feebleneſs of their Ratiocination, while their Slothfulneſs will not permit them to contemplate, hurries them to the active part of Generation; on the other ſide, wanting the Inſtrument of Intemperance, yet deſirous to gratifie their Deſires with the full Swinge of Enjoyment, they endeavour to promote their Deſign by means of the Body. But alas, here is nothing but an imperfect Shadow and Dream of Pleaſure, that never attains to Ability of performance.

Having thus ſaid, the Spirit carry'd *Theſpeſius* to a certain place, as it appear'd to him, prodigiouſly ſpacious; yet ſo gently, and without the leſt Deviation, that he ſeem'd to be born upon the Rays of the Light, as if he had ſate upon the Wings of an Eagle. Thus at length he came to a certain gaping Chawn, that was fadomleſs downward, where he found himſelf deſerted by that extraordinary Force which brought him thither, and perceiv'd other Souls alſo to be there in the ſame Condition. For hovering upon the Wing in Flocks together like Birds, they kept flying round and round the yawning Rift, but durſt not enter into it. Now this ſame Cleft within ſide, reſembl'd the Dens of *Bacchus*, fring'd about with the pleaſing Verdure of various Herbs and Plants, that yielded a more delightful Proſpect ſtill of all ſorts of Flowers, enammelling the Green ſo with a wonderful diverſity of Colours, and breathing forth at the ſame time, a ſoft and gentle Breeze, which perfum'd all the Ambient Air with Odors moſt ſurprizing, and more grateful to the Smell then the ſweet Flavour of Wine to thoſe that Love it. Inſomuch, that the Souls banqueting upon theſe Fragrancies, were almoſt all diſſolv'd in Raptures of Mirth and Careſſes one among another, there being nothing to be heard for ſome fair diſtance round about the place, but Jollity and Laughter, and all the chearful Sounds of Joy and Harmony, which are uſual among People that paſs their Time in Sport and Merriment.

The Spirit ſaid moreover, that *Bacchus* aſcended through this Overture to Heaven, and afterwards returning fetch'd up *Semele* the ſame way; and that it was call'd the *Place* of *Oblivion*. Wherefore his Kinſman would not ſuffer *Theſpeſius* to tarry there any longer, though very unwilling to depart, but took him away by force; informing and inſtructing him withal, how ſtrangely, yet how ſuddenly the Mind was ſubject to be ſoftned and melted by Pleaſure; that the Irrational and Corporeal Part being water'd and incarnated thereby, revives the Memory of the Body, and that from that Remembrance proceeds Concupiſcence and Deſire, exciting an Appetite to Generation, which is therefore call'd a violent Propenſity bearing down the Soul by the Weight of its Moiſture.

At length, after he had been carry'd as far another way, as when he was tranſported to the yawning Overture, he thought he beheld a prodigious ſtanding Goblet, into which ſeveral Rivers diſcharg'd themſelves. Among which there was one whiter then Snow, or the Foam of the Sea; another reſembled the Purple Colour of the Rain-bow. The Tinctures of the reſt were various; beſides that, they had their ſeveral Luſtres at a diſtance. But when he drew nearer, and that the Ambient Air became more ſubtil and rarefy'd, and that the Colours vaniſh'd, the Goblet retain'd no more of its [illegible]

flouriſh'd

flouriſhing Beauty, except the White. At the ſame time he ſaw three *Dæmons* ſitting together in a Triangular Aſpect, and blending and mixing the Rivers together with certain Meaſures. Thus far, ſaid the Guide of *Theſpeſius*'s Soul, did *Orpheus* come, when he ſought after the Soul of his Wife, and not well remembring what he had ſeen, upon his return, rais'd a falſe Report in the World, That the Oracle at *Delphos* was in common, as well to *Night* as to *Apollo*; whereas *Apollo* never had any thing in common with *Night*. But ſaid the Spirit, This Oracle is in common to *Night* and to the *Moon*, no way included within earthly Bounds, nor having any fix'd or certain Seat, but always wandring among Men in Dreams and Viſions. For from hence it is that all Dreams are diſpers'd, compounded as they are, after Truth has been jumbl'd with Falſhood, and Sincerity with the various Mixtures of Craft and Deluſion. But as for the Oracle of *Apollo*, ſaid the Spirit, you neither do ſee it, neither can you behold it. For the earthy part of the Soul is not capable to releaſe or let it ſelf looſe; nor is it permitted to reach Sublimity, but ſwags downward, as being faſten'd to the Body. And with that, leading *Theſpeſius* nearer, the Spirit endeavour'd to ſhew him the Light of the *Tripos*, which, as he ſaid, ſhooting through the Boſom of *Themis*, fell upon *Parnaſſus*; which *Theſpeſius* was deſirous to ſee, but could not, in regard the extraordinary Brightneſs of the Light dazl'd his Eyes; only paſſing by, he heard the ſhrill Voice of a Woman, ſpeaking in Verſe and Meaſure, and among other things, as he thought, foretelling the time of his Death. This the Genius told him was the Voice of a *Sybil*, that being orbicularly whirl'd about in the Face of the Moon, continually ſang of future Events. Thereupon being deſirous to have heard more, he was toſs'd the quite contrary way, by the violent Motion of the Moon, as by the force of the Waves, ſo that he could hear but very little, and that very confuſedly too. A-mong other things, he learnt ſomething concerning the Mountain *Veſuvius*, and the Burning of *Dicæarchia*, occaſioned by a caſual Fire; together with a piece of a Verſe concerning a certain Emperor or great famous Chieftain of that Age.

Who though ſo juſt, that no Man could accuſe,
Howe're his Empire ſhould by Sickneſs looſe.

After this, they paſs'd on to behold the Torments of thoſe that were puniſh'd. And indeed at firſt they met with none but lamentable and diſmal Sights. For *Theſpeſius*, when he leaſt expected any ſuch thing, and before he was aware, was got among his Kindred, his Acquaintance and Companions, who groaning under the horrid Pains of their cruel and ignominious Puniſhments, with mournful Cries and Lamentations, call'd him by his Name. At length he ſaw his Father aſcending out of a certain *Abyſs*, all full of Stripes, Gaſhes and Scars; who ſtretching forth his Hands, and not able to keep Silence, but conſtrain'd to confeſs by the Scourges of his Tormentors, acknowledg'd that he had moſt impiouſly poyſon'd ſeveral of his Gueſts for the Sake of their Gold; of which, not being detected while he liv'd upon Earth, but being convicted after his deceaſe, he had endur'd part of his Torments already, and that now they were haling him where he ſhould ſuffer more. However, he durſt not either intreat or intercede for his Father, ſuch was his Fear and Conſternation; and therefore being deſirous to retire, and be gone, he look'd about for his kind and courteous Guide; but he had quite left him, ſo that he ſaw him no more. Nevertheleſs, being puſh'd forward by other deformed and grim-look'd Goblins, as if there had been ſome neceſſity for him to paſs forwards, he ſaw how that the Shadows of ſuch as had been notorious Malefactors, and had been puniſhed in this World, were not ſo grievouſly tormented, nor alike to others, in regard that only the imperfect and irrational part of the Soul, and which was conſequently moſt ſubject to Paſſions, was that which made them ſo induſtrious in Vice. Whereas they who had ſhrouded a vicious and impious Life, under the outward Profeſſion, and a gain'd Opinion of Vertue, thoſe their Tormentors conſtrain'd to turn their Inſides outward, and with great Difficulty and dreadful Pain, to writhe and ſcrew themſelves contrary to the Courſe of Nature, like the Sea Scolopenders, which having ſwallow'd the Bait, throw forth their Bowels and lick it out again. Others they flead and ſcarify'd, to diſplay their occult Hypocriſies and latent Impieties, which were grounded, and had corrupted the principal Part of their Soul. Other Souls, as he ſaid, he alſo ſaw, which being twiſted two and two, three and three, or more together, gnaw'd and devour'd each other, either upon the Score of old Grudges and former Malice which they had born one another, or elſe in Revenge of the Injuries and Loſſes they had ſuſtain'd from ſuch or ſuch of their Acquaintance upon Earth. Moreover, he ſaid, that there were certain Lakes that ran parallel and equidiſtant one from the other, the one of boyling Gold, another of Lead, exceeding Cold, and a third of Iron, which was very ſcaly and rugged. By the ſides of theſe Lakes ſtood certain *Dæmons*, that with their Inſtruments, like Smiths or Founders, put in or drew out the Souls of ſuch as had tranſgreſſed, either through Avarice, or an eager Deſire of other Mens Goods. For the Flame of the Golden Furnace having render'd theſe Souls of a fiery and tranſparent Colour, they plung'd them into that of *Lead*, where after they were congeal'd and harden'd into a Subſtance like Hail, they were then thrown into the Lake of Iron, where they became black and deform'd, and being broken and crumbl'd by the Roughneſs of the Iron, chang'd their Form, and being thus transform'd, they were again thrown into the Lake of Gold; in all theſe Tranſmutations, enduring moſt dreadful and horrid Torments. But they that ſuffer'd the moſt dire and diſmal Torture of all, were thoſe who thinking that Divine Vengeance had no more to ſay to them, were again ſeiz'd and dragg'd to repeated Execution; and theſe were ſuch, as for whoſe Traſgreſſions their Children or Poſterity had ſuffer'd. For when any of the Souls of thoſe Children come hither and meet with any of their Parents or Anceſtors, they fall into a Paſſion, exclaim againſt them, and ſhew them the Marks of what they have endur'd. On the other ſide, the Souls of the Parents endeavour to ſneak out of ſight and hide themſelves; but the others follow them ſo cloſe at the Heels, and lade them in ſuch a manner with bitter Taunts and Reproaches, that not being able to eſcape, their Tormentors preſently lay hold of them, and hurl them to new Tortures, howling and yelling at the very thought of what they have ſuffer'd already. And ſome of theſe Souls of ſuffering Poſterity, he ſaid, there were, that ſwarm'd and clung together like Bees or Bats, and in that Poſture murmur'd forth their angry Complaints of the Miſeries and Calamities which they had endur'd for their Sakes. The laſt thing that he ſaw, were the Souls of ſuch, as being deſign'd for a ſecond Life, were bow'd, bent, and transform'd into all ſorts of Creatures by the force of Tools and Anvils, and the Strength of Workmen appointed for that Purpoſe, that lay'd on without Mercy, bruiſing the whole Limbs of ſome, breaking others, disjoynting others, and pounding ſome to Powder and Annihilation, on purpoſe to render them fit for other Lives and Manners. Among the reſt, he ſaw the Soul of *Nero*, many ways moſt grievouſly tor-

tur'd,

nail'd, but more eſpecially tranſfix'd with *Iron Nails*. This ſoul the Work-men took in hand, but when they had forg'd it into the Form of one of *Pindar's Vipers*, which eats his Way to Life through the Bowels of the Female, of a ſudden, a conſpicuous Light ſhone out, and a Voice was heard out of the Light, which gave order for the Transfiguring it again into the Shape of ſome more mild and gentle Creature, and ſo they made it to reſemble one of thoſe Creatures that uſually Sing and Croak about the ſides of Ponds and Marſhes. For indeed he had in ſome meaſure been puniſh'd for the Crimes he had committed; beſides that, there was ſome Compaſſion due to him from the Gods, for that he had reſtor'd the *Grecians* to their Liberty, a Nation the moſt Noble, and beſt belov'd of the Gods among all his Subjects. And now being about to return, ſuch a terrible Dread ſurpris'd *Theſpeſius*, as had almoſt frighted him out of his Wits. For a certain Woman, admirable for her Form and Stature, laying hold of his Arm, Come *hither*, ſaid ſhe, that thou may'ſt the better be Enabl'd to retain the Remembrance of what thou haſt ſeen. With that ſhe was about to have ſtruck him with a ſmall fiery Wand, not much unlike to thoſe that Painters uſe; but another Woman prevented her. After this, as he thought himſelf, he was whirl'd or hurry'd away with a ſtrong and violent Wind, forc'd as it were through a Pipe, and ſo lighting again into his own Body, he began to look about him, as one that was hardly out of his Grave.

Plutarch's Morals:

Vol. IV.

Of Natural Affection towards one's Off-Spring.

Tranſlated from the Greek by Richard Brown, M. D.

As Appeals to Foreign Judicatures firſt came in requeſt among the Grecians, out of their Diſtruſt of one another's Juſtice, they deeming it as requiſite to fetch Juſtice from abroad, as any other neceſſary Commodity, which was not of their own Growth: Even ſo Philoſophers, by reaſon of Diſſenſions amongſt themſelves, have in the Deciſion of ſome Queſtions, appealed to the Nature of irrational Beings, as to a ſtrange City, and have ſubmitted the final Determination of ſuch Queſtions to the Affections and Diſpoſitions of Brutes, as being unbiaſſed and not corrupted by Bribes. And this is the general Complaint of Human Frailty, that while we doubt concerning the moſt neceſſary, and the greateſt Things, we conſult Horſes, Dogs and Birds, how we ſhould marry, beget Children, and bring them up; and, as if the Evidence of Nature in our ſelves were not to be rely'd on, we appeal to the Diſpoſition and Affections of brute Beaſts, and [illegible] againſt the [illegible] of our own Lives, intimating how at the very firſt and in the firſt things we are confounded and diſturbed. For Nature conſerves the Propriety in them pure, unmixt and ſimple; but in Men, the Mixture of adſcititious Opinions and Judgments (as Oyl is ſerv'd by the Druggiſts) alters the Proprieties, and does not preſerve what is their Peculiar. Nor need we wonder, if irrational Animals follow Nature more than Rational; for Plants do it more than Animals, they having neither Imagination nor Paſſion to avert their Appetite but according to Nature, but are bound in Chains, and ever go that one way that Nature leads them. Brutes do little regard Gentleneſs, Wit or *Liberty*, they have indeed the uſe of irrational Incitements and Appetites, which put them upon wandring and running about, but ſeldom far, for they ſeem to lye at the Anchor of Nature. As a Rider guides his Aſs in the right way by Bit and Bridle, ſo *Reaſon*, the Lord and *Maſter* in Man, finds ſometimes one turning, ſometimes another, but in all its Wandrings leaves no Mark or Footſtep of Nature. But in Brutes, obſerve how all things are accommodated to Nature. As to *Marriages*, they tarry not till Laws are paſſed againſt Celibacy and late Marriages, as *Lycurgus* and *Solon*'s Citizens did; they matter not the Diſgrace of wanting Children, nor are ambitious of the Honour of having three Children, as many Romans marry, and get Children, not that they may have Heirs, but that they may get Eſtates. Again, the Male accompanies with the Female not at all times, becauſe not Pleaſure, but Procreation is his end. Therefore in the Spring time, when the fruitful Breezes blow, and the Air is of a pregnant Temper, then the Female approaches the Male, gentle and deſirable, wantoning in the ſweet Smell and peculiar Ornament of her Body, full of Dew and pure Graſs; and when ſhe perceives ſhe has conceived, ſhe modeſtly departs, and provides for her bringing forth, and for the ſafety of what ſhe ſhall bring forth. What Brutes do, cannot be ſufficiently expreſt; in all of them, their Affection to their Young is evident by their Providence, Patience and Continence. Indeed we call the Bee wiſe, and we celebrate *the Yellow Honey-maker*, flattering her for pleaſing us with her Sweetneſs; but the Wiſdom and Art of other Creatures, about their bringing forth, and the rearing their Young, we wholly neglect. For inſtance, firſt, the Kings-Fiſher, when ſhe has conceived, makes her Neſt of the Prickles of the Sea-needle, weaving them one among another, in form of a long Fiſhing-Net, very thick and uniform; then ſhe puts it under the Daſhing of the Waters, that being by degrees beaten upon and milled, it may acquire a ſmooth Surface, and it becomes ſo ſolid, that it cannot eaſily be divided by either Stone or Iron. And what is more wonderful, the Mouth of the Neſt is ſo exactly fitted to the Kings-Fiſher, that neither a greater nor a leſs Animal can creep in it; for when ſhe is in (as they ſay) it will not admit the Sea-water. Some ſorts of Dog-fiſh, when they have brought forth their Young, let them go abroad to Feed, and then take them into their Bellies again, when they go to ſleep. The Bear, a moſt fierce and ugly Beaſt, brings forth her Young ſhapeleſs and without Limbs, but with her Tongue, as with a Tool, ſhe ſhapes the Members, ſo that ſhe ſeems not only to bring forth, but to work out her Young. And does not Homer's Lioneſs,

[illegible] of her whelps, ſhe's mad at Heart
[illegible] with Stern ſhe [illegible]
[illegible] danger, and ſhe [illegible]

Do's ſhe not, I ſay, look as if ſhe were contriving how to make a Bargain with the Huntſman for her Whelps? But generally the Love of their Young makes bold Creatures timorous, the Slothful induſtrious, and the Voracious parſimonious. So *Homer's* Bird *brings to her Young, though with her ſelf 't go hard.* She feeds them by ſtarving her ſelf, and when ſhe has taken up her Food, ſhe lays it down again, and keeps it down with her Bill, leſt ſhe ſhould ſwallow it unawares.

For tender Whelps, when Strangers comes in ſight,
The barking Bitch prepares her ſelf to fight.

And fear for her young turns into a Second Paſſion. When Partridges and their Young are purſued, the Old ſuffer the Young to fly away before, ſo contriving that the Fowler may think to catch them; thus they hover about, run forward a little, then return again, and ſo detain the Fowler, till their Young are ſafe. We daily behold Hens, how they cheriſh their Chickens, taking ſome of them under their ſpread Wings, ſuffering others of them to run upon their Backs, and taking them in again, with a Voice expreſſing Kindneſs and Joy. When themſelves are concern'd, they fly from Dogs and Serpents, but to defend their Chickens, they will venture beyond their Strength, and fight. And ſhall we think that Nature has bred ſuch Affections in theſe Creatures, as if ſhe were ſollicitous for the Propagation of Hens, Dogs and Bears, and that ſhe would not by theſe means make us aſhamed? Certainly we muſt conclude that theſe Creatures following the Dict of Nature, are for our Example, and they muſt upbraid the Remorſleſneſs of Humanity; of which Humane Nature alone is culpable, it not being capable of gratuitous Love, nor knowing how to be a Friend without Profit. Well therefore might the Comedian be admired, who ſaid, *For Reward only Man loves Man.* Epicurus thinks that after this manner Children are beloved of their Parents, and Parents of their Children. But if the Benefit of Speech were allowed to Brutes, and if Horſes, Cows, Dogs and Birds were brought upon the Stage, the Song would be chang'd, and it would be ſaid, that neither the Bitch lov'd her Whelps for Gain, nor the Mare her Foal, nor Fowls their Chickens; but that they were all beloved *Gratis*, and by impulſe of Nature: By the Affections of all Brutes, this Affection would be approved as juſt and true. And is it not a ſhame, that the Procreation of Beaſts, their Birth, Pains in Birth, and their Education ſhould be by Nature *Gratis*; and that for theſe very things Man ſhould require Uſury, Rewards and Bribes? This Aſſertion can never be true, nor ought it to be believed. For as in wild Plants, ſuch as wild Vines, Figs and Olives, Nature has implanted the Principles of cultivated Fruit, though crude and imperfect; ſo ſhe has endowed Beaſts with a Love of their Young, though imperfect and not attaining to Juſtice, nor proceeding further than Utility. But in Man, whom ſhe produced a rational and political Being, inclining him to Juſtice, Law, Religion, Building of Cities, and Friendſhip; ſhe hath placed the Seeds of theſe things generous, fair and fruitful, *i. e.* the Love of their Children, following the firſt Principles, which entred the Conſtitution of Bodies. For Terms and Expreſſions are wanting to declare with what Induſtry Nature, who is ſkilful, unerring, and not to be ſurpaſſed, and (as *Eraſiſtratus* ſays) has nothing idle or frivolous; how ſhe, I ſay, has contrived all things pertaining to the Procreation of Mankind; for Modeſty will not permit it. The making and Oeconomy of Milk ſufficiently ſpeak her Providence and Care. In Women, what Blood abounds more than ſerves for neceſſary uſes, and through its Languiſhment and Weakneſs of Spirit, wandring about, diſturbs the Body; then at other times is by Nature in monthly Periods diſcharged by proper Canals and Paſſages, for the Relief and Purgation of the Body, and to render the Womb like a Field fit for the Plow and Seed, and deſirous of it in Seaſons. But when the Womb has caught the Seed, and it has takeen Root (for the Navil, as *Democritus* ſays, grows firſt, like an Anchor to keep the *Fœtus* from fluctuating, or as a Stay or Footſtalk to the Child) then Nature ſtops the Paſſages proper for monthly Purgation, and keeps the ſuperfluous Blood then for Nouriſhment, and waters the Birth with it, which is formed and faſhioned, till at a ſet number of Days it encreaſes in the Womb, and ſeeks another place, and other ſort of Food. Then Nature, more diligent then any Huſband-Man, deriving the Blood to other Uſes, has as it were ſome ſubterranean Fountains, which receive the affluent Liquors, and they receive them not negligently nor without Affection; but with the gentle Heat and womaniſh Softneſs, concoct, mollifie and alter them; for in this manner are the Breaſts internally affected and tempered. And Milk is not poured out of them by Pipes in a full Stream; but the Breaſts terminating in Fleſh, that is pervious by ſmall and inſenſible Paſſages, do afford ſtore of ſweet and pleaſant Sucking. But for all this, ſuch and ſo many Inſtruments for Procreation, ſuch Preparation, ſo great Induſtry and Providence were all to no purpoſe, unleſs Nature had infuſed in the Mothers a Love and Care of their Off-ſpring.

Than Man more wretched naught takes Breath,
Nor th' vileſt thing that creeps on Earth.

Which infallibly holds good of Infants new born. For nothing can be beheld ſo imperfect, helpleſs, naked, ſhapeleſs and naſty, as Man is juſt at his Birth; to whom alone almoſt Nature has denied a cleanly Paſſage into the World; but as he is ſmeered with Blood, and daub'd with Filth, more like to one kill'd than new-born, he could never be touch'd, taken in Arms, kiſs'd, or hugg'd, but that Nature bears an inbred Affection for him. Therefore other Animals have their Dugs below their Belly, they grow on Woman above her Breaſt, that ſhe may the more conveniently kiſs, embrace and cheriſh her Infant, becauſe the end of bringing forth and rearing, is not Neceſſity but Love. For let us look back to ancient Times; thoſe who firſt brought forth, and who firſt ſaw a Child born, upon them certainly no Law enjoyn'd any Neceſſity of Rearing their Off-ſpring, nor could Expectation of Thanks oblige them to feed their Infants, as if it were for Uſury. Nay rather, they were angry with their Children, and long remembred the Injuries they had received from their Young, as Authors of ſo many Dangers, and of ſo much Travail and Pain to them.

As when Big-belly, ſtruck with Dart
Of Child-bed Pains, is toucht to th' Heart;
Then Man or Midwife ſhew your Art!

Theſe Rhymes, ſome ſay, were not written by *Homer*, but by ſome *Homereſs*, who either had been, or was then in Travail, and felt the very Pangs in her Bowels. Yet Love implanted by Nature, melts and ſways the Child-bed Woman. While ſhe is all in a Sweat and trembling for Pain, ſhe is not averſe to her Infant; but turns it to her, ſmiles on it, hugs and kiſſes it. Though ſhe has no true Sweetneſs, nor yet Profit, however, ſhe ſometimes Rocks it in a warm Cradle, ſometimes ſhe Dances it in the cool Air, turning one Toil into another, reſting neither Night nor Day. He that plants a Vine in the Vernal *Æquinox*, gathers Grapes upon it in the

Autumnal. He that ſows Wheat at the Setting of the *Pleiades*, reaps it at their Riſing. Cows, Mares and Birds bring forth Young ready for uſe. Man's Education is laborious, his Increaſe ſlow, his Vertue lies at a diſtance; ſo that moſt Parents dye before their Children ſhow their Vertue. *Neocles* never ſaw *Themistocles* his Victory at *Salamis*; nor *Miltiades* the Valour of *Cimon* at *Eurymedon*; *Xantippus* never heard *Pericles* pleading; nor *Aristo Plato* Philoſophizing; nor did the Fathers of *Euripides* and *Sophocles* know the Victories their Sons won: They heard them indeed Stammering and Learning to Talk. It is the Fathers hap to ſee the Revelling, Drinking, and Love Intreagues of their Children: To which purpoſe that of *Ennius* is memorable.

The Son to's Father always is a Grief.

And yet Men find no end of rearing of Children; they eſpecially who have no need of Children. For it is ridiculous to think, that Rich Men, when they have Children born to them, do Sacrifice, to the end they may have ſome to maintain them, and to bury them. Surely they bring not up Children for want of Heirs, as if, forſooth, Men could not be found to accept of another Man's Eſtate. Sand, Duſt, and the Feathers of all the Birds in the World are not ſo numerous as Heirs are to other Mens Eſtates. *Danaus* was the Father of fifty Daughters; who, if he had wanted Iſſue, had had many more Heirs. The Caſe is far otherwiſe with Children, they make not Acknowledgments, nor curry Favour, nor pay their Devotions, as expecting the Inheritance of due. But you may hear Strangers talk to them that want Heirs, like the *Comedian*.

Full two! Feed! You're welcome! [Aſide] *The Fellow's Rich.*

And what *Euripides* ſaid,

By Money ſtill Men gain Friends,
By Money Mortals gain their Ends.

Does not univerſally hold true, but of ſuch only, as have no Children. To ſuch the Rich lend Money, ſuch great Men Honour, and for ſuch only Lawyers plead *Gratis*. *A rich Man, who has no known Heir, can do great Matters*. Many a Man, who has had a great Number of Friends and Followers, as ſoon as he has had a Child, has been diveſted of all his Alliances and Power. So that Children do not augment a Man's Power: But Nature's Almighty Power is ſhown no leſs in Men than in Beaſts. For theſe and many other things are choaked by Vices, as when a wild Forreſt is ſown with Garden-Seeds. Can we ſay, that Man loves not himſelf, becauſe ſome hang themſelves, others break their own Necks, *Oedipus* put out his own Eyes, and *Hegeſias*, by his Diſputation, perſwaded many of his Auditors to kill themſelves.

For fatal things in various Shapes do walk.

But all theſe things are Diſeaſe and Crazineſs of Mind, degenerating from its own Nature. And in this Men teſtifie againſt themſelves. For if a Sow or a Bitch kill the Young they have brought forth, Men look dejected, are diſturbed, ſacrifice to the Gods to avert the Miſchief, and do account it a Miracle, becauſe Men know that Nature has implanted in all Creatures the Love of their Young; ſo as they ſhould feed them, and not kill them. For as among Metals, Gold, though mixt with much Rubbage, will appear; ſo Nature, even in vicious Deeds and Af-

Affections, declares the Love to Posterity. For p People do not rear their Children, fearing that they should not be well Educated, they would prov Slavish, Clownish, and destitute of all things commendable. So they cannot endure to entail Poverty, Which they look upon as the worst of all Evils or Diseases upon their Posterity.

Plutarch's

Plutarch's Morals:

Vol. IV.

Concerning the Fortune of the Romans.

Translated from the Greek by Joh. Oswald.

AMong the many warm Disputes which have often happen'd between *Virtue* and *Fortune*, This concerning the *Roman Empire* is none of the least considerable, Whether of these shall have the Honour of founding that Empire at first, and raising it afterwards to vast Power and Glory. The Victory in this Cause, will be no small Commendation of the Conqueror, and will sufficiently vindicate either of the contending Parties from the Allegations that are usually made against it: For whereas *Virtue* is accus'd as unprofitable, though beautiful, and *Fortune* as unstable, though good; the former as labouring in vain, the latter as deceitful in its Gifts: Who can deny but, *Virtue* has been most profitable, if *Virtue* should favour her Cause in this Contention, since she procured so much Good to brave and gallant Men? or that *Fortune* is most constant, if she be victorious in this Contest, since she continued her Gifts with the *Romans* for so long a time?

Ion the Poet, has written ſomewhere in Proſe, That *Fortune* and *Wiſdom*, though they be very much different from one another, are nevertheleſs the Cauſes of the very ſame Effects: Both of them do advance and adorn Men, both do raiſe them to Glory, Power and Empire. It were needleſs to multiply Inſtances by a long Enumeration of Particulars, when even *Nature* it ſelf, which produces all things, is by ſome reputed *Fortune*, and by others *Wiſdom*: And therefore the preſent Controverſie will conciliate great Honour and Veneration to the City of *Rome*, ſince ſhe is thought worthy of the ſame Enquiry which uſes to be made concerning the Earth and Seas, the Heavens and the Stars, whether ſhe owe her Being to *Fortune* or to *Providence*. In which Queſtion, I think it may be truly affirm'd, that notwithſtanding the fierce and laſting Wars which have been between *Vertue* and *Fortune*, they did both amicably conſpire to rear up the Structure of her vaſt Empire and Power, and joyn their united Endeavors to finiſh the moſt beautiful Work that ever was of Human Production. It was the Opinion of *Plato*, that the whole World was compoſed of Fire and Earth, as neceſſary Firſt Principles, which being mixed together, did render it viſible and tangible; the Earth contributing weight and firmneſs, while the Fire gave Colour, Form and Motion to the ſeveral Parts of Matter; but for the Tempering and Union of theſe Extreams, he thought it neceſſary, that the Water and Air, being of a middle Nature, ſhould mitigate and rebate the contrary Force in Compoſition. After the ſame manner did old *Time*, who laid the Foundations of *Rome*, co-operate to mingle *Fortune* and *Vertue* together, that by the union of their ſeveral Powers, they might compoſe a *Veſta* truly ſacred and beneficent to all Men, which ſhould be a firm Stay, an eternal Support, and a ſteady Anchor (as *Democritus* calls it) amidſt the fluctuating and uncertain Affairs of Human Life. For as Naturaliſts ſay, That the World was not framed at firſt into that beautiful Order and Structure which we now behold, for want of the Union and Mixture of theſe ſeveral Bodies that compoſe it; but that all things did fluctuate a long while in Confuſion and Noiſe, whilſt the little Bodies being variouſly moved, avoided all Connexion together, and the greater Bodies already compacted, being of contrary Natures, did frequently juſtle and jar one againſt another; until ſuch time as the *Earth* being fram'd of them both in its due Magnitude, was eſtabliſht in its proper Place, and by its Stability, gave occaſion to all the other Bodies of the Univerſe, either to ſettle upon it, or round about it; juſt ſo it happen'd to the greateſt Kingdoms and Empires of Men, which were long toſs'd with various Chances, and broken in pieces by mutual Claſhings. That for want of one Supream God over all, the Earth was fill'd with inſpeakable Calamities, by the continual Broils and Revolutions of every aſpiring Pretender, until ſuch time as *Rome* was raiſed to its juſt Strength and Greatneſs, which comprehending under her Power many ſtrange Nations, and even Tranſmarine Dominions, did lay the Foundation of Firmneſs and Stability to the greateſt of Human Affairs; for by this vaſt Compaſs of one and the ſame Empire, Government was ſecur'd as in an immoveable Circle, reſting upon the Center of Peace. Whoſoever therefore contriv'd and compaſs'd theſe great Deſigns, muſt not only be endow'd with all Virtue, but likewiſe be aſſiſted by *Fortune* in many things, as will plainly appear from the following Diſcourſe.

And now methinks I behold, as from a Turret, *Fortune* and *Virtue* coming to this Conference. As to *Virtue*, her Gate is modeſt, her Countenance Grave, the bluſhing Colour of her Face ſhews her earneſt Deſire of obtaining Victory and Honour in this Conteſt; *Fortune* in her haſty Pace leaves her far behind, but ſhe is led and accompanied by many brave and gallant Men, who are all over the Body full of Wounds, diſtilling Blood mingled with Sweat, and they lean upon the bending Spoils of their Enemies. If you inquire who they are, they anſwer, We are of the *Fabricii*, *Camilli*, and *Lucii*, and *Cincinnati*, and *Maximi Fabii*, and *Claudii Marcelli*, and the *Scipio's*, who have ſuffered ſo many Deaths for defending and enlarging the *Roman* Empire by our Magnanimity and Courage. I perceiv'd alſo in the Train of *Vertue*, C. *Marius* angry with *Fortune*, and *Mutius Scævola* holding out his burning Hand, and crying with a loud Voice, *Will ye attribute this to* Fortune *alſo?* and *M. Horatius Cocles*, who behav'd himſelf gallantly at the River *Tiber*, when he cut the Bridge and ſwam over, being loaded with *Tyrrhenian* Darts, and drawing his lame Foot out of the deep Water, thus expoſtulates, *Was I alſo thus maim'd by meer Chance?* Was there nothing of *Vertue* in this bold Action? Such is the Company of *Vertue*, when ſhe comes to the Diſpute, a Company powerful in Arms, terrible to their falling Enemies. But as to *Fortune*, her Gate was haſty, her Looks fierce, her Hope arrogant, and leaving *Vertue* far behind her, ſhe enters the Liſts; not as ſhe is deſcribed with her light Wings, ballancing her ſelf in the Air, or lightly tripping with her Tiptoes upon the Convexity of the Globe, as if ſhe were preſently to vaniſh away out of ſight. No, ſhe does not appear here in any ſuch doubtful and uncertain Poſture; But, as the *Spartans* ſay, that *Venus*, when ſhe paſſed over *Eurota*, put off her Gew-Gaws and Female Ornaments, and arm'd her ſelf with Spear and Shield for the Love of *Lycurgus*: So *Fortune* having deſerted the *Perſians* and *Aſſyrians*, did ſwiftly fly over *Macedonia*, and quickly threw off her Favorite *Alexander the Great*; and after that, having paſs'd through the Countries of *Egypt* and *Syria*, and oftentimes by turns ſupported the *Carthaginians*, ſhe did at laſt fly over *Tiber* to the *Palatine Mountains*, and there ſhe put off her Wings, her *Mercurial* Shoes, and left her ſlippery and deceitful Globe: Thus ſhe entred *Rome*, as one that was to be reſident there, and thus ſhe comes to the Bar in this Controverſie; ſhe is no more uncertain, as *Pindar* deſcribes her, ſhe does henceforth ſteer a double Courſe, but continues conſtant to the *Romans*, and therefore may be call'd the Siſter of *Juſtice* and *Eloquence*, and the Daughter of *Providence*, as *Alcman* deſcribes her Pedigree. This is certain in the Opinion of all *Men*, that ſhe holds in her Hand the *Horn of Plenty*, not that which is fill'd with verdant Fruits, but that which pours forth abundance of all things, which the Earth or the Sea, the Rivers or the Metals, or the Harbors afford. Several illuſtrious and famous Men were ſeen to accompany her, *Pompilius Numa* from the *Sabines*, and *Priſcus* from the *Tarquinians*, whom, being Foreigners and Strangers, *Fortune* tranſplanted to the Soil of *Romulus*: *Æmilius Paulus* alſo bringing back his Army from *Perſeus* and the *Macedonians*, and triumphing in an unbloody and entire Victory, does greatly magnifie and extol *Fortune*. The ſame does *Cæcilius Metellus*, that brave old Gentleman, Sirnam'd *Macedonicus*, from his many Victories, and Honorable Interment, whoſe Corps was carried forth to its Funerals by his four Sons, *Q. Balearicus*, *L. Diadematus* or *Vittatus*, *M. Metellus*, and *C. Caprarius*, and his two Sons-in-Law, who were all ſix his Daughters Sons of *Conſular* Dignity; and alſo attended by his two Nephews, who were famous for the good Offices they did to the Common-wealth, both abroad, by their Heroical Actions, and at home by the Adminiſtration of Juſtice. *Æmilius Scaurus*, from a mean Eſtate, and a meaner Family, was raiſed by *Fortune* to that height of Dignity, that he was choſen Prince of the Senate. It was Fortune that took *Cornelius Sylla* out of the Boſom of *Nicopolis* the Whore, and exalted him above the *Cimbrian Triumphs* of *Marius*, and the Dignity of his Seven Conſulſhips, giving him at once the Powers of a *Monarch* and a *Dictator*; upon which account he adopted himſelf and all his incomparable *Actions* to *Fortune*, crying out with *Oedipus* in *Sophocles*, *I think my ſelf the Son of* Fortune. In the *Roman* Tongue, he was call'd *Felix*, the Happy; but he writ himſelf to the *Greeks*, *L. Cornelius Sylla Epaphroditus*, *i. e.* Beloved of *Venus*, which is alſo the Inſcription on all his Trophies, both at *Chæronea* with us, and *Mithridatium*, and that not without reaſon, ſince it is not the *Night*, as *Menander* thought, but *Fortune* that enjoys the *greateſt* part of *Venus*.

And thus, having made a *ſeaſonable* beginning in defence of *Fortune*, we may now call in for Witneſſes in this Cauſe the *Romans* themſelves, who attributed more to *Fortune* than to *Vertue*; for the Temple of *Vertue* was but lately built by *Scipio Numantinus*, a long time after the building of the City. And after that *Marcellus* dedicated a Temple to *Vertue* and *Honour*, and *Æmilius Scaurus*, who liv'd in the time of the *Cimbrian* War, founded another to *Mens* [the *Mind*] when now by the Subtilties of Sophiſters, and Encomiaſticks of Orators, theſe things begun to be mightily extoll'd; to this very Day there is no Temple built to *Temperance*, *Patience*, *Magnanimity* and *Continence*. But the Temples dedicated to *Fortune* are ſplendid and ancient, almoſt as old as the *firſt* Foundations of *Rome* it ſelf. The *firſt* that built Her a Temple, was *Ancus Martius*, born of the Siſter of *Numa*, being the Fourth King from *Romulus*; and he ſeems to have made *Fortune* Surname to *Fortitude*, which ſhe contributes very much for obtaining Victory. The *Romans* built the Temple of *Fœminine Fortune*, when by the help of the Women they turn'd back *Martius*

Coriolanus, stirring up the Volsci against the City of Rome; for the Women being sent Ambassadors to him, together with his Mother and Wife, prevail'd with the Man to spare the City at that time, and drew off the Army of the Barbarians. It's said that this Statue of Fortune, when it was consecrated, utter'd these Words, *It was piously done, O ye City Matrons, to dedicate me by the Law of your State.* But which is more remarkable, Furius Camillus having extinguish'd the Flame that broke out from the Gauls, and rescued Rome from the Balance and Scales, in which her Price was weigh'd to them in Gold, did not upon this Occasion found a Temple to *Prudence* and *Fortitude*, but to *Fame* and *Omen*; which he built hard by the *New-way*, in that very Place, where it's said, That M. Cædicius walking in the Night-time, heard a Prophetical Voice, commanding him shortly to expect a War from the *Gauls*. The Image of that [illegible] call'd the *Stout and Valiant*, having the Power of Conquering all things, which is [illegible] the River *Tiber*, has a stately Temple built to it, in those very Gardens which were left by *Cæsar*, as a Legacy to the People, because they thought that he also was raised to the height of Power by the Favour of *Fortune*. And so he himself testified (otherwise I should be asham'd to say such a thing of *so* great a Person): For when he sail'd from *Brundusium*, and embark'd in pursuit of *Pompey*, on the fourth Day of *January*, though it were then the latter end of Winter, he pass'd over the Sea in Safety, by the good Conduct of *Fortune*, which was stronger than the Rigor of the Season. And when he found *Pompey* powerful by Sea and Land, with all his Forces lying together, and saw himself with [illegible] unable to give him Battle, while the Army of *Antonius* and *Sabinus* linger'd behind, he ventured to set forth upon his little Bark, unknown either to the Master of the Vessel or the Pilot, who took him for ſome Servant: But when he ſaw the Pilot begin to change his Purpoſe of putting out to Sea, becauſe of the Violence of the Waves, which hindred the Sailing out at the Mouth of the River, he preſently pluckt off the Diſguiſe from his Head, and ſhew'd himſelf, encouraging the Pilot in theſe Words, *Put on, brave Fellow, and fear nothing, but commit thy Sails to* Fortune, *and expoſe all boldly to the Winds, becauſe thou carrieſt* Cæſar, *and* Cæſar's Fortune. So reſolute was *Cæſar* upon this Aſſurance, That *Fortune* did favour him in his Voyages and Journeys, his Armies and Battels; and that it was her Province to give Calmneſs to the Sea, and Warmth to a Winter Seaſon; to give Swiftneſs to the Sloweſt, and Vigor to the moſt Sluggiſh Creatures; and which is more incredible than all this, he believ'd that *Fortune* put *Pompey* to flight, and gave *Ptolemy* the Opportunity of Murthering his Gueſt, ſo that *Pompey* ſhould fall, and *Cæſar* be innocent. What ſhall I ſay of his Son, the firſt that had the Honour to be Sirnamed *Auguſtus*? Did not he pray the Gods for his Nephew, when he ſent him forth to Battel, to grant him the Courage of *Scipio*, and the Wiſdom of *Pompey*, but his own *Good Fortune*, as counting her the chief Artificer of his Wonderful Self? It was ſhe that impos'd him upon *Cicero*, *Lepidus*, *Panſa*, *Hirtius* and *M. Antony*, and by their Victories and famous Exploits, by their Navies, Battels, and Armies, rais'd him to the greateſt height of Power and Honour, degrading them by whoſe Means he was thus advanc'd. For it was to him that *Cicero* govern'd the State by wiſe Counſels, *Lepidus* conducted the Armies, and *Panſa* gain'd the Victories. It was to him that *Hirtius* fell as a Sacrifice, and for his Benefit *M. Antony* committed his riotous Outrages: Nay, even *Cleopatra* her ſelf is to be reckon'd as part of his *Good Fortune*; for, by her, as a dangerous Creek, *Antony* was Shipwrackt, that he alone might wear the Title of *Cæſar*. It is reported of *Antony*, and *Cæſar* call'd *Auguſtus*, when they liv'd familiarly together, in daily Converſation, that *Antony* was always beaten by *Cæſar* at Ball, Dice and Cock-fighting, or any other Games and Sports which they uſed for Recreation; whereupon a certain Friend, who pretended to the Art of Divination, did freely admoniſh *Antony*, and ſay, *What have you to do, my Friend, with this young Man? why don't you avoid his Company? You excel him in Glory and Largeneſs of Empire, you exceed him in Age and Experience, having ſignaliz'd your Valour in the Wars; But your Genius is afraid of his, your Fortune, which is great by it ſelf, does fawn upon his, and will undoubtedly paſs over to him, unleſs you remove your ſelf to a great Diſtance.* By theſe Teſtimonies of Men, the Cauſe of *Fortune* was ſupported; after which, I proceed now to other Arguments, taken from the things themſelves, beginning from the firſt Foundations of the City of *Rome*.

And firſt of all, it cannot be deny'd, That by the Birth and Preſervation of *Romulus*, by his Education and Growth, the Foundations of *Virtue* were firſt laid; but then withal it muſt be acknowledg'd, that *Fortune* built upon them. As to their Greatneſs and Birth, who firſt founded and built the City, it looks like a wonderful *Good Fortune*, that their Mother ſhould conceive by a God; for as *Hercules* is ſaid to be ſown in a long Night, the natural Day being preternaturally prolong'd by the Sun's ſtanding ſtill; So it is reported concerning the Greatneſs of *Romulus*, that the Sun was eclipſed at the time, being in Conjunction with the Moon, as the Immortal God *Mars* was with the Mortal *Sylvia*. The ſame is ſaid to have happen'd about the time of his Death: For about the ſeventh of *July* call'd *Nonæ Caprotinæ*, ſo call'd, becauſe on that Day, while he was numbring his People by the *Lake Capra*, he ſuddenly diſappear'd (which is a Feaſt obſerv'd to this Day with great Solemnity) while the Sun was under an E he suddenly vanisht out of the Sight of Men. Af their Nativity, when the Tyrant would have murd the new-born Babes, *Romulus* and *Remus*, with the C duct of *Fortune*, concern'd for the Preservation of their Lives, they fell into the Hands of a Servant, no wa Barbarous and Cruel, but Pitiful and Tender-hearted who laid them on the pleasant green Bank of a River in a Place shaded with lowly Shrubs, near to that wild Fig-tree, to which the Name of *Ruminalis* was after-wards given. There it was that a She-Wolf, having left her young Whelps by chance lighted on them, and being burthen'd with her swoln Dugs, inflam'd for want of Evacuation, she gladly let down her over-bear Milk, as if it had been a second Birth, and suckled the young Children. The *Woodpecker* also, a Bird Sacred to *Mars*, came often unto them, and having gently plac'd her Claws upon their tender Bodies, she did by turns, open both their Mouths with her Bill, and distribute unto each of them convenient Gobbets of her own Food. This Fig-tree was therefore called *Ruminalis*, from *Ruma*, *i. e.* the Dug, which the Woolf lying down there gave to the Infants. And from a Veneration of this strange Chance of *Romulus*, whenever the like happen'd, the Inhabitants thereabout would not suffer any New Births to lie expos'd to Danger, but carefully took them up and foster'd them. Above all things, the hidden Craft of *Fortune* appear'd in their Education at the City *Gabii*, for there they were secretly nurst and brought up, and the People knew nothing of their Pedigree, that they were the Sons of *Silvia* and the Grand-children of King *Numitor*; which seems to be so order'd on purpose to prevent that untimely Death which the Knowledge of their Royal Race would occasion, and to give them opportunity of shewing themselves hereafter by their famous Exploits and di the Nobility of their Extraction by their [illegible] one. And this brings to my Mind the ſaying of that great and wiſe Commander *Themiſtocles*, to ſome of the *Athenian* Captains, who having follow'd him in the Wars with good Succeſs, were grown ambitious to be prefer'd above him. *There was an eager Conteſt*, ſaid he, *between the* Feſtival Day *and the Day following, for Precedency. Thou*, ſays the *Following Day*, *art full of Tumult and Buſineſs, but I give Men the peaceful Opportunity of enjoying themſelves. Ay*, ſays the *Feſtival*; *that's true; but I pray you tell me, If I had not been, where had you been?* So ſays *Themiſtocles*, *If I had not* [illegible] *in the War with the* Medes, *what uſe would there be of you now?* And after this manner, *Fortune* ſeems to upbraid the *Vertue* of *Romulus*. It's true, indeed your Actions are great and famous, by which you have clearly ſhown that you have deſcended of the Race of the Gods; but ſee now how far you come behind me; for if I had not reliev'd the Infants in their Diſtreſs, by my Bounty and Humanity; if I had deſerted and betray'd them when they lay naked and expos'd, how would you have appear'd with ſuch Luſtre and Splendor as now you do? If a She-Wolf had not then lighted upon them, inflam'd with the abundance and ſwelling of her Milk, which wanted one to give Food unto, more than any Food for her ſelf; If ſome wild Beaſt had happen'd to come in her ſtead, hungry and ravenous for Meat, then there had been no ſuch beautiful and ſtately Palaces, Temples, Theatres, Walks, *Courts* and Archives, as now you juſtly glory of; then your Followers had ſtill been Shepherds, and your Buildings Cottages or Stables, and they had ſtill liv'd in Subjection to the *Albanian*, *Tyrrhenian* or *Latin* Lords. Certainly the firſt beginning of all things is of greateſt importance, and more eſpecially in building of a City. But it was Fortune that firſt gave a beginning [illegible] preſerving the Founder of it in ſo many Dangers to which he was expoſ'd. For as *Vertue* made *Romulus* great, ſo *Fortune* preſerv'd him till his *Vertue* did appear. It is confeſt by all, that the Reign of *Numa*, which laſted longeſt, was conducted by a wonderful *Good Fortune*. For as to the Story of the wiſe Goddeſs *Egeria*, one of the *Dryades*, that ſhe being in Love, converſt familiarly with him, and aſſiſted him in laying the Platform and cementing the Frame of the Common-wealth, it appears to be rather fabulous than true, ſince there were others that had Goddeſſes for their Wives, and are ſaid to be lov'd by them, ſuch as *Peleus*, *Anchiſes*, *Orion* and *Emathion*, who, for all that, did not live ſo pleaſantly and free from Trouble. But *Numa* ſeems to have had *Good Fortune*; for, his Domeſtick Companion and Colleague in the Government; which receiving the City of *Rome* into her protection, at ſuch time as ſhe was toſt like a troubleſome Sea, by the Wars of Neighbouring States, and inflam'd with inteſtine Feuds, did quickly heal theſe Breaches, and allay theſe Storms that threatned her Ruine. And as the Sea is ſaid to receive the *Halcyon-Brood* in a Tempeſt, which it preſerves and nouriſhes; ſo the People of *Rome* being lately gather'd together after various Commotions and Toſſings, were by *Fortune* deliver'd from all Wars, Diſeaſes, Dangers and Terrors, and ſetled in ſuch a laſting Peace, that they had time and leiſure to take root in their New Soil, and grow up ſecurely into a well compacted City. For as a *great Ship* or *Galley* is not made without many Blows and much Force from Hammers, Nails, Wedges, Saws and Axes, and being once built, it muſt reſt for ſome time upon the Stocks, until the Bands of its Structure grow firm and tenacious, and the Nails be well faſten'd, which hold its Parts together, leſt being launch'd while they are looſe and unſetled, the Bulk ſhould be ſhatter'd by the

Concuſſion of the Waves, and lie in the Water. So the firſt Artificer of *Rome*, having built the City of ruſtical Men and Shepherds, as its ſtrong Walls and Ramparts, was forc'd to endure hard Labour, and maintain dangerous Wars againſt thoſe who oppos'd its firſt Origination and Inſtitution; but after it was once fram'd and compacted by this Force, the ſecond Artificer, by the Benignity of *Fortune*, gave it ſo long Reſt and Peace, till all its Parts were conſolidated and ſettled in a firm and laſting Poſture. But if at that time, when the City was newly built, ſome *Porſena* had advanc'd the *Etruſcan* Camp and Army to the Walls, being yet moiſt and trembling, or ſome Warlike Revolter of the *Marſian* Grandees, or ſome envious and contentious *Lucanus*, ſuch as in later times were *Mutilus*, or the bold *Silo*, or the laſt Plague of *Sylla's* Faction, *Teleſinus*, who with one alarm, arm'd all *Italy*; if any of theſe, I ſay, had encompaſs'd the Philoſopher *Numa*, with the ſound of Trumpets, while he was ſacrificing and praying to the Gods, the City being yet unſettled and unfiniſh'd, could never have reſiſted ſo great a Torrent and Tempeſt, nor encreas'd unto ſo great Numbers of ſtout and valiant Men: That long time of Peace therefore in *Numa's* Reign, did prepare and fortifie the *Romans* againſt all the Wars which happen'd afterwards, for by its continuance, during the ſpace of forty three Years, the Body of the People was confirm'd in that Athletick Habit, which they acquir'd in the War under *Romulus*, and which generally prevail'd henceforward againſt all their Enemies. For in theſe Years they ſay *Rome* was not afflicted with Famine or Peſtilence, with Barrenneſs of the Earth, or any notable Calamity by Winter or Summer; all which muſt be attributed, not to Humane Prudence, but to the good Conduct of Divine *Fortune* governing for that time. Then the double Gate of *Janus* was ſhut, which they call the Gate of

War, becauſe it is always open'd in time of War, and ſhut in time of Peace. After *Numa*'s Death, it was open'd again, when the War with the *Albanians* commenc'd, which was follow'd with ſix hundred other Wars, in a continued ſeries of time; but after four hundred and eighty Years, it was ſhut again, when Peace was concluded at the end of the firſt *Punick* War, in the Conſulſhip of *C. Atilius*, and *T. Manlius*. The next Year it was open'd again, and the Wars laſted until the Victory which *Auguſtus* obtain'd at *Actium*; and then the *Roman* Arms reſted but a little while, for the Tumults from *Cantabria*, and the Wars with the *Gauls* and *Germans* breaking in upon them, quickly diſturbed the Peace. Theſe things I have added to explain this Argument of the Good *Fortune* of *Numa*; and even thoſe Kings which follow'd him, have admir'd her as the Governeſs and Nurſe of *Rome*, and the *City's Supporter*, as *Pindar* calls her. For proof of this, we may conſider, That the Temple of *Virtue* at *Rome* was but lately built, many years after the beginning of the City, by that *Marcellus* who took *Syracuſe*. There is alſo a Temple dedicated to *Mens* [the *Mind*] by *Scaurus Æmilius*, who liv'd in the time of the *Cimbrian* War, when the Arts of *Rhetorick*, and the Sophiſtry of *Logick* had crept into the City; and even to this Day, there are no Temples built to *Wiſdom*, *Temperance*, *Patience* and *Magnanimity*. But the Temples of *Fortune* are many, ancient and ſplendid, adorn'd with all ſorts of Honour, and mingled amongſt the moſt famous Parts and Places of *Rome*. The Temple of *Maſculine Fortune* was built by *Ancus Marcius*, the fourth King, which Name was therefore given it, becauſe *Fortune* does contribute very much to Valor, in obtaining Victory. The Temple of *Feminine Fortune* was conſecrated by the Matrons, when they drove away *Marcius Coriolanus* at the Head of an Army marching againſt *Rome*, as every body knows. Moreover, *Servius Tullius*, who above all the Kings, did moſt enlarge the Power of the People and adorn the Common-wealth, who firſt gave order to the Ta-es of the Militia, who was the firſt Cenſor and Overſeer of Mens Lives and Sobriety, and is eſteem'd a moſt wiſe and valiant Man, even he threw himſelf upon *Fortune*, and own'd his Kingdom to be deriv'd from her; ſo great was her Kindneſs to him, that ſhe is thought to deſcend into his Houſe by a Window, and there to converſe familiarly with him. Upon which account he built two Temples to *Fortune*, one to that which is call'd *Primigenia*, in the Capitol, *i.e.* the firſt born, as one may expound it; another to that which is call'd *Obſequens*, as being obſequious to his Deſires, beſides many others. There is alſo the Temple of *Private Fortune* in the Mount *Palatine*, and that of *Viſcous Fortune*, which Name, though it ſeems ridiculous, does by a Metaphor, explain to us the Nature of *Fortune*; that ſhe attracts things at a diſtance, and retains them when they are brought to contact. At the Fountain, which is call'd *Moſſy*, the Temple of *Virgin Fortune*, is ſtill to be ſeen in the Field call'd *Aliſcyme*. There is an Altar alſo to *Fortune of Good Hope*, in the long narrow Street, without any Paſſage thorow; and near to the Altar of *Venus Epitalaria*, i.e. *Foſtering'd Fortune*, there is a Chappel to *Male Fortune*. Infinite are the Honours and Titles of *Fortune*, the greater part of which were inſtituted by *Servius*, knowing that all good Succeſs in Human Affairs, does chiefly depend upon her; more eſpecially, he had found by experience, That by her Favour he was preferr'd from a Captive and hoſtile Nation to be King of the *Romans*. For when *Corniculum* was taken by the *Romans*, the Virgin *Ocriſia* being taken at the ſame time, ſhe for her illuſtrious Beauty and Vertue (which the meanneſs of her *Fortune* could not hide or obſcure) was preſented to *Tanaquil* the Conſort of King

Tarquinius, with whom ſhe liv'd as Maid of Honour, till ſhe was marry'd to one of her Favorites, and of them was born *Servius*. Others tell the Story after this manner, That the Virgin *Ocreſia* uſing often to receive the Firſt Fruits and Libations from the Royal Table, which were to be offer'd in Sacrifice, it happen'd on a time, That when, according to the Cuſtom, ſhe had thrown them into the Fire, upon the ſudden Expiration of the Flame, there appear'd to come out of it, the Genital Member of a Man; the Virgin being frighted with ſo ſtrange a Sight, told the whole Matter to Queen *Tanaquil*, who being a wiſe and underſtanding Woman, judg'd the Viſion to be Divine, and therefore dreſt up the Virgin in all her Bridal Ornaments and Attire, and then ſhut her up in a Room, together with this Apparition. Some attribute this Amour to *Lar*, the Houſhold God, and others to *Vulcan*, but whichſoever it was, *Ocreſia* was with child, and *Servius* being deſcended of one of them, gives greater Probability to the Story of him, That while he was yet an Infant, his Head was ſeen to ſend forth a wonderful Brightneſs, like Lightning darted from the Skies. But thoſe about *Antium* tell this Story after a different manner, That when *Servius* his Wife *Gegania* was dead, he fell into a Sleep through grief of Mind, in the preſence of his Mother, and then his Head was ſeen by the Women encompaſs'd by Fire; which as it was a certain Token that he was born of Fire, ſo it was a good Omen of that unexpected Kingdom which he obtain'd after the Death of *Tarquin*, by the means of *Tanaquil*; which is ſo much the more to be wondred at, becauſe he, of all Kings, was the moſt unfit by Nature, and averſe by Inclination to Monarchical Government, ſince he would have reſign'd his Kingdom, and diveſted himſelf of Regal Authority, if he had not been hindred by the Oath, which, it appears, he made to *Tanaquil* when ſhe was dying, that he ſhould continue, during his Life, be

King

Kingly Power, and never chang'd that Form of Government which he had receiv'd from his Anceſtors. Thus the Reign of *Servius* was wholly owing to *Fortune*, both becauſe he receiv'd it beſides his Expectation, and he retain'd it againſt his Will.

But leſt we ſhould ſeem to ſhun the *Light* of bright and evident Arguments, and retreat to ancient Stories, as to a Place of Darkneſs and Obſcurity, let us now paſs over the time of the Kings, and go on in our Diſcourſe to the moſt noted Actions, and famous Wars of following Times. And firſt of all it muſt be confeſs'd, That the Boldneſs and Courage which are neceſſary for War, do aid and improve Military Vertue, as *Timotheus* ſays; and yet it is manifeſt to him that will reaſon aright, that the abundance of Succeſs which advanc'd the *Roman* Empire to ſuch vaſt Power and Greatneſs, is not to be attributed to Human Strength and Counſels, but to a certain Divine Impulſe, and a full Gale of running *Fortune*, which carried all before it, that haſtned the riſing Glory of the *Romans*. For now Trophies were erected upon Trophies, and Triumphs haſted to meet one another; before the Blood was cold upon their Arms, it was waſht off with the freſh Blood of their falling Enemies. Henceforth the Victories were not reckon'd by the Numbers of the Slain, or the Greatneſs of the Spoils, but by the Kingdoms that were taken, by the Nations that were conquer'd, by the Iſles and Continents which were added to the Vaſtneſs of their Empire. At one Battle, *Philip* was forc'd to quit all *Macedonia*, by one Stroke *Antiochus* was beaten out of *Aſia*, by one Victory the *Carthaginians* loſt *Libya*; but which is yet more wonderful, *Armenia*, *Pontus*, *Syria*, *Arabia*, the *Albanians*, *Iberians*, *Hyrcanians*, with thoſe about *Caucaſus*, were by one Man, and the Succeſs of one Expedition, reduc'd under the Power of the *Roman* Empire. The Ocean which is diffus'd over the Face of all the Earth, beheld him thrice Victorious, for he ſubdued the *Numidians* in *Africa*, as far as the *Southern Shores*; he conquer'd *Spain*, which joyn'd with *Sertorius* as far as the *Atlantick* Ocean, and he purſu'd the *Albanian* Kings as far as the *Caſpian* Sea. *Pompeius Magnus*, one and the ſame Man, atchiev'd all thoſe great and ſtupendous things, by the aſſiſtance of that *Publick Fortune* which waited upon the *Roman* Arms with Succeſs, and after all this, he ſunk under the Weight of his own fatal Greatneſs. The great Genius of the *Romans* was not propitious for a Day only, or for a little time, like that of the *Macedonians*: It was not powerful by Land only, like that of the *Lyconians*, or by Sea only, like that of the *Athenians*. It was not too ſlowly ſenſible of Injuries, as that of the *Perſians*, nor too eaſily pacify'd, like that of the *Colophonians*; but from the beginning, growing up with the City, the more it encreas'd, the more it enlarg'd the Empire, and conſtantly aided the *Romans* with its auſpicious Influence by Sea and Land, in Peace and War, againſt all their Enemies, whether *Greeks* or *Barbarians*. It was this *Genius* which diſſipated *Annibal* the *Carthaginian*, when he broke in upon *Italy* like a Torrent, and the People could give no aſſiſtance, being torn in pieces by Inteſtine Jars. It was this *Genius* that ſeparated the two Armies of the *Cimbrians* and *Teutonicks*, that they ſhould not meet at the ſame Time and Place; by which means, *Marius* the *Roman* General encounter'd each Army by it ſelf, and overcame them, which if they had been joyn'd together, would have overflow'd all *Italy* like a Deluge, with three hundred thouſand valiant Men, invincible in Arms. It was the ſame *Genius* that hindred *Antiochus*, by other Occaſions, from aſſiſting *Philip*, while he was engag'd in War with the *Romans*, ſo that *Philip* was firſt vanquiſht before *Antiochus* encounter'd the Danger of helping him. It was by the Conduct of the ſame *Genius*, That *Mithridates* was taken up with the *Sarmatick* and *Baſtarnick* Wars, while the *Marſians* attack'd *Rome*: That Jealouſie and Envy divided *Tigranes* from *Mithridates*, while the latter was flouriſhing with Succeſs; but both of them were joyn'd together in the Defeat, that they might periſh in the ſame common Ruine. What ſhall I ſay more? Has not *Fortune* now reliev'd the City when it was reduc'd to the greateſt Extremity of Danger? When the *Gauls* encamp'd about the *Capitol*, and beſieg'd the Caſtle, pouring in Death and Wounds upon the *Romans*? Did not *Fortune* and *Chance* diſcover their ſecret Attack in the Night-time, which otherwiſe had ſurpris'd all Men? Of which wonderful Accident, it will not be unſeaſonable to diſcourſe here a little more largely.

After the great Overthrow and Slaughter of the *Romans* at the River *Allia*, ſome of thoſe that eſcap'd fled haſtily to *Rome*, and communicated their Terror and Conſternation to the People there; of whom a few having truſſed up their Bag and Baggage, convey'd themſelves into the *Capitol*, reſolving there to wait the Event of ſo diſmal a Calamity; others flocks in great Multitudes to the *Veientes*, and there proclaimed *Furius Camillus* Dictator, giving him, in their Diſtreſs, an abſolute and unaccountable Power, whom before, in their Pride and Proſperity, they had condemn'd and baniſht, as guilty of robbing the publick Treaſure. But *Camillus*, to ſtrengthen his Title to this Authority, which might ſeem to be given him only for the preſent Neceſſity, contrary to the Laws of the State, touching the Electing of ſuch a Magiſtrate, ſcorn'd to take a Senate-award of Soldiers ſo lately ſcatter'd and beaten, as if the Government of the City were diſſolv'd; but ſent to acquaint the Senators then were in the *Capitol*, and know if they would approve the Election of the Soldiers. To accompliſh this, there was one *Caius Pontius*, very valiant.

undertook to carry the News of this Decree to those in the *Capitol*, though it were with great Danger of his Life; for he was to go through the midſt of the Enemies, who were entrench'd and kept Watch about the Caſtle. He came therefore in the Night-time to the River *Tiber*, and by the help of broad Corks, ſupporting the Weight of his Body, he was carried down the Stream in a ſmooth calm Water, and ſafely lended on the other ſide; from thence he paſs'd through Places uninhabited, being conducted by Darkneſs and Silence, to the Rock on which the *Capitol* was built, and climbing up through its winding and rough Paſſages, with much Labour and Difficulty, at laſt he arriv'd at the *Capitol* it ſelf; where, being receiv'd by the Watch, he acquainted the Senators with what was done by the Souldiers, and having receiv'd their Approbation of the Decree of Election, he return'd again to *Camillus*. The next Day after, one of the *Barbarians* by chance walking about this Rock, ſeeing in one Place the Prints of his Feet, and his Falls, in another Place the Herbs trodden down which grow upon the interſperſed Earth, and the plain Marks of his Body in its winding Aſcent through the craggy Precipice, went preſently and inform'd the reſt of the *Gauls* of the whole Matter. And they finding that a *Way* was ſhewn them by the Enemy, reſolv'd to follow his Footſteps, and taking the Advantage of the dead Time of the Night, when all were faſt aſleep, not ſo much as a Watch ſtirring, nor a Dog barking, they climb'd up ſecretly to the Caſtle. But *Fortune* in this extremity wonderfully propitious to the *Romans*, in diſcovering and preventing ſuch an imminent *Danger*, by the Voice of the *Sacred Geeſe* which were maintain'd about the Temple of *Juno*, for the Worſhip of that Goddeſs; for that Animal being wakeful by Nature, and eaſily frighted with the leaſt Noiſe, their Sacred Geeſe had been ſo much neglected by reaſon of the Scarcity of Proviſions which was in the Caſtle, that they were more eaſily waken'd by the approach of the Enemy, out of their light and hungry Sleep, and therefore they preſently perceiv'd the *Gauls* appearing upon the Walls, and with a loud Voice flew proudly towards them; but being yet more frighted with the Sight of their ſhining Armor, they rais'd a louder gaggling Noiſe, which waken'd the *Romans*, who underſtanding the Deſign, preſently beat back the Enemies, and threw them down over the Precipices of the Rock; and therefore in remembrance of this wonderful Accident, a *Dog faſten'd to a Croſs*, and a *Gooſe lying in a Bed of State*, upon a rich Cuſhion, is carried about, even to this Day, in pompous Solemnity. And now who is not aſtoniſh'd, that conſiders how great was the Miſery of the City at that time, and how great its Happineſs is now at this Day, when he beholds the Splendor and Riches of its Donatives, the Emulation of Liberal Arts that flouriſh in it, the Acceſſion of Noble Cities and Royal Crowns to its Empire, and the chief Products of Sea and Land, of Iſles and Continents, of Rivers and Trees, of Animals and Fields, of Mountains and Metallick Mines, crowding to adorn and beautifie this Place? Who is not ſtunn'd with Admiration, at the imminent Danger which then was, whether ever thoſe things ſhould be or no; and at thoſe poor timorous Birds, which firſt began the Deliverance of the City, when all Places were fill'd with Fire, Darkneſs and Smoak, with the Swords of Barbarous and Bloody-minded Men? What a Prodigy of *Fortune* was it, that thoſe great Commanders, the *Manlii*, the *Servilii*, *Poſtumii* and *Papirii* ſo famous for their Warlike Exploits, and for the Illuſtrious Families that have deſcended from them, ſhould be alarm'd, in this Extremity of Danger, by the Geeſe, to fight for their Country Gods and their Country. And if it be true, which *Polybius* writes in his Second Book of theſe *Gauls*, which then poſſeſs'd *Rome*, That they made a Peace with *Camillus*, and departed, as ſoon as they heard the News of the Invaſion that was made upon their Territories by the Neighbouring *Barbarians*; then it is paſt all Controverſie, that *Fortune* was the Cauſe of *Rome's* Preſervation, by drawing off the Enemies to another Place, or rather forcing them from *Rome* beyond all Mens Expectation.

But why do I dwell upon thoſe things, which have nothing of certain or evident Truth, ſince the Memoires of thoſe Times have periſht, and the Hiſtory of them is confus'd, as *Livy* tells us: For thoſe things which happen'd in following Ages, being plain and manifeſt to all, do ſufficiently demonſtrate the benignity of *Fortune* to *Rome*; among which, I reckon the Death of *Alexander* to be no ſmall Cauſe of the *Roman* Happineſs and Security; for he being a Man of wonderful Succeſs, and moſt famous Exploits, of invincible Confidence and Pride, who ſhot like a Star with incredible ſwiftneſs, from the riſing to the *ſetting* Sun, was meditating to bring the Luſtre of his Arms into *Italy*. The Pretence of this intended Expedition, was the Death of *Alexander Moloſſus*, who was kill'd at *Pandoſia* by the *Brutii* and *Lucani*; but the true Cauſe was the Deſire of Glory and the Emulation of Empire, which inſtigated him to war againſt all Mankind, that he might extend his Dominion beyond the Bounds of *Bacchus* and *Hercules*. He had heard of the *Roman* Power in *Italy*, terrible as an Army in Battle Array, of the Illuſtrious Name and Glory which they had acquir'd by innumerable Battles, in which they were fluſht with Victory; and this was a ſufficient Provocation to his

Ambitious Spirit, to commence a War againſt them, which could not have been decided without an Ocean of Blood; for both Armies appear'd invincible, both of fearleſs and undaunted Minds, and the Romans then had no fewer than one hundred and thirty thouſand ſtout and valiant Men, ſkilful in fighting, both on Horſeback, and on Foot.

The reſt of this Diſcourſe appears to be loſt, wherein we miſs the Arguments which *Vertue* alledged for her ſelf in this Conteſt.

Plutarch's

Plutarch's Morals:

Vol. IV.

Of Garrulity or Talkativeneſs.

Tranſlated from the **Greek** ***by*** **J. Phillips, *Gen***

IT is a troubleſome and difficult Task that Philoſophy undertakes, in going about to cure the Diſeaſe, or rather Itch of Intemperate Prating. For that Words, which are the ſole Remedy againſt it, require Attention. But they who are given to Prate will hear no Body, as being a ſort of People that love to be always talking themſelves. So that the principal Vice of Loquacious Perſons, is this, that their Ears are ſtopt to every thing elſe but their own Impertinencies. Which I take to be a wilful Deafneſs in Men, controuling and contradicting Nature, that has given us two Ears, though but one Tongue. Therefore it was that *Euripides* ſpoke very right to a certain ſtupid Hearer of his.

Impoſſible it is for me to fill that Brain,
That in a moment lets out all again;
'Tis but the Words of Wiſdom to unfold
Unto a Fool whoſe Skull will nothing hold.

More juſtly and truly might I ſay to an idle *Prate-roaſt*, or rather concerning ſuch a Fellow.

In vain I ſeek to fill thy Sieve-like Brain,
That in a moment lets out all again;
Infuſing Wiſdom into ſuch a Skull
As leaks ſo faſt, it never will be full.

Much more may he be ſaid to ſpill his Inſtructions beſides the Veſſel, who ſpeaks to thoſe that will not hear him ſpeak, then he that ſpeaks to one that cannot hear at all. For ſo ſoon as a wiſe Man has utter'd any thing, be it never ſo ſhort, *Garrulity* ſwallows it forthwith, like the Sea, and throws it up again threefold, with the Violence of a ſwelling Tyde. Such was the *Portico* within the City of *Olympia*, call'd *Heptaphonos*, by the Reverberation of one ſingle Voice, cauſing no leſs then ſeven diſtinct Eccho's; and in like manner, if the leaſt Word light into the Ears of an impertinent Babler, preſently all the Room rings with it, and he makes ſuch a Din,

That ſoon the jangling Noiſe untunes the Strings
Of Minds ſedately fix'd on better Things.

Inſomuch that we may ſay, that the Conduits and Conveyances of their Hearing reach not to the Souls, but only to their Ears. Therefore it is that other People retain what is ſpoken to them; whereas, whatever is ſaid to talkative People, runs through them as through a Cullender, and then they run about from Place to Place, like empty Veſſels, void of Sence or Wit, but making a hideous Noiſe. However, in hopes that there is yet ſome room left to try an Experiment for the Cure of this Diſtemper, let us begin with this golden Sentence to the impertinent Prater.

Be ſilent, Boy; and thou wilt find i'th' end,
What Benefits on ſilent Lips attend.

Among which, two of the firſt, and chiefeſt, are, a well to hear, as to be heard. To either of which theſe Talkative Companions can never attain; ſo unhappy they are ſtill to meet with Diſappointments, though they deſire it never ſo much. For as for the other Diſtempers of the Soul, ſuch as Avarice, Ambition, and exorbitant Love of Pleaſure, they have the Happineſs, to enjoy what they ſo eagerly covet. But this is that which moſt afflicts theſe idle Pratlers, that being deſirous of nothing more than of Company that will hear them prate, they can never meet with it, in ſo much that all Men avoid their Society; and whether ſitting in a Knot together, or walking, ſo ſoon as they behold a Prater advancing towards them, they preſently give warning to each other, and adjourn to another Place. And as when there happens a deep Silence in any Aſſembly, ſo that all the Company ſeems to be mute, we ſay that *Mercury* is got among them; ſo when a Fool, full of Noiſe and Talk, enters into any Room where Friends and Acquaintance are met to Diſcourſe, or elſe to Feaſt and be Merry, all People are huſht of a ſudden, afraid of giving him any Occaſion to ſet his Tongue upon the Career. But if he once begin to open his Mouth, up they riſe, and away they trip; like Seamen foreſeeing a ſudden Storm, and rowling o the Waves, when they hear the North-wind begin to whiſtle from ſome adjoyning Promontory, and haſtning into Harbour. Whence it comes to paſs, that they never can meet with any that are willing, either to Eat, or Drink, or Lodge with them in the ſame Room, either upon the Road, or upon a Voyage, unleſs conſtrain'd thereto by Neceſſity. For ſo importunate he it, and in all Places, that ſometimes he will pull you by the Coat, ſometimes by the Beard, and ſometimes be hunching your Sides to make you ſpeak. How highly then are to be priz'd a ſwift pair of Legs, according to the Saying of *Archilochus*? Nay, by *Jove*, it was the Opinion of wiſe *Ariſtotle* himſelf: For he being perplext with an Egregious Prater, and tir'd out with his Abſurd Stories, and idle Repetitions of, *And is not this a wonderful thing*, Ariſtotle? No wonder at all, ſaid he, this; but if a Man ſhould ſtand ſtill, to hear you prate thus, who had Legs to run away, that were a wonder indeed. To another of the ſame Stamp, that after a long Tale of a Roaſted Horſe, excus'd himſelf by ſaying, *That he was afraid he had tir'd him with his Prattling*. No, upon my Word, quoth the Philoſopher, for I never minded what you ſaid. On the other ſide, ſhould it ſo fall out, that there was no avoiding the Vexation of one of theſe chattering Fops, Nature has afforded us this Happineſs, that it is in the Power of the Soul to lend the outward Ears of the Body, to endure the Brunt of the Noiſe, while ſhe retires to the remote Apartments of the Mind, and there employs her ſelf in better, and more uſeful Thoughts. By which means, thoſe Sonorous Bablers are at the ſame time diſappointed, as well of Auditors, as of People that believe what they ſay. All Men look upon their vain Babling with the ſame Opinion that they have of the Seed of People inſatiably addicted to the uſe of Women; for as the one is barren and uſeleſs for Generation, ſo is the other void of the end of Diſcourſe, altogether frivolous and impertinent. And yet there's no Member of Humane Bodies that Nature has ſo ſtrongly encloſ'd within a double Fortification, as the Tongue, entrench'd within with a Barricado of ſharp Teeth, to the end that when it refuſes to be rul'd by Reaſon, that holds the Reins of Silence within, we ſhould fix our Teeth in it till the Blood comes, rather then ſuffer the inordinate and unſeaſonable Dinn. For according to the Saying of *Euripides.*

Our Miſeries do not ſpring
From Houſes wanting Locks or Bolts;
But from unbridl'd Tongues,
Ill us'd by Prating Fools and Dolts.

And truly, I muſt tell ye, that they who think that Houſes with Bolts and Bars, and Purſes without Strings, are of no uſe to their Maſters, yet at the ſame time ſent either Fence nor Door before their Lips; but ſuffer a continual Torrent of vain and idle Diſcourſe to flow through them, like the Perpetual Flux of Water through the Mouth of the *Pontic Sea,* ſeem to me to have the leaſt Eſteem for Human Speech of all Men in the World. Whence it comes to paſs, that they never gain belief, which is the end of all Diſcourſe. For the main Scope and Intention of all Men that ſpeak, is to gain a Belief of what they utter, with thoſe that hear them: Whereas Talkative Noiſe-makers are never believ'd, let them ſpeak never ſo much Truth. For as Wheat, when crouded into a muſty Veſſel, is found to exceed in Meaſure, but unwholſome for Uſe, ſo the Diſcourſe of a Loquacious Perſon ſwells and enlarges it ſelf with Lyes and falſhood; but in the mean time it looſes all force of Perſwaſion. Then again, there is no Man of Modeſty and Civility, but would be careful of preſerving himſelf from Drunkenneſs. For Anger, as ſome are of Opinion, is to be rang'd with Madneſs, and cohabits with thoſe that are given to Drink; or rather is a kind of Phrenſie it ſelf; though inferiour to it in Continuance of time; but as it is vehemency, far exceeding it, ſince it is a Madneſs of our own Choice. Now there is nothing, for which Drunkenneſs is ſo much abominated and decry'd, as for that it is the Cauſe of inordinate and unlimited Babling and Prating.

Heated with Wine, the Man at other times,
Both Wiſe and Grave, ſings looſe and wanton Rhimes;
He minds not loud undecent Laughter then,
Nor Mimic Dancing, ſcorn'd by ſober Men.

And yet both Singing, Laughing and Dancing, are all but Trifles to that which follows, the Conſequences of which are oft times fatal.

He blurts thoſe Secrets forth, which once reveal'd,
Too late he wiſhes they had been conceal'd.

This is that which often times proves dangerous, if not terrible to the Diſcoverer; and who knows but that the Poet might here deſign to reſolve a Queſtion much diſputed among Philoſophers? that is to ſay, what the difference is between being Tipſie and ſtark Drunk; by attributing to the former, only Mirth and Jollity of Humor; but branding the latter with the foul Reproach of noxious Babling, and Blabbing of Secrets. For according to the Proverb,

What the ſober Heart conceals,
That the drunken Tongue reveals.

Wherefore it is reported of *Bias*, that ſitting very ſilent at a Compotation, drinking only when it came to his Turn, and being laugh'd at by one whoſe Tongue run at random, who for his Silence call'd him *Mope* and *Fool*, he made this Reply, *Find me any other Fool*, ſaid he, *that e're could hold his Tongue in his Cups.*

A Noble man of *Athens*, having invited the King of *Perſia's* Embaſſadors to a magnificent Feaſt, at their Requeſt, gave the ſame Invitation to the moſt eminent Philoſophers in the City to bear them Company. Now when all the reſt were propounding of Theams, and raiſing Arguments *Pro* and *Con*, and others were maintaining of Paradoxes, to ſhew their Wit and Learning; only *Zeno* ſate ſtill, ſo reſerv'd and mute, that the Embaſſadors took notice of it; and thereupon, after they thought they had open'd his Heart with two or three luſty Brimmers, *Pray tell us,* Zeno, ſaid they, *what Report we ſhall make concerning thee to our Maſter?* To whom *Zeno, Nothing more,* ſaid he, *but that there was an old Man at* Athens, *that could hold his Tongue in the midſt of his Cups.* Such profound and Divine myſterious Vertues are Silence and Sobriety: whereas Drunkenneſs is Loquacious, void of Reaſon and Underſtanding, and therefore full of jangling, and impertinent Tautologies. Wherefore the Philoſophers, when they come to define Drunkenneſs, call it a *Delirium*, or Madneſs through immoderate Drinking of Wine. So that Drinking is not condemn'd, provided a Man keep himſelf within the Bounds of Silence and Moderation; only vain and ſilly Diſcourſe makes Drinking of Wine to be Drunkenneſs. He then that is Drunk, is Mad with Wine: But the Tautologizing Babler is every where Drunk; in the Market Place, at the Theatre, in the publick Portico's or Deambulatories, as well by Night as by Day. If he be a Phyſician, certainly he is more troubleſome then the Diſeaſe; if your Companion in a Voyage, more inſupportable then the Qualms occaſion'd by the Tumbling of the Sea. If he praiſe thee, his Panegyrick's more offenſive than the Reproaches of another. It is a greater Pleaſure to converſe with vitious Men, ſo they be diſcreet in their Language, then with Twatlers, though never ſo honeſt. Therefore *Neſtor* in *Sophocles*, deſirous to appeaſe exaſperated *Ajax*, mildly thus rebuk'd him:

I blame thee not, for though thy Words are ill,
Thy Deeds beſpeak thee Brave and Valiant ſtill.

But there is not the ſame Excuſe to be made for a vain babling Fellow; for the ill Government of his Tongue corrupts and vitiates all the Merits of his Actions. *Lyſias* had giv'n to a certain accus'd Criminal, an Oration of his own writing. He, having read it ſeveral times over, came to *Lyſias*, very much dejected, and told him, that upon his firſt peruſal of it, it ſeem'd to him, to be a moſt admirable Piece; but after he had read it three or four times over, he could ſee nothing in it, but what was very dull and inſipid. To whom *Lyſias*, ſmiling, *What*, ſaid he, *is not once enough to ſpeak it before the Judges?* And yet do but conſider the Perſwaſive Eloquence and Grace that is in *Lyſia's* Writing; and then I may be bold to affirm,

That no Man living e're was favour'd more,
By ſacred Muſe, that Violet Garlands Wore.

Certain it is, that of all the Commendations that were ever given to a Poet, this is the trueſt, that only *Homer* avoided being irkſome to his Readers, as one that was always new, and ſtill flouriſhing, as it were in the Prime of Poetick Beauty. And yet in ſpeaking thus of himſelf,

I hate vain Repetitions, fondly made
Of what has been already greatly ſaid.

He ſhews how careful he is to ſhun that Satiety, Which as it were, waylays all Tediouſneſs of Speech, [illegible] the Ear from one Relation into another, and ſtill recreating the Reader with freſh Variety, in ſuch a manner, that he never thinks himſelf ſatisfy'd. Whereas Men that let their Tongues run at random, rend and tear the Ears with their Tautologies, like thoſe that after Table-books have been newly cleans'd and wip'd, deface them again with their impertinent Scrawls and Scratches. And therefore we would have them to remember this in the firſt place, that as they who conſtrain Men to guzzle down Wine unmix'd with Water, and to exceſs, are the occaſion, that what was beſtow'd at firſt on Men as a Bleſſing, to excite Mirth, and rejoyce the Heart, becomes a Miſchief creating Sadneſs, and cauſing Drunkenneſs; ſo they that make an ill and inconſiderate uſe of Speech, which is the moſt delighful means of Human Converſe, render it both troubleſome and unſociable, moleſting thoſe whom they think to gratifie, derided by thoſe whoſe Eſteem and Admiration they covet, and offenſive to ſuch whoſe Love and Friendſhip they ſeek. And therefore, as he may truly be ſaid to be void of all Civility, who with the Girdle of *Venus*, wherein are all manner of Allurements, drives and chaſes away his familiar Acquaintance from his Society, ſo he that vexes others with his looſe and extravagant Talk, may be as truly ſaid to be a Ruſtick, wanting altogether Education and Breeding.

Now then among all other Paſſions and Maladies, ſome are dangerous, others hateful, and others ridiculous; but in fooliſh Prating, all theſe Inconveniencies concur. They are derided when they make Relations of common Matters; they are hated for bringing unwelcome Tidings; they are in danger, for divulging of Secrets. Whereas *Anacharſis* being feaſted by *Solon*, was eſteem'd a wiſe Man, for that as he lay aſleep after the Banquet was over, he was ſeen with his Left-hand upon his Privy Parts, and his Right-hand laid upon his

Mouth. Deeming, as indeed he rightly believ'd, that his Tongue requir'd the ſtronger Curb. For though it would be a hard Task to reckon up how many Men have periſh'd through Venereal Intemperance; yet I dare ſay it would be almoſt as difficult to tell how many Cities and States have been demoliſh'd and totally ſubverted by the inconſiderate Blurting out of a Secret.

Sylla beſieg'd *Athens* at a time when it was certain that he could not lye long before the City, by reaſon that other Affairs and Troubles call'd him another way. For on the one ſide *Mithridates* ravag'd *Aſia*, on the other, *Marius*'s Party had made themſelves Maſters of *Rome*. But it happen'd that certain old Fellows being met together in a Barbers Shop, among other Diſcourſe, blabb'd it out, that the *Heptachalcos* was ill guarded, and that the City was in great danger of a Surprize in that part. Which being overheard, and reported to *Sylla* by certain of his Spies, he preſently brought all his Forces on that ſide, and about Midnight, after a ſharp Aſſault, entred the City with his whole Army, and it was a thouſand to one, but that he had laid it in Aſhes; However he fill'd the *Ceramicum* with the Carkaſſes of the Slain, and made the Channels run with Blood, being highly incens'd againſt the *Athenians*, more for their reproachful Language then their Military Oppoſition. For they had abus'd both him and his Wife *Metella*, getting up upon the Walls, and calling him *Mulberry ſtrew'd with Duſt Meal*, with many other provoking Scoffs of the ſame Nature; and for a few Jibes and Taunts, which as *Plato* obſerves, are the ſlighteſt things in the World, they drew upon their Heads the ſevere Puniſhment of a moſt dreadful and general Calamity.

The Tongue of one Man prevented *Rome* from recovering her Freedom by the Deſtruction of *Nero*. For there was but one Night to paſs before *Nero* was to be murder'd on the Morrow, all things being ready prepar'd and agreed on for that purpoſe. But in the mean time it happen'd that he who had undertaken to execute the Fact, as he was going to the Theatre, ſeeing one of thoſe poor Creatures that were bound and pinion'd, juſt ready to be led before *Nero*, and hearing the Fellow bewail his hard Fortune, gather'd up cloſe to him, and whiſpering the poor Fellow in the Ear, *Pray only, honeſt Friend,* ſaid he, *that thou mayſt but eſcape this Day, to morrow thou ſhalt give me Thanks.* Preſently the Fellow taking hold of this *Enigmatical* Speech, and calling to mind the vulgar Saying,

Where Opportunity preſents the Choice,
Fools they that wave the moſt ſecure Advice.

Prefer'd the more probable to be the juſter way of ſaving himſelf, and preſently declar'd to *Nero* what that Man had whiſper'd in his Ear. Immediately the *Whiſperer* was laid hold of, and hurried away to the Place of Torture, where by Racking, Searing and Scourging, he was conſtrain'd, poor miſerable Creature, to confeſs that by Force, which before he had diſcover'd without any Compulſion at all. And therefore *Zeno*, that he might not be compell'd by the Tortures of his Body, to betray, againſt his Will, the Secrets entruſted in his Breaſt, bit off his Tongue and ſpit it in the Tyrants Face.

Notorious alſo was the Example of *Leæna*, and ſignal the Reward which ſhe had, for being true to her Truſt, and conſtant in her Taciturnity. She was a Curteſan with whom *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton* were very familiar, and for that reaſon they had imparted to her the great Hopes which they had upon the Succeſs of the Conſpiracy againſt the thirty Tyrants, wherein they were ſo deeply engag'd, while ſhe on the other ſide having drank freely of the Noble Cup of *Love*, vow'd never to reveal the Secrets which they had made her Privy to, for the Sake of that Deity; wherein ſhe fail'd not of her Vow.

For the two Paramours being taken and put to Death, after they had fail'd in their Enterprize, ſhe was alſo apprehended and put to the Torture, to force out of her a Diſcovery of the reſt of the Accomplices; but all the Torments and Extremities they could exerciſe upon her Body, could not prevail to make her diſcover ſo much as one Perſon; thereby manifeſting to the World, that the two Gentlemen, her Friends, had done nothing miſ-becoming the Nobility of their Deſcent, in having beſtow'd their Affections upon ſuch a Woman. For this reaſon, the *Athenians*, as a Monument of her Vertue, ſet up a *Leæna*, or *Lioneſs* in Braſs, without a Tongue, juſt at the Entrance into the *Acropolis* or Cittadel; ſignifying to Poſterity, by the ſtomachful Courage of that Beaſt, the invincible Reſolution of the Woman; and by making it without a Tongue, denoting her Conſtancy, in keeping the Secret with which ſhe was entruſted. For never any Word ſpoken did ſo much good, as many lockt up in Silence. Thus at one time or other a Man may blab forth a Secret, but when it is once blurted forth, it can never be recall'd. For it flies abroad, and ſpreads in a moment far and near. And hence it is that we have Men to teach us to ſpeak; but the Gods are they that teach us Silence; Silence being the firſt thing commanded upon our firſt Initiation into their Divine Ceremonies and Sacred Myſteries. And therefore it is that *Homer* makes *Ulyſſes*, whoſe Eloquence was ſo charming, to be the moſt ſilent of Men; and the ſame Vertue alſo he attributes to his Son, his Wife, and his Nurſe. For thus you hear her ſpeaking,

Safe as in harden'd Steel, or ſturdy Oak,
Within my Breaſt theſe Secrets will I lock.

And *Ulyſſes* himſelf, ſitting by *Penelope*, before he diſcover'd himſelf, is thus brought in,

His weeping Wife with Pity he beheld,
Although not willing yet to be reveal'd;
He would not move his Eyes, but kept them faſt,
Like Horn or Steel within his Eye-brows plac'd.

So powerfully poſſeſs'd with Continence were both his Tongue and Lips, and having all the reſt of his Members ſo obedient and ſubject to his Reaſon, he commanded his Eyes not no weep, his Tongue not to ſpeak a Word, and his Heart neither to pant or tremble,

So was his ſuffering Heart confin'd
To give Obedience to his Mind.

His Reaſon penetrating even to thoſe inward Motions, and ſubduing to its ſelf the Blood and vital Spirits. Such were many of the reſt of his Followers. For though they were dragg'd and hal'd by *Polypheme*, and had their Heads daſh'd againſt the Ground, they would not confeſs a Word concerning their Lord and Maſter *Ulyſſes*, nor diſcover the long piece of Wood that was put in the Fire, and prepar'd to put out his Eye; but rather ſuffer'd themſelves to be devour'd raw, then to diſcloſe any one of their Maſters Secrets, which was an Example of Fidelity and reſervedneſs not to be parallel'd. *Pittacus* therefore did very well, who when the King of *Ægypt* ſent him an Oblation-beaſt, and order'd him to take out and ſet apart the beſt and worſt Piece of it, pull'd out the Tongue and ſent to him, as being the

Inſtrument of many good things, and as well the Inſtrument of the greateſt Evils in the World. *Ino* therefore in *Euripides*, frankly extolling her ſelf, ſays ſhe,

I know both when and where my Tongue to hold,
And when with ſafety to be freely bold,

For they that are brought up under a truly generous and Royal Education, learn firſt to be ſilent, and then to talk. And therefore King *Antigonus*, when his Son ask'd him, when they ſhould diſcamp? *What!* ſaid he, *art thou afraid of being the only Man that ſhall not hear the Trumpet?* So loath was he to truſt him with a Secret, to whom he was to leave his Kingdom. Teaching him thereby, when he came to command another Day, to be no leſs wary and ſparing of his Speech. *Metellus* alſo, that old Souldier, being ask'd ſome ſuch Queſtion about the intended March of his Army, *If I thought*, ſaid he, *that my Shirt were Privy to this Secret, I would pull it off and throw it into the Fire.* *Eumenes* alſo, when he heard that *Craterus* was marching with his Forces againſt him, ſaid not a Word of it to his beſt Friends, but gave it out all along, that it was *Neoptolemus*, for him his Souldiers contemn'd, but they admir'd *Craterus*'s Fame and Vertue; but no body knew the Truth but *Eumenes* himſelf. Thereupon joyning Battle, the Victory fell to their Side, and they ſlew *Craterus*, not knowing who he was till they found him among the Slain. So cunningly did Taciturnity manage this Combat, and conceal ſo great an Adverſary. So that the Friends of *Eumenes* admir'd rather then reprov'd him for not telling them before hand. For indeed, ſhould a man be blam'd in ſuch a Caſe, it is better for him to be accus'd after Victory obtain'd by his Diſtruſt; than to be juſtly reproach'd for being open and eaſie to im-

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I know both when and where my Tongue to hold,
And when with ſafety to be freely bold,

For they that are brought up under a truly generous and Royal Education, learn firſt to be ſilent, and then to talk. And therefore King *Antigonus*, when his Son ask'd him, when they ſhould diſcamp? *What! ſaid he, art thou afraid of being the only Man that ſhall not hear the Trumpet?* So loath was he to truſt him with a Secret, to whom he was to leave his Kingdom. Teaching him thereby, when he came to command another Day, to be no leſs wary and ſparing of his Speech. *Metellus* alſo, that old Souldier, being ask'd ſome ſuch Queſtion about the intended March of his Army, *If I thought,* ſaid he, *that my Shirt were Privy to this Secret, I would pull it off and throw it into the Fire.* *Eumenes* alſo, when he heard that *Craterus* was marching with his Forces againſt him, ſaid not a Word of it to his beſt Friends, but gave it out all along, that it was *Neoptolemus*, for him his Souldiers contemn'd, but they admir'd *Craterus's* Fame and Vertue; but no body knew the Truth but *Eumenes* himſelf. Thereupon joyning Battle, the Victory fell to their Side, and they ſlew *Craterus*, not knowing who he was till they found him among the Slain. So cunningly did Taciturnity manage this Combat, and conceal ſo great an Adverſary. So that the Friends of *Eumenes* admir'd rather then reprov'd him, for not telling them before hand. For indeed, ſhould a man be blam'd in ſuch a Caſe, it is better for him to be accus'd after Victory obtain'd by his Diſtruſt; then to be juſtly reproach'd for being open and eaſie to impart his Secrets, after an Overthrow. Nay, What Man is he that dares take upon him the Freedom to blame another for not keeping that ſecret which he himſelf has reveal'd to him? For if the Secret ought not to have been divulg'd, 'twas ill done to break it to another; but if after thou haſt let it go from thy ſelf, and wouldſt have another to keep it in; ſurely it is a great Argument that thou haſt more Confidence in another then in thy ſelf; who if he be like thy ſelf, thou art deſervedly loſt; if better, then thou art miraculouſly ſav'd, as having met with a Perſon more faithful to thee, then thou art to thy own Intereſt. But thou wilt ſay, he is my Friend: Very good——Yet this Friend of mine had another, in whom he might confide as much as I did in him; and in like manner his Friend another, to the end of the Chapter. And thus the Secret gains Ground and ſpreads it ſelf by Multiplication of Babling. For as an *Unite* never exceeds its Bounds, but always remains One, and is therefore call'd an *Unite*; but then the next is *Two*, the firſt indefinite Beginning of the Difference, which afterwards by doubling, multiplies to Infinite; ſo Speech abiding in the firſt Thoughts, may truly be call'd a Secret; but being communicated to another, it preſently changes its Name into common Rumor. Which is the reaſon that *Homer* gives to *Words* the Epithete of *Winged*. For he that lets go a Bird out of his Hand, does not eaſily catch her again: Neither is it poſſible for a Man to re-call and cage again in his Breaſt, a Word let ſlip from his Mouth. For with light Wings it fetches many a Compaſs, and flutters about from one Quarter to another in a Moment. The Courſe of a Ship may well be ſtay'd by Cables and Anchors, which elſe would ſpoom away before a freſh Gale of Wind; but there is no faſt Riding or Anchor-hold for Speech, which once let looſe, as from a Harbour; but being whirl'd away with a ſonorous Noiſe and loud Eccho, it carries off, and plunges the unwary Babbler into ſome fatal Danger.

For ſoon a little Spark of Fire let fly,
May kindle Ida's *Wood, ſo thick and high;*
What one Man to his ſeeming Friend lets go,
Whole Cities may with eaſe enquire and know.

The Senate of *Rome* had been debating among themſelves a certain Piece of Secreſie for ſeveral Days; which cauſ'd the Matter to be ſo much the more ſuſpected and liſtned after. Whereupon a certain *Roman* Lady, diſcreet enough in other things, but yet a Woman, laid at her Husband Day and Night, and mournfully importun'd him what the Secret might be. Oaths you may be ſure ſhe was ready to make, and curſe her ſelf if ever ſhe reveal'd whatever he ſhould tell; nor was ſhe wanting in Tears, and many moiſt Complaints of her being a Woman ſo little to be truſted by a Husband. The *Roman* thus beſet, yet willing in ſome meaſure, to make tryal of her Fidelity, and convince her of her Folly, *Thou haſt overcome me, Wife,* ſaid he, *and now I'le tell thee a moſt dreadful and prodigious thing. We were advertis'd by the Prieſts, that a Lark was ſeen flying in the Air with a golden Helmet upon her Head, and a Spear in one of her Claws; now we are conſulting with the Augurers and Sooth-ſayers about this Portent, whether it be good or bad. But keep it to thy ſelf, for it may be of great Concernment to the Common-wealth.* Having ſo ſaid, he walk'd forth toward the Market-place.

No ſooner was he gone, but his Wife catching hold of the firſt of her Maids that enter'd the Room, and then ſtriking her Breaſt, and tearing her Hair, *Ah! me,* ſaid ſhe, *for my poor Husband and dear Country! What will become of us?* prompting the Maid, as if ſhe were deſirous that ſhe ſhould ſay to her again, *Why? What is the matter Miſtriſs?* upon which ſhe preſently unfolded all that her Husband had told her; nay, ſhe forgot not the common Burden with which all Twattle-Baskets conclude their Stories. *But Huſſie*, ſaid ſhe, *for your Life, be ſure you ſay not a Word of this to any Soul living.* The Wench was no ſooner got out of her Miſtreſſes Sight, but meeting with one of her Fellow Servants that had little to do, to her ſhe unboſoms her ſelf; ſhe, big with the News, with no leſs ſpeed runs away to her Sweet-heart, who ſhe heard was come to give her a Viſit, and without any more to do, tells him all. By this means the Story flew about the Market-place, before the firſt Deviſer of it could get thither. Preſently one of his Acquaintance meeting him, *Did ye come ſtraight from your Houſe?* ſaid he, *Without ſtop or ſtay*, reply'd the other. *And did ye hear nothing?* ſays his Friend. *Why?* quoth the t'other, *Is there any News? Oh!* quoth his Friend, *a Lark has been ſeen flying i'the Air, with a golden Helmet upon her Head, and a Spear in her Claw, and the Senate is ſummon'd to conſult about it.* Upon which the Gentleman, ſmiling, *God a mercy Wife*, quoth he, *for being ſo nimble——one would have thought I might have got into the Market-place before a Story ſo lately told thee; but I ſee 'twas not to be done.* Thereupon meeting with ſome of the Senators, he ſoon deliver'd them out of their Pain. However, being reſolv'd to take a ſlight Revenge of his Wife, making haſt Home, *Wife*, ſaid he, *thou haſt undone me———For it is found out that the great Secret I told thee was firſt divulg'd out of my Houſe; and now muſt I be baniſh'd from my native Country, for your wicked gagling Tongue.* At firſt his Wife would have deny'd the Matter, and put it off from her Husband, by telling him, there were three hundred more beſides himſelf that heard the thing, and why might not one of thoſe divulge it as well as he? But when he bid her never tell him of three hundred more, and told her 'twas an Invention of his own framing to try her, and to avoid her Importunity, the Lady was then convinc'd of her Folly, and begg'd her Husbands Pardon.

Thus this *Roman* ſafely and cautiouſly made the Experiment of his Wives Ability to keep a Secret; as when we powre into a crackt and leaky Veſſel, not Wine nor Oyl, but Water only.

But *Fulvius*, one of *Auguſtus Cæſar*'s Minions and Favorites, when he heard the Emperor deploring the Deſolation of his Family, in regard his two Grand-children by his Daughter were both Dead, and *Poſthumus*, who only remain'd alive, upon an Accuſation charg'd againſt him, was confin'd to Baniſhment, ſo that he was forc'd to ſet up his Wives Son to ſucceed him in the Empire; yet upon more compaſſionate Thoughts, ſignifying his Determination to re-call *Poſthumus* from Exile; this *Fulvius* hearing, related the whole to his Wife, and ſhe to *Livia*. *Livia* ſharply expoſtulated the Matter with *Cæſar*; wherefore ſeeing he had projected the thing ſo long before, he did not ſend for his Siſters Son at firſt, but expos'd her to the Hatred and Revenge of him that he had determined to be his Succeſſor? The next Morning *Fulvius* coming into *Auguſtus*'s Preſence, and ſaluting him with a *Hail* O Cæſar! *Cæſar* retorted upon, *God ſend thee more Wit* Fulvius. Who preſently apprehending the meaning of the Repartee, made haſt home again, and calling for his Wife, *Cæſar underſtands*, ſaid he, *that I have diſcovered his ſecret Counſels, and therefore I am reſolv'd to lay violent Hands upon my ſelf. And juſtly too*, ſaid ſhe, *thou doſt deſerve to die, ſince having liv'd ſo long with me, thou didſt not know the Looſeneſs of my Tongue, and how unable I was to keep a Secret. However, ſuffer me to die firſt; and with that, ſnatching the Sword out of her Husbands Hand, ſhe ſlew her* *ſelf before his Face.* Truly therefore was it ſaid by *Philippides* the *Comedian*, who being curteouſly and familiarly ask'd by *Lyſimachus*, what he ſhould beſtow upon him of all the Treaſure that he had, made anſwer, *Any thing, O King, but your Secrets.*

But there is another Vice no leſs miſchievous, that attends *Garrulity*, call'd *Curioſity*. For there are a ſort of People that deſire to hear a great deal of News, that they may have Matter enough to twattle abroad; and theſe are the moſt diligent in the World to pry and dive into the Secrets of others, which they afterwards enlarge and aggravate with ſome old Stories and Fooleries of their own. And then they are like Children, that neither can endure to hold the Ice in their Hands, nor let it go. Or rather they may be ſaid to lodge other Mens Secrets in their Boſoms, like ſo many Serpents, which they are not able to keep there long, becauſe they eat their way through. It is ſaid that the Fiſh call'd *Sea-needles* and *Vipers* rive aſunder and burſt themſelves when they bring forth: In like manner, Secrets dropping from the Mouths of thoſe that cannot contain them, deſtroy and overthrow the Revealers.

Seleucus Callinicus, in a Battel fought with the *Galatians*, having loſt his whole Army, threw away his Royal Diadem, and fled away full ſpeed, wandring through By-Roads and Deſarts ſo long, till at laſt both Horſe and Man began to faint for want of Food. At length, coming to a certain Country-man's Houſe, and finding the Owner himſelf within, he ask'd him for a little Bread and Water, which the Country-man not only readily fetch'd him, but what elſe his Ground would afford, he very liberally and plentifully ſet before the King and his Companions, making them all as heartily welcome as it was poſſible for him to do. At length, in the midſt of their Chear, he knew the Kings Face, which overjoy'd the poor Man to that degree, that he ſhould have the Happineſs to relieve the King in his Neceſſity, that not able to contain himſelf, nor to diſſemble his Knowledge of the King; after he had rode a little way with him, and came to take his Leave, *Farewel King Seleucus*, ſaid the poor Man. But then the King ſtretching forth his Right-hand, and pulling his Hoſt to his Breaſt, as if he had intended to have kiſs'd him, nodded to one of his Followers with his Sword, to ſtrike off the Country-man's Head.

Thus ſpeaking what could ſcarce be underſtood,
I'th' Duſt his Head lies mingl'd with his Blood.

Whereas if he could but have held his Peace, and maſter'd his Tongue for a little while, till the King, as afterwards he did, had recover'd his Good Fortune and Grandeur, he had been doubtleſs better rewarded for his Silence, then he was for his Hoſpitality. And yet this poor Man had ſome colorable Excuſe for letting his Tongue at liberty; that is to ſay, his Hopes, and the Kindneſs he had done the King. Whereas moſt of your Twatlers, without any Cauſe or Pretence at all, deſtroy themſelves; as it happen'd when certain Fellows began to talk pretty freely in a Barbers Shop, concerning the Tyranny of *Dionyſius*, that it was as ſecure and inexpugnable as a Rock of Adamant, *I wonder*, quoth the Barber, laughing, *that you ſhould talk theſe things before me, concerning* Dionyſius, *whoſe Throat is almoſt every day under my Razor*. Which ſcurrilous Freedom of the Barber being related to the Tyrant, he cauſ'd him forthwith to be crucify'd. And indeed the Generality of Barbers are a Prating Generation of Men; in regard the moſt loquacious Praters uſually reſort to their Shops, and there ſit prating, from whence the Barbers alſo learn an ill Habit of Twatling. *Pleaſant* therefore was the Anſwer of *Archelaus* to the Barber, who when he had caſt the Linnen Toylet about his Shoulders, put the Queſtion to him, *How ſhall I trim your Majeſty? Without any more Prating*, quoth the King. It was a Barber that firſt reported the News of the great Overthrow which the *Athenians* receiv'd in *Sicily*; for being the firſt that heard the Relation of it in the *Pyræum*, from a Servant of one of thoſe that had eſcap'd out of the Battle; he preſently left his Shop at Six and Sevens, and flying into the City, as faſt as his Heels could carry him,

For fear ſome other ſhould the Honour claim,
Of being Firſt, while he but Second came.

Now you may be ſure, that the firſt Spreader of this News caus'd a great *Hubbub* in the City, inſomuch that the People thronging together in the Market Place, made diligent enquiry for the firſt Divulger. Preſently the Barber was brought by Head and Shoulders to the Crowd and examin'd; but he could give no Account of his Author, only one that he never ſaw or knew in his Life before, had told him the News: which ſo incens'd the Multitude, that they immediately cry'd out, *To the Rack with the Traytor, tye the lying Raſcal Neck and Heels together, this is a meer Story of the Rogues own making. Who heard it? who gave any Credit to it beſides himſelf?* At the ſame Inſtant, the Cords were brought out, and the poor Barber was ty'd Neck and Heels together, not to his eaſe you may be ſure. And then it was, and not before, that the News of the Defeat was confirm'd by ſeveral that had made a hard ſhift to eſcape the Slaughter. Upon which the People ſcatter'd every one to his own Home, to make their private Lamentation for their particular Loſſes, leaving the unfortunate Barber Neck and Heels bound faſt together; in which condition, he continu'd till late in the Evening, before he was let looſe; nor would this reform the impertinent Fool, for no ſooner was he at Liberty, but he would needs be enquiring of the Executioner, what News, and what was reported of the Misfortune of Nicias the General's being ſlain. So inexpugnable and incorrigible a Vice is Loquacity, gotten by Cuſtom and ill Habit, that they cannot leave it off, though they were ſure to be hang'd. And yet we find that People have the ſame Antipathy againſt the Divulgers of bad Tydings, as they that drink bitter and diſtaſtful Potions, have againſt the Cups wherein they drank them. Elegant therefore is the Diſpute in *Sophocles*, between the *Meſſenger* and *Creon*.

Meſſenger.

By what I tell, and what you hear,
Do I offend your Heart or Ear?

Creon.

Why ſo inquiſitive to ſound
My Grief, and ſearch the painful Wound?

Meſſenger.

My News afflicts his Ears, I find;
But 'tis the Fact torments his Mind.

Thus they that bring us bad Tidings are as bad as they who are the Authors of our Miſery; and yet there is no reſtraining nor correcting the Tongue, that will run at random.

It happen'd that the Temple of *Minerva* in *Lacedæmon* call'd *Chalciœcus* (either becauſe it was built of Braſs, or built by the *Chalcidians*) was robb'd, and nothing but an earthen Pitcher left behind, which caus'd a great Concourſe of People, where, while every one ſpent his Verdict about the empty Pitcher, *Gentlemen*, ſays [illegible] *give me leave to tell ye my Opinion concerning this* [illegible] *Pitcher, or what d'ye call it.* [illegible]

Sacrilegious Villains, before they ventur'd upon ſo dangerous an Attempt, drank each of them a Draught of Hemlock Juice, and then brought Wine along with them in their Pitcher; to the end, that if it were their good hap to eſcape without being apprehended, they might ſoon diſſolve and extinguiſh the Strength and Vigor of the Venom by the Force of the Wine pure and neat; but if they ſhould be ſurpriz'd and taken in the Fact, that then they might dye without feeling any Pain under the Torture of the Rack. Having thus ſaid, the People obſerving ſo much Forecaſt and Contrivance in the Thing, would not be perſwaded that any Man could have ſuch ready thoughts upon a bare Conjecture, but that he muſt know it to be ſo. Thereupon immediately gathering about him, one ask'd him, *Who he was?* Another, *Who knew him?* A third, *How he came to be ſo much a Philoſopher?* And at length, they did ſo ſift and canvaſs, and ſearch him about, that the Fellow confeſs'd himſelf to be one of thoſe that committed the Sacriledge. And were not they who murther'd the Poet *Ibycus* diſcover'd after the ſame manner, as the ſate in the *Theatre?* For as they were ſitting there under the open Sky, to behold the publick Paſtimes, they obſerv'd a Flock of Cranes flying over their Heads; upon which they whiſper'd merrily one to another; *Look yonder are the Revengers of Ibycus's Death.* Which Words being overheard by ſome that ſate next them, in regard that *Ibycus* had been long miſſing, but could not be found, though diligent Search had been made after him, they preſently gave Information of what they had heard to the *Magiſtrates.* By whom being examin'd and convicted, they ſuffer'd condign Puniſhment, though not betray'd by the Cranes, but by the Incontinency of their own Tongues; as A-venging *Furies* hovering over their Heads, and conſtraining them to confeſs the Murther. For as in the Body, wounded and diſeaſed Members draw to themſelves the vicious Humours of the neighbouring Parts; in like manner the unruly Tongues of Babblers, infected as it were with Inflammations, where a ſort of feveriſh Pulſes continually lye beating, will be always drawing to themſelves ſomething of the ſecret and private Concerns of other Men. And therefore it ought to be environ'd with Reaſon as with a Rampart, perpetually lying before it, like a Mound, to ſtop the overflowing and ſlippery Exuberance of Impertinent Talk; that we may not ſeem to be more ſilly then Geeſe, which when they take their Flight out of Cilicia, over the Mountain *Taurus*, which abounds with Eagles, are reported to carry every one a good big Stone in their Bills, inſtead of a Bridle or Barricado to refrain their Gagling. By which means they croſs thoſe hideous Foreſts in the Night time undiſcover'd.

Now then if the Queſtion ſhould be ask'd, which were the worſt and moſt pernicious ſort of People? I do not believe there is any Man that would omit to name a Traytor. And yet by Treaſon it was that *Euthycrates* cover'd the uppermoſt Story of his Houſe with *Macedonian* Timber, according to the Report of *Demoſthenes*: That *Philocrates* having receiv'd a good Sum of *Money*, ſpent it all upon Whores and Fiſh, and liv'd ſo voluptuouſly as he did; and that *Euphorbus* and *Philagrus*, who betray'd *Eretria*, were ſo well rewarded with ample Poſſeſſions. But a Prater is a kind of Traytor that no Man needs to hire; for that he offers himſelf officiouſly, and of his own accord. He does not betray to the Enemy either Horſe or Walls; but whatever he knows of publick or private Concernment requiring the greateſt Secreſie, that he diſcloſes, whether it be in Courts of Judicature, in Conſultations, or Management of State Affairs; 'tis all one, [illegible] [illegible] ſo much as the Reward of being [illegible] [illegible] Pains; rather he will [illegible] him Audience. And therefore what was ſaid upon a certain Spendthrift, that raſhly, and without any Diſcretion, waſted his own Eſtate by his laviſh Prodigality to others;

Thou art not Liberal; 'tis a Diſeaſe
Of vainly giving, which does thee poſſeſs;
'Tis all to pleaſe thy ſelf, what thou doſt give,
And therefore they ne're thank thee that receive.

May be well retorted upon a common Prater.

Thou art no Friend, nor doſt to me impart,
For Friendſhips ſake, the Secrets of thy Heart;
But as thy Tongue has neither Bolt nor Lock,
'Tis thy Diſeaſe, that thou delight'ſt to talk.

Nor would I have the Reader think, that what has hitherto been ſaid, has been diſcours'd ſo much to blame and condemn, as to reform and cure that vicious and infectious Malady of Loquaciouſneſs and Incontinency of Speech. For though we ſurmount and vanquiſh the Vices of the Mind by Judgment and Exerciſe, yet muſt the Judgment precede. For no Man will accuſtom himſelf to avoid, and as it were to extirpate out of his Soul, thoſe Vices, unleſs he firſt abominate them. Nor can we ever deteſt thoſe evil Habits of the Mind as we ought to do; but when we rightly judge by Reaſon's Light of the Prejudice they do us, and the Ignominy we ſuſtain thereby. For Example, we conſider and find that theſe profuſe Bablers, deſirous of being belov'd, are univerſally hated; while they ſtudy to gratifie, they become troubleſome; while they ſeek to be admir'd, they are derided. If they aim at Profit, they looſe all their Labour; in ſhort, they injure their Friends, advantage their Enemies, and undo themſelves.

And therefore the firſt Remedy and Cure for this ſpreading Malady, will be this, to reckon up all the ſhameful Infamies and Diſaſters that attend it. The ſecond Remedy, is to take into ſerious Conſideration the Practice of what is quite oppoſite and contrary to it, by always hearing, remembring, and having ready at hand, the due Praiſes and Encomiums of Reſerv'dneſs and Taciturnity, together with the Majeſty, Sanctimony, and myſterious Profoundneſs of Silence. Let them conſider how much more belov'd, how much more admir'd, how far they are reputed to excel in Prudence, who deliver their Minds in few Words, roundly, home, and Sententious, and contract a great deal of Sence within a ſmall Compaſs of Speech, then ſuch as fly out into voluminous Language, and ſuffer their Tongues to run before their Wit. The former are thoſe whom *Plato* ſo much praiſes, and likens unto ſkilful Archers, darting forth their Sentences thick and cloſe, as it were criſp'd and curl'd one within another. To this ſame ſhrewdneſs of Expreſſion, *Lycurgus* accuſtom'd his Fellow Citizens from their Childhood, by the Exerciſe of Silence, contracting and thickning their Diſcourſe into a compendious Delivery. For as the *Celtiberians* make Steel of Iron, by burying it in the Ground, thereby to refine it from the groſs and earthy Part; ſo the *Laconick* way of Speech has nothing of Bark upon it; but by cutting off all ſuperfluity of Words, becomes ſteel'd and ſharpen'd to pierce the Underſtanding of the Hearer. So their Conciſeneſs of Language, ſo ready to turn the Edge to all manner of Queſtions, became natural by their Extraordinary Practiſe of Silence. And therefore it would be very expedient for Perſons ſo much given to talk, always to have before their Eyes the ſhort and pithy Sayings of thoſe People, were it only to let them ſee the Force and Gravity which they contain. For Example, The Lacedemonians to Philip; Dionyſius at

Corinth. And when *Philip* wrote thus to the *Spartans*, *If once I enter into your Territories, I will deſtroy ye all, never to riſe again.* They anſwer'd him with no more then, *If.* To King *Demetrius*, exclaiming in a great Rage, *What, have the* Spartans *ſent me but one Embaſſador*? The Embaſſador nothing terrify'd, *One to One*, ſaid he. Certainly they that ſpoke ſhort and conciſely, were much admir'd by the Ancients. Therefore the *Amphictyons* gave order, that neither *Homer's Iliads*, nor his *Odyſſes* ſhould be written over the Gates of *Pythian Apollo's Temple*; but, *Know thy ſelf, Nothing too much, Give good Security, Miſchief at hand.* So much did they admire Conciſeneſs of Speech, comprehending full Senſe in ſo much Brevity, made ſolid as it were by the Force of a Hammer. Does not the Deity himſelf ſtudy compendious Utterance in the Delivery of his Oracles? Is he not therefore call'd *Loxias*, becauſe he avoids rather Loquacity then Obſcurity? Are not they that ſignifie their Meaning by certain Signs, without Words, in great Admiration, and highly applauded. Thus *Heraclitus* being deſir'd by his Fellow Citizens, to give them his Opinion concerning *Concord*, aſcended the publick Pulpit, and taking a Cup of cold Water in his Hand, firſt ſprinkl'd it with a little Flower, then ſtirring it with a Sprig of *Pennyroyal*, drank it off, and ſo came down again. Intimating thereby, that if Men would but be contented with what was next at hand, without longing after Dainties and Superfluities, it would be an eaſie thing for Cities to live in Peace and Concord one with another.

Scilurus, King of the *Scythians*, left fourſcore Sons behind him; who when he found the Hour of Death approaching, ordered them to bring him a Bundle of ſmall Javelins, and then commanded every one ſingly to try whether they could break the Bundle as it was ty'd up together, which when they told him was impoſſible for them to do, he drew out the Javelins one by one, and break them all himſelf with eaſe. Thereby declaring, that ſo long as they kept together united and in Concord, their Force would be invincible; but that by Diſ-union and Diſcord, they would enfeeble each other and render their Dominions of ſmall Conſequence. He then that by often Repetition and Reflexion ſhall enure himſelf to ſuch Preſidents as theſe, may in time perhaps be more delighted with theſe ſhort and concluſive Apothegms, than with the Exorbitances of looſe and laviſh Diſcourſe. For my own part, I muſt acknowledge that I am not a little aſham'd of my ſelf, when I call to mind that ſame Domeſtick Servant, of whom I am now going to ſpeak, and conſider how great a thing it is to adviſe before a Man ſpeaks, and then to be able to maintain and ſtick to what he has reſolv'd upon.

Publius Piſo the *Rhetorician*, being unwilling to be diſturb'd with much Talk, gave order to his Servants to anſwer to ſuch Queſtions only as he ſhould ask them, and ſay no more. Then having a Deſign to give an Entertainment to *Clodius*, at that time the Chief Magiſtrate, he order'd him to be invited, and provided a ſplendid Banquet for him, as in all probability he could do no leſs. At the time appointed, ſeveral other Gueſts appear'd, only they waited for *Clodius*'s coming, who tarry'd much longer then was expected; ſo that *Piſo* ſent his Servant ſeveral times to him, to know whether he would be pleas'd to come to Supper, or no. Now in regard it grew late, and that *Piſo* deſpair'd of his coming; *What*, ſaid he to his Servant, *did you call him? Yes*, reply'd the Servant. *Why then does he not come away?* —— *Because he told me he would not come* —— *Why did you not tell me ſo before?* —— *Becauſe, Sir, you never ask'd me the Queſtion.* This was a *Roman* Servant; But you ſhall have an *Athenian* Servant, that while he is digging and delving, will give his *Maſter* an Account of the [illegible] and Capitulations in a Treaty of Peace. So ſtrangely does Cuſtom prevail in all things; of which, let us now diſcourſe; for there is no Curb or Bridle that can tame or reſtrain a Libertine Tongue; only Cuſtom muſt vanquiſh that Diſeaſe.

First therefore, when there are many Queſtions propounded in the Company where thou art, accuſtom thy ſelf to Silence, till all the reſt have refus'd to give an Anſwer. For as *Sophocles* obſerves,

Although in Racing Swiftneſs is requir'd,
To give Advice, there's no ſuch haſt deſir'd.

No more does Voice and Anſwer aim at the ſame Mark. For it is the Buſineſs of a Racer to get the Start of him that contends with him. But if another Man give a ſufficient Anſwer, there needs no more then by commending and approving what he ſays, to gain the Reputation of a Candid Perſon. If not, then to tell wherein the other fail'd, and to ſupply the Defect, will neither be unſeaſonable, nor a thing that can juſtly merit Diſtaſte. But above all things, let us take ſpecial heed, when another is ask'd a Queſtion, that we do not chop in to prevent his returning an Anſwer. And perhaps it is as little commendable, when a Queſtion is ask'd of another, to put him by, and undertake the Solution of what is demanded our ſelves. For thereby we ſeem to intimate, that the Perſon to whom the Queſtion was put, was not able to reſolve it, and that the Propounder had not Diſcretion ſufficient to know of whom to ask it. Beſides that ſuch a Malapert Forwardneſs in anſwering, is not only indecent, but injurious and affrontive. For he that prevents the Perſon to whom the Queſtion is put, in returning his Anſwer, would in effect inſinuate a *What need had you to ask of him? What can he ſay to it? When I am in preſence, no other* *ought to be ask'd theſe Queſtions but my ſelf.* And many times we put the Queſtion to ſome People, not for want of an Anſwer, but only to miniſter occaſion of Diſcourſe, to provoke them to Familiarity, and to have the Pleaſure of their Wit and Converſation; as *Socrates* was wont to challenge *Theætetus* and *Charmides*. Therefore, to prevent another in returning his Anſwers, to abſtract his Ears, and draw off his Cogitations from another to himſelf, is the ſame thing as to run, and ſalute a Man who deſigns to be ſaluted by ſome body elſe; or to divert his Eyes upon our ſelves, which were already fix'd upon another. Conſidering that if he, to whom the Queſtion is put, refuſe to return an Anſwer, it is but decent for a Man to contain himſelf, and by an Anſwer accommodated to the Will of the Propounder, modeſtly and reſpectfully to put in, as if it had been at the Requeſt, or in the Behalf of the other. For they that are ask'd a Queſtion, if they fail in their Anſwer, are juſtly to be pardon'd; but he that voluntarily preſumes to anſwer for another, gives diſtaſte, let his Anſwer be never ſo rational; but if he miſtake, he is derided by all the Company.

The ſecond point of Exerciſe, in reference to our own Anſwering of Queſtions, wherein a Man that is given to talk, ought to be extreamly careful, is firſt of all, not to be over-haſty in his Anſwers to ſuch as provoke him to talk, on purpoſe to make themſelves merry, and put an Affront upon him. For ſome there are, who not out of any Deſire to be ſatisfy'd, but merely to paſs away the time, ſtudy certain Queſtions, and then propound them to Perſons which they know love to multiply Words, on purpoſe to make themſelves ſport. Such Men therefore ought to take heed how they run headlong, and leap into Diſcourſe, as if they were glad of the Occaſion; but to conſider the [illegible] of the Propounder, and the benefit and uſefulneſs of the [illegible] on. When we find that the Propounder is really deſirous to be inform'd, it is convenient then for a Man to bethink himſelf a while, and make ſome Pauſe between the Queſtion and the Anſwer, to the end the Propoſer, if he pleaſes to make any Additions to his Propoſal, may have time to do it, and himſelf a convenient ſpace to conſider what Anſwer to make, for fear of running at random, and ſtifling the Queſtion before it be fully propounded; or of giving one Anſwer for another, for want of conſideration what he ought to ſay, which is the Effect of an over-haſty Zeal to be talking. True it is indeed, that the *Pythian* Prieſteſs was wont to give her Oracular Anſwers at the very Inſtant, and ſometimes before the Queſtion was propounded. For that the Deity, whom ſhe ſerves,

Both underſtands the Mute that cannot ſpeak,
And hears the Silent, e're his Mind he break.

But it behoves a Man that would return a pertinent Anſwer, to ſtay till he rightly apprehended the Senſe, and underſtands the Intent of him that propounds the Queſtion; leaſt he may happen to make good the Proverb.

A Rake we call'd for, they half Mad
Tell us a Story of a Spade.

There is alſo another way to ſubdue this inordinate and inſatiate Greedineſs of having all the Talk, that it may not ſeem as if we had ſome old Flux of Humors impoſtumated about the Tongue, which we were willing to have lanc'd and let out by a Queſtion, giving occaſion of laviſh Diſcourſe. *Socrates* therefore, though ſubject to Thirſt after violent Exerciſe, never would allow himſelf the Liberty to drink, till he had empty'd his Bucket of Water, by pouring it out by degrees, to the end he might accuſtom his ſinful Appetite to attend Reaſon's Appointment.

Now therefore we come to underſtand that there are three ſorts of Anſwers to Queſtions; the one, which is neceſſary, the Second, out of Civility, and the Third ſuperfluous. For Example, if a Man ſhould aſk, whether Socrates is within? The other, if he were in an ill Humor, or not diſpos'd to make many Words, would anſwer, *Not within*: Or if he intended to be more *Laconick*, he would cut off, *Within*, and reply briefly, *No*. Thus the *Lacedæmonians*, when *Philip* ſent them an Epiſtle, to know, whether or no they would admit him into their City, vouchſaf'd him no other Anſwer, than only 'OY' or NO, fairly written in Capital Letters upon a large Sheet of Paper. Another, that would anſwer more courteouſly, would ſay, *He is not within*; *he is gone among the Bankers*; and perhaps he would add, *where he expects ſome Friends of his out of Ionia*. But a ſuperfluous Prater, and one that abounds in Words, would reply, *He is not within, but is gone among the Bankers, in expectation to meet certain Ionian Friends, who are recommended to him in a Letter from Alcibiades, who lives at* Miletum *with* Tiſſaphernes, *the Great King of* Perſia's *Lieutenant General, who formerly aſſiſted the* Lacedæmonians; *but by the Solicitation of* Alcibiades, *is in League with the* Athenians; *for Alcibiades being deſirous to return to his own Country, has prevail'd with* Tiſſaphernes *to change his Mind, and join with his Fellow Citizens*. And thus perhaps you ſhall hear him run on, and repeat the whole eighth Book of *Thucydides*, and overwhelm a Man with his Impertinencies, till he has taken *Miletum*, and baniſh'd *Alcibiades* a ſecond Time. Here is therefore ought chiefly to reſtrain the Profuſeneſs of his Language, as it were, following the Footſteps of the Queſtion, and circumſcribing the Anſwer, as it were within a Compaſs and Diſtance proportionable to the Benefit which the Propounder propoſes to make of his Queſtion. 'Tis reported of *Carneades*, that before he was well known in the World, while he was diſputing in the *Gymnaſium*, the Preſident of the Place, ſent him an Admonition to moderate his Voice (for he naturally ſpoke very deep and loud) in Anſwer to which, when he deſir'd the Preſident to ſend him a Gage for his Voice, the Preſident not unproperly made Anſwer, *Let that be the Perſon who diſputes with thee.* In like manner, the intent of the Propounder ought to be the Rule and Meaſure of the Propounder. Moreover, as *Socrates* was wont to ſay, That thoſe Meats were chiefly to be abſtain'd from, which allur'd Men to Eat when they were not a-hungry, and thoſe Drinks to be refrain'd, that invited Men to drink when they were not a-dry; ſo it would behove a Man that is laviſh of his Tongue, to be afraid of thoſe Diſcourſes and Themes wherein he moſt delights, and makes it his Buſineſs to be moſt prolix; and whenever he perceives them flowing in upon him, to reſiſt them to the utmoſt of his Power. For Example, your Martial Men are always talking of Sieges and Battels, and the Poet often introduces * *Neſtor*, boaſting often of his own Atchievements and Feats of Arms. And the ſame diſeaſe is incident to noted Pleaders at the Barr, and accompanies ſuch as have unexpectedly riſen to be the Favorites of Great Princes. For ſuch will be always up with their Stories, how they were introduc'd at firſt; how they aſcended by degrees; how they got the better in ſuch a Caſe; what Arguments they us'd in ſuch a Caſe; and laſtly, how they were humm'd up and applauded in Court. For to ſay Truth, Gladneſs and Joy are much more Loquacious than that ſame *Agrippina*, ſo often feign'd in their Comedies

* Hector, *as ſome read it.*

dies; rouſing up, and ſtill refreſhing it ſelf with new Relations, and therefore they are prone to fall into ſuch Stories upon the leaſt Occaſion given. For not only,

Where the Member moſt is pain'd,
There the Patient lays his Hand.

But Pleaſure alſo has a Voice within it ſelf, and leads the Tongue about, to be a ſupport to their Memories: Like Lovers, that ſpend the greateſt Part of their Time in Songs and Sonnets, that refreſh their Memories with the Repreſentations of their Miſtreſſes. Concerning which Amours of theirs, when Companions are wanting, they frequently diſcourſe with Things that are void of Life.

Oh deareſt Bed, whereon we wont to reſt,
And undiſturb'd the Height of Pleaſure Taſt.

And again,

O bleſſed Lamp, for ſurely thee
Bacchis *believes ſome Deity.*

And again,

Surely the greateſt of the Gods thou art,
Or elſe the She that does poſſeſs my Heart.

And indeed it may well be ſaid, that a looſe Tongu'd Fellow is no more, in reſpect of his Diſcourſe, than a white Line ſtruck with Chalk upon a Piece of Timber. For in regard there are ſeveral Subjects of Diſcourſe, and that many Men are more ſubject to ſome than others; it behoves every one to take care of theſe generally, and to ſuppreſs them in ſuch a manner, the Delight which they take therein, may not draw them into their unlawful Prolixity and Profusion of Words beyond the right Line. The same Inclination to overshoot themſelves in Prating, appears in ſuch as are prone to thoſe kind of Diſcourſes wherein they ſuppoſe themſelves to excel others, either in Habit or Experience. For ſuch a one being as well a Lover of himſelf, as ambitious of *Glory*;

The chiefeſt Part of all the Day doth ſpend,
[illegible] others to tranſcend.

For Example, he that reads much, endeavours to excell in Hiſtory; the Grammarian, in the Artificial touching of Words; the Traveller is full of his Geography. But all theſe Surpluſages are to be avoided with great Caution, leſt Men, intoxicated therewith, grow fond of their old Infirmities, and return to their former Freaks, like Beaſts that cannot be driven from their Haunts. *Cyrus* therefore, yet a young Stripling, was moſt worthy of Admiration, who would never challenge his Equals and Play-fellows to any Exerciſe wherein he excell'd, but wherein he knew himſelf to be inferior; unwilling that the firſt ſhould fret for the Loſs of the Prize, which he was ſure to win, and loath to looſe what he could gain from the others better Skill.

On the other ſide, the *Profuſe* Talker is of ſuch a Diſpoſition, that if any Diſcourſe happen, from which he might be able to learn ſomething, and inform his Ignorance, that he refuſes and rejects. Nor can you hire him to hold his Tongue; ſo that [illegible] rolling and reſtleſs Fancy [illegible] ſome few [illegible] and all to [illegible] to ſupply his Vanity, ere he ſtops, as if he were Maſter of all the Knowledge in the World. Juſt like one amongſt us, who having read two or three of *Ephorus*'s Books, tir'd all Mens Ears with his Talk, and ſpoil'd and brake up all the Feaſts and Societies where e're he came, with his continual Relations of the Battle of *Leuctra*, and the Conſequences of it; by which means he got himſelf a Nickname, while every one call'd him *Epaminondas*. But this is one of the leaſt Inconveniences of this Infirmity; and indeed we ought to make it one Step toward the Cure, to turn this violent Vein of Twatling upon ſuch Subjects as thoſe. For ſuch a Loquacity is leſs a Nuiſance when it ſuperabounds in only what belongs to Human Literature.

It would be neceſſary alſo that the ſame ſort of People who are addicted to this Vice, ſhould accuſtom themſelves to write upon ſome Subject or other, and to diſpute of certain Queſtions apart. For *Antipater* the *Stoick*, as we may probably conjecture, either not being able, or elſe unwilling to come in Diſpute with *Carneades*, vehemently inveighing againſt the *Stoicks*, declin'd to meet him fairly in the Schools, yet would be always writing Anſwers againſt him; and becauſe he fill'd whole Volumes full of Contradictory Arguments, and ſtill oppos'd him with Aſſertions that only made a Noiſe, he was call'd *Calamoboas*, as one that made a great Clamour with his Pen to no Purpoſe. So 'tis very probable that ſuch *fighting* with their own Shadows, and exclaiming one againſt another apart by themſelves, keeping and withdrawing them from the Multitude, would render them more tractable and ſociable in Civil Company. Like ſnarling Curs, which after they have once diſcharg'd their

Fury upon Sticks and Stones, become leſs froward Men. It would be always of great Importance to them to converſe with their Superiors and Elders; for that the awful Reverence and Reſpect which they bore to their Dignity and Gravity might accuſtom them in time to ſilence. And it would be evermore expedient for them to intermix and involve with thoſe Rules and Exerciſes I have already ſet down, this manner of Ratiocination with themſelves, before they ſpeak, and at the ſame time that the Words are juſt ready to break out of their Mouths; *What is this which I would ſay, that preſſes ſo hard to be gone? for what reaſon would this Tongue of mine ſo fain be walking? What good ſhall I get by Speaking? What Miſchief ſhall I incur by holding my Peace?* For we are not to eaſe and diſcharge our ſelves of our Words, as if they were a heavy Burthen that overloaded us; for Speech remains as well when utter'd, as before; but Men either ſpeak in behalf of themſelves, when ſome Neceſſity compels them, or for the Benefit of thoſe that hear them, or elſe to recreate one another with the Delights of Converſe, on purpoſe to mitigate and render more ſavory, as with Salt, the Toyls of our daily Employments. But if there be nothing profitable in Speaking, nothing neceſſary to them that hear what is ſaid, nothing of Satisfaction or Delight, by being thereby rendered acceptable to all Societies: What need is there it ſhould be ſpoken? For Words may be in vain, and to no purpoſe, as well as Deeds. But after, and above all that has been ſaid, we ought always to bear in Remembrance, and always to have ready at our Tongues end, that Saying of *Simonides*, *That he who is given to Talk, has many times an occaſion to repent him of his Words, but never*

he

he that can hold his Tongue. Then as for Taciturnity, we muſt believe it to be a matter of great Importance, as being that which overcomes and maſters all things; conſidering what Toil and Labour Men will undergo to get rid of an old Cough or Hickup, the Effects of Superfluity and Laſineſs, and that Silence and Taciturnity are not only never afflicted with Thirſt, as *Hippocrates* obſerves, but altogether free from Pain and Sorrow.

Plutarch's Morals.

Vol. IV.

Of Love.

Translated from the Greek *by* J. Phillips, *Gent.*

Flavianus.

WAS it not in *Helicon*, Dear *Autobulus*, that those Discourses were held concerning Love, which whether thou hast already set them down in Writing, or still carry'st it in thy Memory, as having often desired them from thy Father, are now in expectation that thou wilt recite to us at our importunate Request?

Autobulus.

It was in *Helicon*, Dear *Flavianus* among the *Muses*, at what time the *Thespians* perform'd the *Erotic* Solemnities ([illegible] in Honour of the *Muses*) so with the same Devotion they celebrate every five Years certain Games and Festivals very Magnificent and Splendid in Honour of *Cupid*.

Flavianus.

Knowst thou then, what it is we all desire at thy hands, [illegible]

[illegible]?

Autobulus.

No but I shall surely know, when one of you is form'd.

Flavianus.

Cease, we beseech ye, your Discourse at present forbearing the Descriptions of Meadows and Shades [illegible] with the crawling Ivy, and Windings of the purling Rivulets, and whatever else being customary in describing such kind of Places make *Plato's Ilissus* delectable; such as the Chastity-preserving Tree, with the pleasing verdure of Herbs and Flowers covering the rising Hillocks, described with more Curiosity then Elegancy.

Autobulus.

What needed my Relation, dearest *Flavianus*, such a Proem as this? The occasion that gave birth to these Discourses requires only a numerous Auditory and a Theatre; otherwise there is nothing wanting of a Tragedy. Therefore let us first beseech the Mother of the Muses to be propitious and assist us in the discovery of this Fable. For my Father, born a long time since, before I was born, having newly espous'd my Mother, by reason of an unlucky variance that fell out between their Parents, took a journey to *Thespiæ*, with an intention to Sacrifice to the God of Love, and carry'd my Mother also to the Feast (for that it properly belong'd to her as well to make the Feast, as to perform the Sacrifice) besides several of his familiar Acquaintance that accompany'd him from his House.

Now being arriv'd at *Thespiæ*, he met with *Daphnæus* the Son of *Archidamus*, and *Lysandra* in Love with the Daughter of *Simo*, above all her Suitors, being the most welcome and acceptable to her. There he also found *Soclarus*, the Son of *Aristion*, who was come from [illegible] together with *Protogenes* of [illegible], and [illegible] the *Lacedæmonian*, by whom he had been several times kindly [illegible]

Gentleman, with whom my Father was intimately acquainted. Thus they ſtay'd for two or three days in the City entertaining each other with learned diſcourſes, one while in the Common wreſtling Places, ſometimes in the Theaters, ſtill keeping company together. After that, avoiding the Troubleſome Conteſts of the Harpers and Muſicians, it being found out that all would be carry'd by anticipation of Parties, the greateſt part broke Company, and as if they had been diſcamping out of an Enemies Country, retir'd to *Helicon* and took up their Lodgings among the Muſes. Whether the next morning came to them *Anthemion* and *Piſias*, Perſons of eminent Nobility; and both ally'd to *Bacchon*, Sirnamed the *Fair*, and both I know not how at ſome difference one with another, by reaſon of the Affection which they ſeverally bore to him. For there was at *Theſpiæ Iſmenodora* of an illuſtrious family and wealthy withal, and indeed in all other reſpects diſcreet and modeſt; and moreover ſhe had continu'd a Widow without ſpot or ſtain to her Reputation, though both young and beautiful.

Now it happen'd that while this Brisk Widow was endeavouring to make up a Match between *Bacchon* the Son of a Neighbouring Lady her intimate Friend, and a certain juſt blooming Virgin nearly ally'd to her ſelf, by often talking with the Young Gentleman and much frequenting his Company, ſhe began to feel ſome ſparks of kindneſs kindled for him in her own Breaſt. Afterwards hearing him highly commended by others, and ſpeaking many things in his praiſe her ſelf, and finding him belov'd by a great number of Perſons of the beſt Rank, by degrees ſhe fell deſperately in love with the Youth; nevertheleſs with a reſolution to do nothing diſbecoming her Birth and Quality, but after publick Wedding to acknowledge him her Husband. But the Match ſeemed impracticable, by reaſon of the [illegible] ſtance of their years, ſo the Mother of the Young Man ſuſpected the Nobility and Grandeur of her Houſe not to be correſpondent to her Son's condition, which rendred him uncapable of ſuch a preferment. Moreover his Companions that were wont to go a hunting with him, weighing the difference between his and the Age of *Iſmenodora*, filled his head with ſeveral ſcruples, asking him why he did not Marry his Mother, if he wanted an Old woman; and bidding him conſider how much it would coſt him after a little time in new Sets of Teeth; and thus fearing him with continual Frumps and Scoffs, more effectually hinder'd the Match, then they who labour'd induſtriouſly and ſeriouſly to prevent it. But at laſt, the Young Man, ſhaking off all others, applys himſelf to *Piſias* and *Anthemion* for their advice in a Matter of ſo great concernment. The Elder of theſe two, *Ariſton*, was his Uncle; and *Piſias* the moſt auſtere of all his Lovers. The latter therefore withſtood the Match with all his Might, and upbraided *Anthemion* as one that went about to betray the Young Man to *Iſmenodora*. On the other ſide *Anthemion* told *Piſias*, that he did not well to do as he did, having the Reputation of a worthy honeſt Man, to imitate thoſe lewd Lovers, that endeavour'd to deprive their Friend of a Noble Houſe, a Rich Wife, and other correſponding conveniences, that he might have the Pleaſure to ſee him frequently naked in the Wreſtling Places, freſh and ſmooth, and a ſtranger to Female Sports. However to prevent the growing of any quarrel between them through long and Paſſionate diſputes, they choſe for Umpires of the Controverſie my Father and thoſe Friends that were with him; and beſides them, as if they had been choſen on purpoſe, *Daphnæus* pleaded for *Piſias*, and for *Anthemion*, *Protogenes*; who bitterly inveigh'd againſt *Iſmenodora*. O *Hercules*, cry'd *Daphnæus*, what may we not expect, when *Protogenes* [illegible] [illegible] to deny

Love? He that all along has ſpent as well the [illegible] ſportive hours of his Life both in *Love* and for *Love* without regard either to Learning or his Country, [illegible] like to *Laius*, who was but five days journey diſtant from it; for his was a ſlow ſort of Love upon the dry Land; whereas your *Cupid*, *Protogenes*

With nimble Wings diſplay'd.

Croſs'd the Seas from *Cilicia* to *Athens*, merely to viſit and ſtraggle up and down with Lovely Boys. And indeed, ſuch at firſt was the true cauſe of *Protogenes's* Peregrination. At which the Company falling into a loud Laughter, how! ſaid *Protogenes*, can you believe that I at this time wage War againſt Love, and that I do not rather fight for Love againſt intemperate Deſire and laſcivious Wantonneſs, which under the ſhelter of the moſt honeſt and faireſt Names that are, let themſelves looſe into the moſt ſhameful Acts of inordinate Luſt and Concupiſcence. Then *Daphnæus*, do ye number Wedlock, ſaid he, and the Conjunction of Man and Wife (then which there is no Tye more ſacred in the World) among the vile and diſhoneſt Actions of the World? Why truly reply'd *Protogenes*, this firm Bond of Wedlock, as being neceſſary for Generation, is not undeſervedly perhaps extoll'd by our grave Politicians and Lawgivers, and by them recommended to the Multitude. But I muſt tell ye, if you mean true Love, there is not a Farthings worth of it to be found among Women. Nor do I believe, that either you your ſelves or any other that dote ſo much as you pretend to do, upon Women and Virgins, love them any otherwiſe, then as Flys love Milk, or Bees love Honey-combs, only as Cooks and Butchers Fat up Calves and Poultry in the Dark, not out of any extraordinary affection which they bear thoſe Creatures, but for their [illegible] gain which; they make of them. [illegible] Nature prompts all Men to the use of [illegible] Meat with Moderation, and for [illegible] the Appetite. The exceſs of which becomes a Vice, under the name of Gluttony or [illegible]. Thus it is natural for Men and Women to deſire the Pleaſures of mutual enjoyment; but as for that impetuous Concupiſcence that hurries the greateſt part of Mankind with ſo much ſtrength and violence, it is not properly call'd Love. For Love, that is [illegible] in a Young and [illegible] Generous Heart, by means of Friendſhip [illegible] Virtue. Whereas all our Deſires toward Women [illegible] them be taken in the beſt ſenſe [illegible] ſerve us only to reap the fruit of Pleaſure, and [illegible] Fruition of Youth and Beauty, which [illegible] ſay'd, we love no longer. [illegible] that would have put him out of [illegible] though he ſaid, ſhe did not truly love him [illegible] be, am I beloved by pure [illegible] yet I willingly make uſe of both. For the end of [illegible] ſire is Pleaſure and Enjoyment. But Love [illegible] loſt the hopes of Friendſhip, will [illegible] cheriſh, for Beauty ſake, that which is [illegible] never ſo gaudy in the flower of Youth, if [illegible] forth the Fruit of a Diſpoſition propenſe to [illegible] and Virtue. And therefore it is that [illegible] Husband, in a Tragedy thus talking to his Wife.

Thou hadſt ne'er [illegible] had I thy [illegible]
Well [illegible] of the [illegible]
So long as [illegible]

Though I take him to be [illegible] of the [illegible] Pleaſure, the [illegible] [illegible]

Cuckold, when his Wife's loſt he are well pay'd for it. The fury of which Love Marcus Philippus the Comick has thus deſcrib'd in the Perſon of [illegible] the Rhamnuſian:

She pants and groans and turns her Tail
With fury ſo unfeign'd,
The Wittol bleſt would think himſelf
To keep her Coſt [illegible].

Now if this be the Paſſion you talk of which is to be call'd *Love*, it is a ſpurious and effeminate Love, that ſends us to the Womens Chambers, as it were to the *Cynoſarges* at *Athens*. Or rather, as they ſay, there is a ſort of Generous and true bred Mountain Eagle, which *Homer* calls the black Eagle and Eagle of Prey; and then again there is another ſort of Baſtard Eagle, that takes Fiſh and Birds that are Lazy and ſlow of Flight; and wanting Food, makes a ſhrill and mournful noiſe for Hunger: Thus the true Genuine Love is that of Children, not flaming with Concupiſcence, as according to *Anacreon* the Love of Maids and Virgins does, neither beſmear'd with odoriferous Oyntments, nor alluring with Smiles and rowling Glances; but you ſhall find him plain and ſimple and undebauch'd with pleaſures, in the Schools of the Philoſophers, or in the Wreſtling Liſts, and Places of Publick Exerciſe, ſmart and generous in the Chaſe of Youth, and exhorting to Vertue all that he finds to be fit objects of his Diligence. Whereas that other Love, Nice and Effeminate, and always neſtling in the Boſoms and Beds of Women, purſuing ſoft pleaſures, and waſted with unmanly Delights, that have no guſt of friendſhip or heav'nly raviſhment of Mind, ſuch a Love is to be deſpis'd and rejected of all Mankind; as *Solon* baniſh'd it out of his Commonwealth, when he forbid Slaves and Servants the uſe of [illegible], but permitted them the liberty to accompany with Females.

men. As looking upon Friendship to be laudable and civil, but Pleaſure to be a vulgar thing, and unbecoming a Man born free. Whence it appears that for a Servant to make Love to a Boy, is not allowable but only to a Citizen or a Freeman: for this is no [illegible] Love of Copulation, like the affection toward Women.

Now while *Protogenes* was deſirous to have ſaid more, *Daphnæus* interrupting him: Truly, ſaid he, you have done well to put us in mind of *Solon*, as if we were to make uſe of him to be the judge of a Perſon addicted to Love, that is to ſay, of a real Lover. Hear what he ſays.

Then dote upon the flowry Youth of Boys,
Their fragrant breath admiring and ſoft Thighs.

Add to this of *Solon* that other of *Æſchylus*,

Ungrateful for the Kiſſes of my Lips,
Not to revere the Glory of my Hips.

These are proper judges of Love, but others there are who deride all thoſe that would have Lovers inſpect their Thighs and Haunches, like ſo many Sacrificers or *Bowel Obſervers*. And for my Part I draw from hence a very ſtrong Argument on the behalf of the women. For if *Male-*Converſe, which is altogether againſt Nature, neither extinguiſhes nor is any way noxious to Amorous Affection, much more probable is it, that the Love of Women which is according to Nature, ſhould lead to the conſummation of Friendſhip, by means of that Obſequious Beauty which attends it. For I muſt tell you, *Protogenes*, the ſubmiſſion of the Female to the Male was by the *Antients* expreſsly [illegible]

Cuckolds, when the Wife's bed is more well pay'd for it. The first of which Love-Martyrs *Philippides* the Comedian as thus derided in the Person of *Stratocles* the Rhetorician.

She scarce that granted unto him her Tail
With fury so inclin'd,
The Wittal blest would think himself
To kiss her Coyf behind.

Now if this be the Passion you talk of which is to be call'd *Love*, it is a spurious and effeminate Love, that sends us to the Womens Chambers, as it were to the *Cynosarges* at *Athens*. Or rather, as they say, there is a sort of Generous and true bred Mountain Eagle, which *Homer* calls the black Eagle and Eagle of Prey; and then again there is another sort of Bastard Eagle, that takes Fish and Birds that are Lazy and slow of Flight; and wanting Food, makes a shrill and mournful noise for Hunger. Thus the true Genuine Love is that of Children, not flaming with Concupiscence, as according to *Anacreon* the Love of Maids and Virgins does, neither besmear'd with odoriferous Oyntments, nor alluring with Smiles and ravishing Glances; but you shall find him plain and unsophisticated, undebauch'd with pleasures, in the Schools of the Philosophers, or in the Wrestling Lists, and Places of Publick exercise, smart and generous in the Chase of Youth, and exhorting to Vertue all that he finds to be fit objects of his Diligence. Whereas that other Love, Nice and Effeminate, and always nestling in the Bosoms and Beds of Women, pursuing soft pleasures, and wasted with unmanly Delights, that have no good of friendship or heav'nly ravishment of Mind, such a Love is to be despis'd and rejected of all Mankind; as *Solon* banish'd it out of his Commonwealth, when he forbid Slaves and Servants the use of manly Exercises, but permitted them the liberty of accompanying with [illegible] [illegible] man. As looking upon Friendſhip to be laudable and civil, but Pleaſure to be a vulgar thing, and unbecoming a Man born free. Whence it appears that for a Servant to make Love to a Boy, is not allowable but only to a Citizen or a Freeman: for this is no [illegible] Love of Copulation, like the affection toward Women.

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Theſe are proper judges of Love, but others there are who deride all thoſe that would have Lovers inſpect their Thighs and Hanches, like ſo many Sacrificers or *Bowel Obſervers*. And for my Part I draw from hence a very ſtrong Argument on the behalf of the women. For if *Male-Converſe*, which is altogether againſt Nature, neither extinguiſhes nor is any way noxious to Amorous Affection; much more probable is it, that the Love of Women which is according to Nature, ſhould reach to the *conſummation* of Friendſhip, by virtue of that Obſequious Beauty which attends it. For I muſt tell ye, *Protogenes*, the ſubmiſſion of the Female to the Male was by the *Ancients* expreſs'd by [illegible] *ſure and ſupple with a young Virgin not yet ripe for Matrimony,*

Before Obedience 'tis that Women yield,
Pledge their Worth; but thy Youth, ſweet Child,
Is yet too raw to be ſo deeply skill'd.

And certain a Perſon puts the Queſtion to *Hercules,*

Did you by Force conſtrain, but ill obey'd,
Or by Perſwaſion win the willing Maid?

But the Submiſſion of Males to Males, if it be by Compulſion of Strength, is call'd a violent and forcible Rape; but if it be voluntary; for one Man to cover another, like Bulls and Horſes, and to counterfeit the Act of Generation, in defiance of Nature, ſuch a one is void of all Allurement, bruitiſh, and contrary to the end of Venereal Pleaſure. Wherefore I am apt to believe that *Solon* wrote thoſe Lines when he was young, briſk, and full of Seed, as *Plato* phraſes it; But when he was grown into Years, he ſung another Note;

The Sports of Venus, *now, are my Delight,*
Or elſe with Bacchus *to carouſe;*
At other times the Muſes Charms invite;
Theſe are the choiceſt Pleaſures Mankind knows.

As if he had alter'd his Courſe of Life, and ſail'd from the Storms and Tempeſts of *Pederaſtick* Fury, into the Calms of Wedlock and Philoſophy. Now then, *Protogenes,* let us but conſider the truth of the Matter, we ſhall find the Paſſion of Lovers to be the ſame, whether it be for Boys or for Women; or if out of a contentious Humour, you will diſtinguiſh them, you shall find that this Affection for Boys [illegible] it self within Bounds; for like a [illegible] clandestinely brought forth in the Dark, and out of [illegible], strives to expel the truly Genuine and Legitimate Love, which is much the more ancient. For sure we have to tell ye, my dear Friend, it was but as it were of yesterday's standing, or the day before, since young Boys began to strip and shew themselves naked in the Publick Places of Exercise, that this Frenzy arose by degrees, and creeping in there, afterwards by little and little, being better fledg'd, and gathering strength of Wings in the Wrestling-Rings, the Influence of it could never since be so restrained, but that still it will be affronting and adulterating that same Natural and Conjugal Love which is the Condition of Nature and helps to immortalize mortal Mankind, which being extinguish'd by Death, it raises up, and immediately restores again by Generation. But this same *Pæderast* denies there is any Pleasure in Male Concupiscence, for he is asham'd and afraid to acknowledge it. Therefore there must be some decent Pretence for the feeling and handling these adult and lovely Youths. And truly he has found out a very clever Excuse, alledging it to be for the Sake of Friendship and Vertue. Therefore he rowls himself in the Dust, washes with cold Water, erects his Brows, and outwardly pretends to Philosophy and Chastity, for fear of the Law; but when Darkness covers the Earth, and that all People have betaken themselves to their Rest,

Fearless he flies to his belov'd delight,
And secretly tasts th' unnatural Joys all Night.

Now if it is true, as [illegible] says, that no Carnal Conjunction attended such Masculine Familiarities, how comes it to be Love, when Hope is absent? among [illegible] all [illegible]?

all the Goddesses, she it is that *Cupid* is bound to wait attend, and that he has no Honour or Power, but what she confers upon him? But if there be a sort of Love without Love, as a Man may be drunk without Wine, by drinking the Decoctions of Figs or Barley, the Disturbance of such a *Love* must prove fruitless and to no end, and consequently loathsome and offensive.

These things thus said, it was apparent that *Pisias* found himself touch'd to the Quick, and was much concern'd for what *Daphnæus* had spoken. But after he had been silent a while, O Hercules, said he, *what a strange Impudence and Levity is this in Men, to acknowledge themselves tied to Women by their generating Parts, like Dogs to Bitches; by this means expelling and banishing Love from the Places of Exercise, from the publick Portico's, and from conversing under the open Sky and Sun-shine, to the Stews, Poniards, Philters, and Sorceries of Lascivious Women; for it is not convenient for the Chaste, either to love, or to be belov'd.* At which Words, as my Father told me, he took *Protogenes* by the Hand, and repeated to him these Verses:

Words, such as these, the Spartan *Courage warm;*
And the affronted Youth proudly to arm.

For surely the Exorbitant Language of *Pisias* gives us good reason to take *Daphnæus*'s part, while he introduces over the Head of Wedlock, a Society void of Love, and utterly a Stranger to that same Friendship which descends, and is inspir'd from above; which if real Affection and Submission be wanting, can hardly be restraind by all the Curbs and Yokes of Shame and Fear. Then *Pisias*, for my part, said he, I give little heed to this Argument; for as for *Daphnæus*, I find him in the same Condition with *Brass*; for as Brass is not so easily melted by the Fire, as by the force of the ſame melted and liquid Metal being pour'd upon it, which [illegible] fies both alike, and [illegible] together; ſo it is not the Beauty of *Iſmenodora* that inflames him, but the Converſing long with her [illegible] inflam'd and full of Fire, that [illegible] himſelf; and it is apparent, that unleſs he [illegible] to us, he will ſuddainly be melted with her own Flame. But I perceive, ſaid he, the ſame thing will befall me, which *Anthemion* has moſt reaſon to deſire, that I ſhall offend both my Judges and my ſelf; and therefore I ſhall ſay no more. Then *Anthemion*, 'tis very true indeed, your Fear is juſt, for you ought at the firſt to have ſpoken to the purpoſe, and what was proper to the Argument in Hand. To this *Piſias* [illegible] that he was willing that every Woman ſhould have her Lover, but withal, that it [illegible] to have a care how he [illegible] Wealth; leſt while [illegible] Grandeur and Magnificence, [illegible] thing, like Tin among [illegible] would be a hard [illegible] is, though he ſhould marry a [illegible] man, to keep the Soveraignty [illegible] be ſtill [illegible] above Water. But [illegible] ſee her already [illegible] Soveraignty and Command [illegible] why ſhould [illegible] and Noble Extraction [illegible] ſelf a meer Boy, that has [illegible] of Manhood, and [illegible] Marry. And therefore [illegible] without any [illegible] their Wives [illegible] their [illegible] and [illegible] times by the [illegible]

their

[illegible] Hypothesis [illegible] his future Nuptials [illegible] Whilst [illegible] Axioms, [illegible] common Hypothesis and Subjects of [illegible] us still to continue our [illegible] of Nuptial [illegible] in the Defence of Conjugal [illegible] have [illegible] your [illegible]

[illegible] and [illegible] over the Diadem of [illegible] [illegible] Wh[illegible] [illegible] Blood, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in length [illegible] upon her [illegible] [illegible] his self, but [illegible] [illegible] gave the absolute Mastery over him, she [illegible] [illegible] the fortune [illegible] [illegible] with the Royal Diadem upon her head, dispatching the publick Business [illegible] giving order to all [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Commanding [illegible] [illegible] without the least [illegible] [illegible] by [illegible] [illegible] Which being done, she [illegible] Govern[illegible] upon her self, [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Self, nor abated any thing of their Courage and Greatness of Mind, but still [illegible] ther, always honouring their Wives, and keeping that Superiority over them which was their Right and Due. But he that contracts and curtails his Wife within a narrow Compass, and makes her less, like a Ring that is too big for the Finger, to prevent it from dropping off, are like to those that clip off their Mares Tails and clip their Manes, and then lead them to a River or Pond; for it is reported, that when these Mares perceive themselves so ill-favour'dly shorn and disfigur'd, they lose their natural Courage, and will afterwards suffer themselves to be cover'd by Asses. And therefore, as it is a base thing to prefer the Riches of a Woman above her Virtue or Nobility; so is it [illegible] ly to reject Wealth when accompany'd with Virtue and Illustrious Parentage. Antigonus writing to a Captain of his, whom he had order'd to fortifie the little Hill Munychia, [illegible] the City of [illegible] bid him not only make the Collar strong, but keep the Dog lean, [illegible] should [illegible] the Athenians. But there is not necessary for the Husband of a rich and beautiful Wife to make her poor or to disfigure her, but by his Reason and Prudence, and by seeming not to admire any thing extraordinary in her, [illegible] think their Converſe with the young Gentleman not well becoming their Gravity; what hinders but that ſhe may affect and cheriſh him as well, if not better than any young Virgin whatever. For I muſt needs ſay 'tis a difficult matter many times rightly to mix and blend the Tempers and Conditions of young People, in regard it will require ſome time to make them ſenſible of ſeveral Extravagancies which they may commit, until they have lay'd aſide the Pride and Wantonneſs which is incident to Youth, and many a bluſtring Tempeſt will happen between the new married Couple, before they can be brought to endure the Yoak, and draw quietly together; more eſpecially if there be any thing of Jealouſie harbour'd in the Boſom of either; for this like the Wind, in the Abſence of the Pilot, diſturbs and confuſes the Happineſs of the Match, while the one has not ſkill to govern, and the other refuſes to be governed. Now then if it be ſo that Nurſes are ſought for to look after ſucking Infants, Schoolmaſters to teach Children, if Maſters of Exerciſe guide young Striplings, if the Law and the Captain General govern those that are of age, ſo that no Man can be ſaid to be at his own Liberty to do what he liſt, where is the Abſurdity for a Wife that has Wit and Diſcretion, and the Advantage of years, to govern and direct the Life and Converſation of a youthful Husband; profitable to him, as exceeding him in Wiſdom, and augmenting the Pleaſure of her ſociety, by the Sweetneſs of her Diſpoſition and Reality of Affection. To conclude, ſaid he, we that are Bœotians our ſelves, ought to reverence Hercules, and not to be offended with thoſe that marry Women elder than themſelves; knowing, that even he himſelf gave his own Wife Megara, being then three and thirty years old, to Iolaus his Son, being no more than ſixteen years of Age.

While they were in the midst of these Discourses, one of *Pisias*'s Companions and Friends, as any Matter reported, [illegible] towards them out of the City, whip and spur, to bring the News of a strange and wonderful Accident. For [illegible] being [illegible] that [illegible] was no way disturb'd at his being marry'd to her, but only was deterr'd by the Importunities of his Friends that dissuaded him from the Match, resolv'd not to let the young Man escape her. To this purpose she [illegible] certain Sparks of her acquaintance, whom she knew to be stout and resolute young Gentlemen, and some Women that were well Willers to her Amours, and observing the Hour that *Bacch*[illegible] was wont to pass by her House to the Wrestling Place, well attended and decently garbed, one day when he came near the [illegible] most Door, [illegible] as he was [illegible] or three more of the same [illegible] Street, and [illegible] which was the Signal [illegible] his Mandilion and Doublet, [illegible] carry'd him into the House, [illegible] after them. Then came the Women also, and [illegible] off his Mandilion, threw about him a costly Nuptial Garment. The Servants likewise running up and down from one Place to another, [illegible] of [illegible] and a Musical [illegible] the Streets [illegible] all their Actions. And [illegible]

[illegible] the Thebans, there [illegible] hastning and doubling his Motion [illegible] far when Pisias's Friend, with [illegible] and in a Sweat, as he had brought the [illegible] Army in time of War, had delivered his News, [illegible] able to speak for want of Breath, and concluded [illegible] Story with saying, The Remembrance [illegible] my Father told me, that *Zenophon* [illegible] laughing, [illegible] as he was a great Admirer of that Poet, repeated [illegible] Verses of *Menander*,

Women with Wealth, fair Lady, don't agree
No more than Wealth with Virtue [illegible]

But here *Pisias* starting up out of his Seat, [illegible] great Exclamation, crying out, O ye Gods! [illegible] Will ye put an end to this Licentiousness, that will in the end subvert our City? For now all things are [illegible] ruin, since disorder through Violation of the Law, [illegible] Perhaps it is now look'd upon as a [illegible] to transgress the *Law* and violate Justice, for even the Law of Nature is [illegible] and broken by the [illegible] out of the Female Sex. Was ever the like [illegible] committed in the Island of *Lemnos*? Let us go, [illegible] let us go and deliver up the Wrestling Place, and the Council House to the Women, if the City is [illegible] as to put up with [illegible] [illegible] the Company is [illegible] [illegible] Love. [illegible] Force, and not rather [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] (for [illegible] the Writer [illegible]) he [illegible] [illegible] of all the Hands of his [illegible] [illegible] Lovers, into the Embraces of a fair and rich Woman? Never say so, said Anthemion; nor have such a Suspicion of Bacchon. For were he [illegible] naturally, as he is a plain and open Dealer, he would never have concealed this thing from me, to whom he has always communicated his Secrets, and whom he knew to be always a Favourer of *Ismenodora's* Design. For according to the saying of *Heraclitus*, it is a harder matter to withstand Love than Anger. For whatever it has a Desire to, it will purchase with the Hazard of Life, Fortune and Reputation. Now where is there a more [illegible] Woman in all our City than *Ismenodora*? When did you ever hear an ill Word spoken of her? Or when did ever any thing done in her House, give the least suspicion of an ill Act? Rather we may say, that she seems to be inspir'd beyond other Women with [illegible] [illegible] Human [illegible]. Then *Pemptides* smiling, Truly, said he, there is a certain Disease of the Body, which they call Sacred: So that it is no wonder, if some Men give the Appellation of Sacred and Divine, to the most raging and vehement Passion of the Mind. But as in Egypt, once I saw two Neighbours hotly contending about a Serpent which crept before them in the Road, while both concluded it to be good Luck, and each affirm'd the happy Omen to himself; so seeing some of you at this time haling Love into the Chambers of the Men, others into the Closets of the Women, as a Divinely transcending Good, I do not wonder, since it is a Passion so [illegible] [illegible], and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] it be [illegible] held in greatest Veneration by those that have [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Debate to be rather about a particular Concern, than any thing for the Publick Good. But now that [illegible] pose, I would willingly understand [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

upon

upon what accompt it was, that they who first discours'd of Love, were so fond to deify it? As soon a *Pemptides* had done, and that my Father was about t say something in answer to his Question, another Messenger came from the City, in *Ismenodora's* name, desiring *Anthemion* to come to her; for that the Tumult increased, and the Presidents of the Gam could not agree, while one was of Opinion that *Ba* was to be demanded and delivered up into their Han and the other thought it an Impertinence to meddle wi that which nothing concern'd them.

Thus *Anthemion* being gone, my Father address'd himself to *Pemptides* by name, and so entring into the following discourse, You seem to Me, Sir said he, to have h upon a very strange and nice point, or rather as I m so say, to have endeavour'd to stir things which are n to be stirr'd, in reference to the Opinion which w have of the Gods, while you demand a Reason a demonstration of every thing in particular. For it sufficient to believe according to the Faith of our Forefathers, and the Instructions of the Country where w have been bred and born, then which we cannot an way invent a more certain Argument.

For surely all the Wit of human Brain,
This part of Knowledge never could attain.

For this is a Foundation and Basis common to all Piety and Religion; of which if once the steady Rule and decreed Maxims be once disordered and shaken, all the rest must totter and become suspected. And no question but you have heard in what a confusion of thought *Euripides* was, and how it perplexed him to begin his *Menalippe*.

——— Jupiter, *if his name be ſo,*
For 'tis by hearſay only what I know.

Where he ſeems to have a Confidence in the Lofty Stile and Elaborate Eloquence of his Tragedy, to venture the Indignation of the Deity; but finding he had drawn upon himſelf the Envy of another Adverſary, the Multitude, he altered the Verſe.

Jove, for we own he has received that Name
From Truth alone, and not from common Fame.

What difference then is there between calling in queſtion the Name of *Jupiter* or *Minerva*, and doubting of the Name of *Cupid*, or *Love*? For it is not of late that *Cupid* or *Love* has challeng'd Altars and Sacrifices, neither is he a Foreigner ſtarted up out of any Barbarian Superſtition as were the *Attæ*, and the *Adonii*, introduc'd by I know not what ſort of *Hermaphrodites* and idle Women. Nor has he clandeſtinly crept into Honors no way becoming him to avoid the accuſation of Baſtardy, and being unduly enroll'd in the Catalogue of the Gods. But when you hear *Empedocles* thus ſaying,

In Friendſhip too, obſerve my Song,
There is both equal Broad and Long;
But this thou muſt not think to find
With Eyes of Body but of Mind.

You ought to believe all this to be ſaid of Love. For that Love, no more than any of the reſt of the ancient Deities, is viſible, but apprehended only by Opinion and Belief. For every one of which if you require a reaſon and demonſtrative Argument, by enquiring the ter every Temple, and making a Sophiſtical doubt upon every Altar, you ſhall find nothing free from Calumny and malicious Slander. For that I may go no further, obſerve but theſe.

I do not Venus *ſee with Mortal Eyes,*
The Goddeſs unto whom we Sacrifice;
Yet this is ſhe that mighty Cupid *bare*
Whoſe off-ſpring all Terreſtrial Beings are.

Therefore *Empedocles* gives her the Epithite of *ζείδωρος*, or the *Giver of Life*: And *Sophocles* calls her *εὔκαρπος* or *Fruitful*: both very aptly and pertinently. For indeed the great and wonderful Work of generation is properly the Work of *Venus*, where Love is only an Aſſiſtant when preſent with *Venus*: but whoſe abſence renders the act it ſelf altogether irkſom, diſhonourable, harſh and ungrateful. For the Conjunction of Man and Woman without true Affection, like hunger and thirſt, that terminate in Satiety, produces nothing truly noble or commendable, unleſs the Goddeſs ſeperating from Love the glut of Pleaſure, perpetuate Delight by a continued ſupply of friendſhip and harmony of Temper. Therefore *Parmenides* aſſerts Love to be the moſt ancient of all the Works of *Venus*,

Of all the Gods that rule above
She firſt brought forth the mighty Love.

But *Heſiod*, in my Opinion, ſeems more Philoſophically to make *Love* the Eldeſt of all the Gods, as from whom all the other Deities derive their beginning. Therefore ſhould we deprive *Love* of the Honours which are decreed him, neither will the Ceremonies aſcrib'd to *Venus* be any longer in requeſt. For it is not ſufficient to ſay, that ſome *Men* reproach *Love* and load him with

Contumely

Commending, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible]. For [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] we [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] fall upon [illegible]:

Lean [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible],
And [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible].

And in another place thus upon Venus;

She does not th' only name of Cypris *bear,*
Ten by a hundred other names is known;
She's Hell on Earth, unmixt Madness,
And Rage [illegible] at the force of [illegible].

As indeed we may say of the rest of the Gods, that there is not one that has escap'd the Scandalous [illegible] of illiterate [illegible] [illegible] upon *Mars*, as in a [illegible] Sculpture [illegible] the Place just opposite to Love, how highly has he been honoured, how lowly degraded by Men?

Sending [illegible] at Mars, *and [illegible] a [illegible] [illegible],*
'Tis the, [illegible] Damon, *[illegible] all [illegible].*

Homer also gives him the Epithets of [illegible] or *contaminated with Murder*; and of [illegible], or [illegible]. Moreover *Chrysippus* explaining the name of the Deity, fixes a villainous accusation upon him. For he says that [illegible] is derived from [illegible], which signifies to Murder and destroy; thereby affording an occasion for some to give the Name of [illegible] to [illegible], to that same [illegible] and perverse inclination in Men to wrath and Passion, and to quarrel and fight one with another. Others affirm *Venus* to be nothing but our Concupiscence; that *Mercury* is no more than the faculty of Speech; that the *Muses* are only the Names for the

Arts and Sciences; and that Memory is only a Word for Madneſs? And thus you ſee into what an Abyſs of Atheiſm we are likely to plunge our ſelves, while we go about to ſet up the Paſſions, Faculties and Vertues of Men for ſo many Gods. I plainly perceive it, reply'd *Pemptides*; for I neither believe it lawful to make the Gods to be Paſſions, nor on the other ſide, to make the Paſſions to be Deities. To whom my Father, Well then, ſaid he, do you believe *Mars* to be a God, or a Paſſion of ours? To which when *Pemptides* reply'd, that he thought *Mars* to be the Deity that rectify'd the Angry and Couragious part of Man; my Father preſently retorting upon him, Why then, ſaid he, ſhall our paſſionate Part, and thoſe wrathful Inclinations within us that provoke us to miſchief and blood-ſhed, have a Deity to over-rule and govern them, and will you not allow the ſame Guardianſhip over our better propenſities to Love, Friendſhip, Society and Peace? There is a Deity that preſides and has the ſuperintendence over thoſe that kill and are ſlain; a Deity that bears rule in matters of Arms, all Warlike Preparations, Aſſaults of Citys, Depredations of Countries, &c. And diſtributes rewards as he ſees occaſion; and ſhall there be no Deity to be a Witneſs and Overſeer, a Supream Governour and Director of Conjugal Affection which terminates in Concord and happy Society? Nay we find that they who make it their ſport to Hunt Wild Goats, Hares and Deer are not without their Foreſt Deity to incourage them; and they that make it their buſineſs to Trapan Wolves and Bears into Snares and Pit-falls, Pray for good luck to *Ariſtæus*,

Who firſt of all for the Wild Beaſts of Prey
With Gins and Snares in ſecret Ambuſh lay.

Eurotas having with him his Bow, before he let fly at the Bird which he intended to kill, invok'd [illegible] Deity, as we find in *Sophocles*;

Hunter Apollo, *and in Honour's field*
Direct thy Arrow to the blank, [illegible]

But for Men that Hunt the moſt Noble Game of Love and Friendſhip, there is not ſo much as one Deity to aſſiſt and proſper ſo laudable an enterpriſe. Truly, *Daphnæus*, for my part I cannot believe a Man to be a more inconſiderable Plant than an Oak, or Mulberry-Tree, or the Vine, which *Homer* calls by the Name of *Hemeris*, conſidering that Man in his due ſeaſon alſo is able to put forth a Powerful faculty to bud, and pleaſantly puſh forth the Beautys both of his Body and Mind. To which *Daphnæus*, In the Name of all the Gods, who ever thought otherwiſe? All thoſe moſt certainly, *reply'd* my Father, who believing the care of Plowing, Sowing and Planting, is an Employment becoming the Gods; to which purpoſe they have alſo certain Nymphs attending them, who are call'd *Dryads*, and live juſt as long as the Trees of which they take care; Or as *Pindarus* Sings,

God Bacchus, *He*
That is the Chief autumnal Light,
Whoſe Influence warm and bright
Gives nouriſhment to every fruitful Tree.

And yet will not allow the nouriſhment and growth of Children and Young People, who in the flower of their Age are to be form'd and ſhap'd into ſeveral varieties of Beauty, to be under the care and tuition of any Deity; or that there is any Divinity to take care, that Man being once born may be guided and conducted in the true Paths of Virtue, and to prevent [illegible]

be

the Plant from being bow'd and bent the wrong w
ſuſtenance of a good Inſtruction, or by the dep
converſation of thoſe with whom he lives. For
part, I look upon it as a heinous peice of Indignity a
Ingratitude, and as it were a denying of the Deity
his love to Mankind, which he is ready to diſpenſe a
diffuſe over all, and willingly never abandons the
ſtreſſes and neceſſities of *Mortals* Of which there are ſo
that cannot be avoided, though not ſo pleaſing to
ſure. Thus our being delivered from the Moth
Womb, is no ſuch delightful thing, as being attend
with Pain and Effuſion of Blood; and yet there is a C
leſtial *Midwife* and *Overſeer* that takes particular ca
of that neceſſity, which is *Lucina*. And indeed a Ma
had better never to be born, than to be made bad a
wicked for want of a good Tutor and Guardian. Nay,
we find that the divine *Power* does not *deſert* us in ou
Sickneſs, nor *after* we are *dead*; there being ſtill ſom
Deity or other, who claims ſome certain peculiar Em-
ployment or *Function*, even upon *theſe* occaſions. A-
mong the reſt there is one that *helps to convey* th
Souls of *ſuch as have* ended this *Life* into the othe
World, and *lays them aſleep*, like the Eunuch that
appointed to uſher in the Bride into her *Bed-Chamber*
for which reaſon *Mercury* is *called by* the name o
ψυχοπομπὸς, or the *Soul conductor*. According to this
of the Poet,

For ſtately night never brought me forth to play
With artful touch upon the tuneful Lyre,
Nor to be ſkillfull'd in Prophetic Fire;
Nor cure of ſick Diſtempers to allay;
But to convey the Souls of the Dead
Each one to their appointed Place of reſt.

Nevertheleſs theſe *Miniſterial functions* have many dif-

Divinity

[illegible] ſtill [illegible] which could [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] any [illegible] more [illegible], any [illegible] were ſound, nor any Occaſion for [illegible] and Glory ſince becoming a Deity, than to [illegible] and [illegible] the lawful [illegible] and practice of Love in the prime of Years and Beauty. There is nothing [illegible] [illegible], nothing of forc'd neceſſity in this [illegible] perfection and [illegible] Grace; nothing [illegible] [illegible], in leading to Vertue and Friendſhip, [illegible] which never [illegible] the true [illegible] of the [illegible] and [illegible] without [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] have any other [illegible] and [illegible] ſelf, who is the Friend and Companion of the [illegible] Graces and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

Genial Love [illegible] in the [illegible] of [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

What do you ſay, Xantippe, can we believe [illegible] otherwiſe? In truth, I judge it ſo, reply'd Xantippe, and I think it would be abſurd to affirm the contrary. And would it not be abſurd indeed, ſaid my Father, ſince there are four ſorts of Friendſhip, according to the diſtribution of the Ancients? The firſt, ſay they, is Natural; the next is that of Kindred and [illegible]; the third is that of Friends and Acquaintance, and the fourth that of Lovers. [illegible] [illegible] Deity, under the [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] Friendſhip, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] proceeds? Then said Zeuxippus; [illegible] All that you say, reply'd Zeuxippus, is undeniable. [illegible] by the way, reply'd my Father, we may here take notice of what Plato discourses upon this Subject. For he says, that there is a certain Madness transmitted from the Body to the Soul, proceeding from a malignant Mixture of ill Humors, or a noxious Vapour, or rather pernicious Spirit that possesses the Heart; which Madness is a rugged and terrible Disease. The other is a kind of Fury, partaking something of Divine Inspiration; neither is it generated within, but is an Insufflation from without, and a disturbance of the Rational and Considerative Faculty, deriving its Beginning and Motion from some Divine Power; the common Affection of which is call'd an Enthusiastick Passion. For as Ἔμπνουν, or Inspiration signifies *fill'd with Wind*; and Ἔμφρων denotes *replete with Prudence*, so this Commotion of the Soul is called *Enthusiasm*, by reason it participates of a more Divine Power. Now the Prophetick Part of *Enthusiasm*, derives itself from the Inspiration of *Apollo*, possessing the Intellect of the Sooth-sayer; but *Bacchanal* Fury proceeds from Father *Liber*. [illegible]

[illegible] with the Corybantes ye shall dance. [illegible]

says *Sophocles*. For as for the Extravagancies of the Priests of *Cybele*, the Mother of the Gods, and those which are call'd Panick Terrors and Ejaculations, they are all of the same Nature with the *Bacchanal* Orgies. There is also a third sort of *Enthusiasm*, which is proper to the Muses, which possessing an even-temper'd and placid Soul, excites and rouzes up the Gifts of Poetry and Musick. But as for that Fury which is termed *Martial*, it is well known to be derived from *Mars* the God of War; a sort of Fury, wherein there is no Grace nor Musical Sweetness, [illegible] ther so Generously and tenderly up this Trouble? Discord and Tumult, [illegible]

There remains yet one sort more of Alienation of the Understanding, in Many the same [illegible], not yet altogether calm and quiet. Concerning which I would fain ask Pemptides.

Which of the Gods it is that shakes the Spear,
That beareth Fruit so lovely and so fair?

But without expecting a Resolution of this Question, I mean that Bacchick Fury that possesses lovely Youths and Chast Women, gives a much hot and vehement Transport. For do we not see how the Warrior lays down his Arms, and submits to this more powerful Rage?

——————— *spake that.*
His Armour dropp'd, he had the War forsook,
His joints [illegible]

And thus having renounced the Hazards of Death, he sits idle a quiet Spectator of other Mens Dangers. But as for those Bacchanalian Motions and Friskings of the Corybantes, there is a way to allay those extravagant Transports, by changing the Measure from the Trochaic to the Spondaick, and the Tone from the Phrygian to the Dorian; and the Pythian Prophetess [illegible] from her Tripos and quitting the Prophetick Exhalation, becomes sedate and calm again. Whereas the Fury of Love, wherever it [illegible] seizes [illegible] Man or Woman, [illegible]

[illegible] on their *Mistresses*, and when they are [illegible] always [illegible] the Company with their [illegible] and *Melancholic Notions*, as [illegible] true Poetical Enthusiasm) by reason of their lively [illegible] ous, the Dreams of those that wake; [illegible] Dialogues of Persons enamour'd, discoursing with their absent Mistresses, as if they were present; [illegible] ing, Embracing and Expostulating with them, as if they were in Place. For the Sight seems to delineate other Phantasms in the Water, [illegible] quickly [illegible] and [illegible] the *Mind*; [illegible] those [illegible] being as it were [illegible] by Fire leave the Images of things [illegible] in the Memory, [illegible] living, speaking and [illegible] for a long time. So that *Cato* the *Roman* was wont to say, that the Soul of a Lover resided and dwelt in the Soul of the Person belov'd. For that there is settled [illegible] in the one, the Form, Shape, Manners, Conversation and Actions of the other, by [illegible] which, he dispatches and rids a great deal of Ground [illegible] this Guide, he [illegible] the Distance [illegible] in a short time, and finds [illegible] Friendship, as it were, with Wind and Tide, the God of Love assisting the Passion [illegible] the [illegible] of Lovers [illegible] Beauty by his Presence, and the [illegible] us.

Love be inferior in Power to any other of the Gods, For according to *Sophocles*,

Great is the Puiſſance of the Cyprian *Queen,*
And great the Honour which her Triumphs win.

Great is alſo the Dominion of *Mars*, and indeed we ſee the Power of all the reſt of the Gods, divided in ſome Meaſure into two ſorts; the one familiarly alluring to Vertue and Honeſty; the other, which conſiſts in the Reſiſtance of Evil, and which is originally bred in the Soul. As *Plato* obſerves in his Deſcription of Forms.

Now then let us conſider, that Venereal Delight is a thing that is purchaſed many times for a ſmall matter of Money, and that there is no Man that ever underwent any Pain or Danger for the ſake of Venereal Enjoyments, unleſs he were inflam'd and tormented with the burning Fires of an ardent Luſt; inſomuch, that not to mention ſuch Curteſans as either *Phryne* or *Lais*, we find that the Harlot Gnathænion,

By gloomy Lanthorn-Light, at Evening late,
Waiting and calling for ſome Tryggermate,

Is often paſs'd by and Neglected.

But then if once ſome Spirit blow the Fire,
Kindl'd by Love's extreme and warm Deſire,

This makes the Pleaſure equally eſteem'd and valu'd to the Treaſures of *Tantalus*, and all his vaſt Dominions. So faint and ſo ſoon cloy'd is Venereal Deſire, unleſs rendred graceful by the Charms and Inſpiration of Love. Which is more evidently confirm'd by this; for that many Men admit others to partake of their Venetual Pleaſures, proſtituting not only their Miſtreſſes and Concubines, but alſo their own Wives, to the Em- ces of their Friends; as it is reported of the Ro *Kalbas* or *Galba*, who inviting *Mecænas* to his Hou and perceiving him winking and nodding upon his Wife, turn'd away his Head upon his Pillow, as if he had been aſleep; yet at the ſame time, when one of the Servants came creeping out of the next Room, to ſteal a Bottle of Wine from the Cubboard, preſently turning about, with his Eyes open, *Varlet*, ſaid he, *'tis only to pleaſure* Mecænas, *that I ſleep.*

At *Argos*, there was a great Animoſity between Ni- *coſtratus* and *Faulius*, ſo that they always oppoſ'd each other, and quarrel'd at the Council Board. Now it being known that King *Philip* intended a Viſit to the City, *Faulius* bethought himſelf that he could not miſs the higheſt Preferment the Government could afford, if he could but oblige the King with the Company of his Wife, who was both Beautiful and Young. Ni- *coſtratus* ſmelling this Deſign, ſet ſome of his Servants to walk too and fro before *Faulius*'s Houſe, and obſerve who went in and out; where they had not ſtay'd long, but out came *Nicoſtratus*'s Wife, in high Shoes, with a Mantle and Cap, after the *Macedonian* Faſhion, ac- couter'd like one of the Kings Pages, accompany'd by two or three more, that carry'd her directly to the Kings Court. Since then there ever were, and ſtill are too many Lovers of this Temper, did you ever know of any one that ever proſtituted his particular Male Friend, though it were to gain the Honours aſ- crib'd to, *Jupiter* himſelf? Truly, I never believe there ever was any ſuch. For why? there never was any one that would pretend to oppoſe and contend with a Tyrant; but there are many Rivals and Competitors that will quarrel and fight for Boys that are Beautiful, and in the Prime of their Years. It is reported of Ari-

ſtogiton the *Athenian*, and *Menalippus* of *Agrigentum*, for they never contested with Tyrants, though they spoil'd and ruin'd the Common-wealth, and indulg'd the Impetuosity of their Lust; but when they found them attempting their Male Amours, they withstood them with the utmost Peril of their Lives, as if they had been to defend their Temples, and their most Sacred Sanctuaries. *Alexander* also is said to have sent to *Theodorus*, the Brother of *Proteas*, in these Words; *Send me that Musical Girl that Plays and Sings so well, and take ten Talents for her, unless thou lov'st her thy ſelf.* Another time, when one of his Minions, *Antipatridas*, came to be jovial with him, and brought a Minstrel in his Company to compleat their Mirth, the Prince being greatly affected with the Girls Playing and Singing, ask'd *Antipatridas*, *Whether he had any extraordinary Kindness for her?* Who answering, *That he lov'd her as his Soul*; *Then all the Plagues of Mankind light upon thee*, quoth the Prince: however, he would not so much as touch the Girl. Consider also what vast Power Love has also over Martial Men and Warriors. Not as *Euripides* will have it to be,

Nor ſlothful, neither out of Effeminate Fear
Still ſhifting from the dang'rous Toils of War.

For a Man that is once inflam'd with Love, wants not *Mars* himself to be his Second when he is to engage with his Enemies; but confiding in the Deity that is within him,

Ventures through Fire and Seas, and bluſtring Storms,
While Love of Friend his daring Courage warms.

And breaks through all Opposition, if his *Mistress* require any Proof of his Valour. Therefore [illegible]

Sophocles, that the Daughters of *Niobe* being wounded with Arrows to Death, one of them, as ſhe lay wallowing in her Blood, calls out for no other *Help* or Succour to aſſiſt her in her Revenge, but her Love.

Where is my Love? ſhe cry'd,
Were I but arm'd with this;
I yet would be reveng'd
For my untimely Fate.

You know the Reaſon why *Cleomachus* the *Pharſalian* fell in Battel. *I am a Stranger to the Story*, reply'd *Pemptides, and would willingly therefore hear it. Certainly 'tis very well worth your Knowledge*, ſaid my Father.

In the heat of the War between the *Chalcidians* and the *Eretrians*, *Cleomachus* went to aid the *Chalcidians*; at what time it was evident that the *Chalcidians* were the ſtronger in Foot, but they found it a difficult thing to withſtand the Force of the Enemies Horſe. Thereupon they requeſted *Cleomachus*, being their Confederate, and a Man ſignaliz'd for his Courage, to give the firſt Onſet upon the Enemies Cavalry. Preſently the Youth whom he moſt intirely lov'd, being preſent, he ask'd him, *Whether he would ſtay and be a Spectator of the Combat?* To which, when the Lad gave his Conſent, and after many tender Kiſſes and Embraces, had put on his Helmet, *Cleomachus*, his Love redoubling his Courage, and being ſurrounded with ſome few of the Flower of the *Theſſalian* Horſe, charg'd into the thickeſt of the Enemy, and put them to the Rout; which the heavy arm'd Infantry ſeeing, betook themſelves alſo to Flight, ſo that the *Chalcidians* obtain'd a Noble Victory; however *Cleomachus* was there ſlain, and the *Chalcidians* ſhew his Monument erected in the Market Place with a fair Pillar ſtanding upon it to this Day; and whereas they abominated *Pæderaſtie* before, after that, they admir'd and af-

affected it above all other Pleaſures. Nevertheleſs, *Ariſtotle* tells us, that *Cleomachus* indeed loſt his Life after the Victorious Battel which he gain'd from the *Eretrians*; but as for that *Cleomachus*, who was thus kiſs'd by his Male Concubine, he was of *Chalcis* in *Thrace*, and ſent to aid the *Chalcidians* in *Eubœa*. Which is the reaſon of that ſame *Ballad* which is generally ſung among them;

Fair Youths, whoſe happy Mothers brought ye forth,
Lovely in Form, and Noble for your Birth;
Envy not Men of Courage, prompt in Arms,
The kind Fruition of your tempting Charms.
For Softeſt Love and daring Valor reigns,
With equal Honour through Chalcidian Plains.

Dionyſius the Poet, in his Poem, entitl'd *Queſtions*, informs us, that the Name of the Lover was *Anton*, and that the Youth belov'd was call'd *Philiſtus*. And is it not a Cuſtom among us *Thebans*, for the Lover to preſent the Beloved with a compleat Suit of Armor, with their own Names inſcrib'd on it; as *Areidas* preſented his Minion. And *Pammenes*, a very great Souldier, but very amorouſly given, quite alter'd the Method of embatteling the heavy-arm'd Infantry, and blames *Homer*, as one that knew not what belong'd to Love, for marſhaling the ſeveral Diviſions of the *Achæans*, according to their Tribes and Wards, and not placing the Lover by his Beloved. For then the Deſcription which he gives of their *Cloſe Order*, would have been the Conſequence of his Skill and Marſhal Diſcipline, where he ſays,

Man ſerry'd cloſe to Man, in dangerous Field,
While Murrions Murrions touch'd, and Shield to Shield.

The only way to render a Battalion Invincible. For Men will deſert thoſe of the ſame Tribe or Family; nay, before *George*, their very Children and Parents; but never any Enemy could pierce or penetrate between a Lover and his Darling Minion, in whoſe Sight, many times, when there is no neceſſity, the Lover delights to ſhew his Courage and Contempt of Danger; like *Thero* the *Theſſalian*, who clapping his Left hand to the Wall, and then drawing his Sword, ſtruck of his Thumb, thereby challenging his Rival to do the ſame. Or like another, who falling in Battel upon his Face, as his Enemy was about to follow his Blow, deſir'd him to ſtay till he could turn, leaſt his Male Concubine ſhould ſee that he had been wounded in the Back. And therefore we find that the moſt Warlike of Nations, are moſt addicted to Love, as the *Bœotians*, *Lacedemonians* and *Cretans*; and among the moſt ancient *Hero's*, none more amorous then *Meleager*, *Achilles*, *Ariſtomenes*, Cimon and *Epaminondas*: the latter of which, had for his Male Concubines, *Aſopicus* and *Caphiſodorus*, who was ſlain with him at the Battel of *Mantinea*, and lyes buried very near him; whoſe *Love*, because it had render'd him more fierce and daring, and conſequently more terrible to the Enemy, therefore *Eumnamus* the *Amphiſſian*, that firſt made head againſt him and ſlew him, had *Heroick* Honours pay'd him by the *Phocenſians*. It would be a Task too great to enumerate the Amours of *Hercules*; but among the reſt, *Iolaus* is honour'd and ador'd to this Day by many, becauſe he is thought to have been the Darling of that Hero; and upon his Tomb it is that Lovers plight their Troths, and make reciprocal Vows of their Affection. Moreover, *Apollo* being skill'd in Phyſick, is ſaid to have reſtored *Alceſtis* from Deaths Door, in Kindneſs to *Admetus*, who, as he had a great Love for his Wife, ſo had the Deity as great a Paſſion for him. For it is ſaid of *Apollo*, that doating upon *Admetus*, he became his Servant for a whole year. And here methinks we have very opportunely mention'd *Alceſtis*: For although the Temper of Women has little to do with *Mars*, love many times drives them to daring Attempts beyond their own Nature, even to lay violent Hands upon themſelves. And if there be any Credit to be given to the Fables of the Poets, the Stories of *Alceſtis*, *Proteſilaus* and *Euridice*, the Wife of *Orpheus*, plainly evince us, that *Pluto* himſelf obeys no other God but Love. For as *Sophocles* ſays,

To others, be their Fame or Birth whate're,
Nor Equity, nor Favour will he ſhow;
But rig'rous, and without Remorſe ſevere,
His downright Juſtice only makes them know.

But to Lovers he pays a Reverence; to them alone, neither implacable nor inexorable. And therefore it is a very good thing to be initiated into the *Eleuſinian* Ceremonies; but I find the Condition of thoſe much better in Hell, who are admitted into the Myſteries of Love; which I ſpeak, as one that neither altogether confide in Fables, nor altogether miſ-believe them. For they ſpeak a great deal of Sence, and many times by a certain Kind of Divine good Hap, hit upon the Truth, when they ſay that Lovers are permitted to return from Hell to Sun-light again; but which way, and how, they know not; as wandring from the right Path, which *Plato*, firſt of all Men, by the Aſſiſtance of Phyloſophy, found out. For there are ſeveral ſlender and obſcure diminutions of Truth diſpers'd among the Mythologies of the *Egyptians*; only they want an acute and experienc'd Tracer, to find out greater Myſteries by hunting ſmall things [illegible]. And therefore let 'em go.

And now ſince we find the Power of Love to be ſo great, let us take a little Notice of that which we call the

Benevolence and Favour of it toward Men. Not whither it confers many Benefits upon thoſe that are addicted to it, for that's a thing apparent to all Men; but whether the Bleſſings that Men receive by it, are more and greater then any other. And here, *Euripides*, notwithſtanding that he was a Perſon ſo amorous as he was, admires the meaneſt gift it has; for ſays he,

> *Love into Men Poetic fire infuſes,*
> *Though we're before acquainted with the Muſes.*

For he might as well have ſaid, that Love makes a Man wiſe and Prudent, that was a Fool and fooliſh before; or a Coward bold and daring; or a Stout and couragious Man a daſtard and puſillanimous; as when we heat Wooden Poles in the fire of ſoft and bend 'em to make them ſtrong and ſtreight. In like manner he that was a ſordid Miſer before, falling once in Love, becomes liberal and lofty minded; his covetous and pinching humor being mollified by Love, like Iron in the Fire, ſo that he is more pleas'd with being liberal to the Objects of his Love, then before delighted to receive from others. For ye all know how *Anytus*, the Son of *Anthemion* fell in Love with *Alcibiades*; who underſtanding that *Anytus* had invited ſeveral of his Friends to a noble and ſplendid Banquet, came into the Room in Maſquerade, and going to the Table, after he had taken one half of the Silver Cups and other Plate, went his way. Which when ſome of the Gueſts took very ill, and told *Anytus* that the young Lad had demeaned himſelf very rudely and ſaucily. Nor ſo, ſaid *Anytus*, but very civily, ſince when it was in his power to have taken all the reſt, he was ſo civil as to leave me ſome. Pleaſed with this ſtory, O *Hercules*, you *Zeuxippus*, how have ye almoſt ras'd out of my Mind, that Hereditary Hatred which I had conceiv'd againſt *Anytus*, for his ill opinion of *Socrates* and Philoſophy, ſince he was become ſo gentle and generous in his Amours. Be it ſo ſaid my Father,but let us proceed, Love is of that nature, that it renders thoſe that were ſevere and moroſe before, both affable and pleaſant in their Humour. For as,

The burning Tapers make the Houſe more light,
And all things look more glorious to the ſight,

So the Heat of Love renders the Soul of Man more lively and cheerful. But there are many who go quite contrary to reaſon in this particular. For when they behold a glittering Light in a Houſe by Night they admire, and look upon it as ſomething Celeſtial; but when they ſee a narrow pitiful, abject ſoul, of a ſuddain replenifh'd with Underſtanding, Generoſity, Sence of Honour, Curteſie and Liberality, they do not believe themſelves conſtrain'd to ſay as *Telemachus* in *Homer*,

Surely ſome God within this Houſe reſides.

For the love of the Graces tell me, ſaid *Daphnæus*, is it not a thing altogether as much ſavouring of Divinity, that a Man who contemns all other things, not only his Friends and Familiar acquaintance, but alſo the Laws, the Magiſtrates; even Kings, and Princes themſelves; who fears nothing, is aſtoniſh'd at nothing, cares for nothing, but thinks himſelf able to fight an Army, ſo ſoon as he beholds the object of his burning Love,

As dunghil Cravens, and with ſuddain Blow,
Hang their looſe Wings with little liſt to Crow,

Should preſently looſe all his prowoſs, and that all his Bravery ſhould fail him as if his heart were quite ſink to the bottom of his Belly? Remarkable therefore is that recorded by *Sapho* among the *Muſes*. For the *Romans* report in their Storys, that *Cacus* the Son of *Vulcan* vomited Fire and Flames out of his Mouth. And indeed *Sapho* ſpeaks, as if her words were mixt with fire, and by her Verſes plainly diſcovers the violent heat of her Heart,

According to that of *Philoxenus*,

Seeking for Cure of Love-inflicted wounds
From Pleaſing Numbers and Melodious ſounds.

And here, *Daphnæus*, if the Love of *Lyſander*, have not buried in oblivion your former ſportive of Dalliance, I would deſire ye to call to mind and oblige us with the repetition of thoſe Elegant Raptures of *Sappho*, wherein ſhe tells us, how that when the Perſon beloved by her appear'd, her ſpeech forſook her, her Body was all over in a cold Sweat; how ſhe grew pale and wan, and was ſurpriz'd with a ſuddain trembling and dizineſs. To this *Daphnæus* conſented, and ſo ſoon as he had concluded, ſaid my Father, So *Jupiter* help me, is not this an apparent *ſeiſure* of ſomething more then human upon the Soul? Can this be other then ſome Celeſtial rapture of the Mind? what do we find equal to it in the *Pythian* Propheteſs, when ſhe ſits upon the *Tripos*? Where do we find that the *Flutes* which are uſed in the *Bacchanalian Orgies*, or the Tabors play'd upon in the Ceremonies of the Mother of the Gods, rouſe up ſuch noble Tranſports among that fanatic ſort of Enthuſiaſts? Many there are that behold the ſame Body and the ſame Beauty, but the Lover only admires and is raviſh'd with it. And what's the reaſon d' ye think? For we do not perceive or understand it, when Opportunity throws it us;

'Tis the Occasion that infects the Heart,
For only he that's wounded feels the Smart.

Now 'tis the God of Love that gives the Occasion, seizing upon some, and letting others go free. What therefore had been more seasonable for me to have spoken before, since it is now chop'd into my Mouth, as *Æschilus* says, I think it is my best way to let it go, as being a Matter of great Importance. For it may be, my dear Friend, there is not any thing in the World which was not perceptible by Sence; but what gain'd Credit and Authority at the first, either from Fables, or from the Law, or else from rational Discourse. And therefore Poets, Law-givers, and in the third place, Philosophers, were all along the first that instructed and confirm'd us in our Opinions of the Gods. For all agree that there are Gods; but concerning their Number, their Order, their Essence and Power, they vastly differ one among another. For the Philosophers Deities are subject neither to Age nor Diseases, neither do undergo any Labour or Pain,

Exempted from the Noise *and Hurry,*
Of busie Acherontic *Ferry.*

And therefore they will not admit the Poetical *Erides* and *Litai*, or *Nemeses* of Contention and *Persuasion*; nor will they acknowledge Fear and Terror to be the Sons of *Mars*. They also differ from the *Law-givers* in many things. Thus *Xenophanes* forbid the *Ægyptians* to worship *Osiris* as a God, if they thought him to be *Mortal*; and if they thought him to be a God, not to bewail him. Then again, the Poets and *Law-givers* vary from the Philoſophers, and will not ſo much as hear them, while they Deifie certain Idea's, Numbers, Unites, and Spirits; ſuch is the wild Variety, and vaſt Difference of Opinions among theſe ſort of People. Therefore as there were at *Athens* the three Factions of the *Parati*, *Epacrii*, and *Pediei*, that could never agree, but were always at variance one with another; yet when they were aſſembl'd, gave their Suffrages unanimouſly for *Solon*, and choſe him with one Conſent for their Peace-maker, Governour, and Law-giver, as to whom the higheſt Reward of Vertue was beyond all doubt or queſtion due; ſo the three different Sects or Factions, in reference to the Gods, in giving their Opinions, ſome for one, and ſome for another, as being by no means willing to ſubſcribe one to another, are all poſitive in their Conſent as to the God of Love: Him, the moſt famous of the Philoſophers, and the numerous Acclamations of the Philoſophers and *Law-givers* have enroll'd in the Catalogue of the Gods, with loud Praiſes and Panegyricks. And as *Alcæus* ſays, that the *Mitylenians* unanimouſly choſe *Pittacus* for their Prince; ſo *Heſiod*, *Plato*, and *Solon*, bring forth *Cupid* out of *Helicon*, and conduct him in Pomp and State into the Academy to be our King, Governour, and Director, hamper'd with all the Yokes and Fetters of Friendſhip and Society; not as *Euripides* ſays,

With Fetters bound, but not of Braſs, God knows, as if the Bonds of Love were only the cold and ponderous Chains of Neceſſity, made uſe of as a colorable Pretence to excuſe and qualifie Shame; and not ſuch as are carryed upon winged Chariots to the moſt lovely and Celeſtial Objects in this World, concerning which, there has been much more ſaid by others.

After my Father had thus deliver'd himſelf; Do ye not perceive, ſaid *Soclarus*, how, being fallen a ſecond time into the ſame Matter, you have as it were by force constrain'd your ſelf to this Deviation, unjuſtly to deprive us, if I may ſpeak what I think, of that ſame Sacred Diſcourſe which you were entring into? For as before, you gave us a Hint concerning *Plato* and the *Egyptians*, but paſs'd them over as if it had been done againſt your Will, ſo you do now again. 'Tis true, that as for thoſe things which *Plato*, or rather the *Muſes*, have deliver'd in *Plato's* Writings, I do not believe you would put your ſelf to the trouble to ſay any thing more, although we ſhould requeſt it. But whereas you have obſcurely hinted that the Fables of the *Egyptians* accord with *Plato's* Opinion concerning Love, we know you have a greater Kindneſs for us then to conceal your Knowledge from us; and though it be but a little of thoſe important Matters, it ſhall ſuffice us. Thereupon the reſt of the Company declaring their Readineſs to give attention, my Father thus began.

The *Egyptians*, ſaid he, as alſo the *Grecians*, ſet up two Deities of Love; the one Vulgar, the other Celeſtial; to which they add a third, which they believe to be the Sun; and as for *Venus*, they pay her a very great Veneration. We our ſelves alſo do find that there is a great Affinity and Reſemblance between the Sun and the God of Love. For neither of them are material Fire, as ſome conjecture. All that we can acknowledge is only this, that there is a certain ſoft and generative Heat and Warmth proceeding from the Sun, which affords to the Body Nouriſhment, Light and Relaxation of Cold: Whereas that Warmth which comes from the other, works the ſame Effects in the Soul. And as the Sun breaking forth from the Clouds, and after a thick Fog is much hotter; ſo Love, after the Paſſionate Anger and Jealouſies of the Party belov'd, upon Reconciliation of both Parties, are over, grows more delightful and fervent. Moreover as ſome believe the Sun to be kindl'd and extinguiſh'd, they al imagine the ſame things concerning Love, as b mortal and unſtable. For neither can a Conſtitu not enur'd to Exerciſe, endure the Sun, nor the Di poſition of an illiterate and ill-tutor'd Soul, brook Lo without Trouble and Pain, and both are alike diſte per'd and diſeas'd, for which they lay the Blame upo the Power of Love, and not their own Weakneſ Herein only there they ſeem to be ſome Difference be tween them, for that the Sun diſplays to the Sight, up the Earth, both Beauty and Deformity at once; B Love is a Luminary that affords us the View of beaut ful Objects only, and perſwades Lovers to caſt their Ey only upon what is pleaſing and delightful; but with a careleſs Eye to overlook all other things. On the o ther ſide, they that attribute the Name of *Venus* to the Earth, can make out no Reſemblance at all. For tha *Venus* is Celeſtial and Divine; but the Region of Mi ture between Mortal and Immortal, is weak of it ſelf, obſcure and dark, without the Preſence of the Sun; as *Venus* is where Love is abſent. Therefore more prope ly, and with more probability, the Moon is liken'd to *Venus*, and the Sun to Love, rather than to any other of the Gods. Nevertheleſs, we muſt not therefore ſay they are all one. For neither is the Soul and Body the ſame, but diſtinct; as the Sun is viſible, Love perceptible on ly by Senſe. And if it might not be thought too harſ a Saying, a Man might affirm, that the Sun and Love are contrary to one another. For the Sun diverts the Underſtanding from things intelligible to ſenſible Ob jects, alluring and faſcinating the Sight with the Grace and Splendor of his Rays, and perſwading us to ſearch among other things, even for Truth it ſelf, within and about himſelf, and no where elſe. And we appear to be paſſionately in Love with this Sun, becauſe as Euripi des ſays,

The

He always on the Earth diſplays,
The Glory of his beaming Rays,

For want of our Knowledge of another Life; or whether through Forgetfulneſs of thoſe things, which Love calls to our Remembrance. For as when after being newly awaked, and coming into a bright and dazling Light, we forget whatever appear'd to the Soul in our Dreams; ſo the Sun ſeems to ſtupifie the Remembrance of things done, and happening in this Life, and to adulterate and empoyſon the Underſtanding, with the Pleaſure and Admiration of himſelf, ſo that we forget all other Conſiderations beſides of the other Life. Though there indeed are the real Subſtances proper for the Contemplation of the Soul; here they only embrace Dreams, and grope after what is beautiful and Divine;

Fallacious Dreams about his Temples flew,
But ſuch as charm'd his Fancy, though untrue.

Being perſwaded here, that every thing is goodly and highly to be priz'd, unleſs they happen upon ſome Divine and chaſt Love to be their Phyſician and Preſerver; which being commiſſioned from *Hades* through Corporeal Bodies, leads them to Truth, and the Fields of Verity; where they deſire to embrace that which is pure, and void of Fallacy and Sophiſtication, and for ſome time to abide in Amity together; while Love, like an obſequious Servitor to theſe that are initiated in Sacred Ceremonies, aſſiſts and leads them to Noble Contemplations; but no ſooner is Love ſent from hence again, but the Soul is no longer able to make her approach of herſelf, but by the Body. And therefore as Geometricians, when Children are not able of themſelves to ap-

prehend the intelligible Ideas of incorporeal and
ſible Subſtances, form and ſet before their Eyes
gible and viſible Imitations of *Spheres*, *Cubes*, and
caedrons: In like manner Celeſtial Love having f
lovely Mirrors to repreſent lovely Objects, though
tal and paſſive Figures of things divine, and only per
tible to Sence, ſhews them to us glittering in the F
Colours and Shape of Youth in its Prime, and ſo
ſenſibly moves the Memory inflam'd by the Sight
theſe Objects. Whence it comes to paſs, that
through the Stupidity of their Friends and Acq
tance, endeavouring by Force, and againſt Reaſon,
extinguiſh that Flame, have enjoy'd nothing of
Benefit thereby, but only either diſquieted themſelv
with Smoak and Trouble, or elſe ruſhing headlong
obſcure and irregular Pleaſures, obſtinately caſt the
ſelves away. But as many as by ſober and modeſt
tiocination, have ſincerely extinguiſh'd the raging
of the Fire, and only left behind a warm and glowin
Heat in the Soul, not being any Agitation of the S
moving forward to the Seed, or a ſlippery Concur
of Atomes compreſs'd by ſmoothneſs and Titillatio
but a wonderful and engendring Diffuſion, as in
bloſſoming and well nouriſh'd Plant; and opening
Pores of Obedience and Affection; theſe I ſay, in
ſhort time, paſſing through the Bodies of thoſe whom
they love, penetrate more inwardly, and fall to admi
their Manners and Diſpoſitions, and calling off the
Eyes from the Body, converſe together, and conte
plate one another in their Diſcourſes, and in their Ac
ons, provided there be but the leaſt Scrip or Appea
rance of Beauty in the Underſtanding. If not, they
let 'em go, and turn their Affections upon others, like
Bees that will not faſten upon many Plants and Flowers,
becauſe they cannot gather Honey from them. But
where they find any Footſtep, any Emanation, any Re-

semblance of a Divinity, as [illegible] with height and admiration, they accept of no [illegible] and [illegible] whole consent to what is truly amiable, happy and belov'd by all Mankind.

True it is, that the Poets according to their sportive humour, seem to write many things in Merriment concerning this Deity, and to make him the subject of their lascivious Songs, in the height of their Revelling Jollity, making but little serious mention of him; [illegible] out of judgment and reason, or being affected [illegible] by divine Inspiration, is the question. Among [illegible] is one thing which they say very odly, concerning the Birth and Generation of this God.

Young Zephyr having on by Golden Hair
At length with Silver-Slipper'd Iris won;
And thus begat of [illegible]
Of all the Gods the fiercest and most [illegible]

Unless the Grammarians have likewise deluded you, by saying that this Fable was invented by the variety of the Colours in the *Rainbow* to set forth the much employ'd diversity of Passions that attend on Love.

To whom *Daphnaeus*, to what other end or purpose could it be? Hear me then, said my Father; for 'tis nothing then what the Celestial Meteor constrains us to say. The Reflection of the Colours in the *Rainbow* is an Affection of the Sight, when it lights upon a Cloud consisting of a dewy substance, but smooth and moderately thick withal, and we beholding the repercussion of the Sun-beams upon it, together with the Light and splendour about the Sun, it begets an Opinion in us that the Appearance is in the Cloud. In like manner, the same subtle Invention of Love-Sophistry in generous and noble Souls causes a repercussion of the [illegible] from pleasant Objects there appearing [illegible]

upon

upon that Beauty really divine, truly amiable and [illegible] and by all admired. But these People [illegible] taking hold of the fancy'd Image of that Beauty in [illegible] and Women, reap nothing more assur'd and [illegible] then a little Pleasure mix'd with Pain. But that [illegible] to be more then a Delirium or distraction of the [illegible] sier, beholding their empty and unsatisfy'd desires [illegible] Clouds, as it were in so many Shadows. Like Children who thinking to catch the *Rainbow* in their hands, [illegible] at the *Apparition* that appears before their Eyes. [illegible] a generous and modest Lover observes another Method. For his Contemplations reflect only but that Beauty which is divine and perceptible by the Understanding; [illegible] lighting upon the Beauty of a visible Body, and making use of it as a kind of Organ of the Memory, he embraces and loves, and by Conversation augmenting his joy and satisfaction, still more and more inflames his Understanding. But neither do these Lovers conversing with [illegible] rest satisfy'd in this World with a Desire and Admiration of this same Light; neither when they are [illegible] at *Elysium* after death, do they return hither [illegible] Fugitives, to hover about the Doors and Mansions [illegible] new Marry'd People; which are only the Dreams and Visions of Men and Women given to pleasure and corporeal delights, who by no means deserve the Name and Character of true Lovers. Whereas a Lover truly Chaste and Amorous, being got to the true Mansion of Beauty, and there conversing with it, as much as it is lawful for him to do, mounted upon the Wings of chaste desire, becomes pure and hallow'd, and being initiated into sacred Orders, continues dancing and sporting about his Deity, till returning again to the Meadows of the *Moon* and *Venus*, and there layd asleep, he becomes ready for a new Nativity. But these are Points too high for the Discourse which we have propos'd to our selves. [illegible]

Z To

To return therefore to our purpoſe; Love according to *Euripides*, is of the ſame Nature with all the reſt of the Gods,

That he delighteth to have his Altars ſmoak,
And mortals hear his honour'd Name invoke.

On the otherſide he is no leſs offended, when any Affront or Contempt is put upon him; as he is mild, kind and benign to thoſe that entertain him with humility and reſpect. For neither does *Jupiter*, ſurnamed the *Hoſpitable*, ſo ſeverely proſecute Injuries done to Strangers and Suppliants, nor is *Jupiter Genitalis* ſo rigorous in accompliſhing the Curſes of Parents, as Love is to liſten to the Complaints of injur'd Lovers, being the Scourger and Puniſher of Proud, Ill-natur'd and Ill-bred People. For not to mention *Euxynthetus* and *Leucomantis*, at this day in *Cyprus* call'd *Paracyptuſa*, or the *Squint-Eyde*, 'tis a wonder to me that You have not heard neither of the Puniſhment inflicted upon *Gorgo* the *Cretan*, not much unlike to that of *Paracyptuſa*, only that *Gorgo* was turn'd into a Stone, as ſhe looked out of a Window to ſee her Love going to his Grave. With this *Gorgo Aſander* fell in Love, a young Gentleman vertuous and nobly deſcended, but reduced from a flouriſhing Eſtate to Extremity of Poverty. However he did not think ſo meanly of himſelf, but that being her Kinſman, he courted this *Gorgo* for a Wife, though ſhe had many Suitors at the ſame time by reaſon of her great Fortune: and had ſo carry'd his buſineſs, that notwithſtanding his numerous and wealthy Rivals, he had gained the good will of all her Guardians and neareſt Relations.

Now as for those things which they say are the C
ses that beget Love, they are not peculiar to this
t'other Sex, but common to both. For those Ima
that enter into Amorous Persons, and whisk there fr
one Part to another, moving and tickling the Mass
Atoms that slides into the Seed, cannot produce th
same in young Boys, and it is as impossible they shou
do the same in young Women, unless we recal those
ble and sacred Remembrances with which the Soul
winged to that same Divine, real and Olympic Beau
What should hinder then but that the same Remem
brances may pass from Boys and Young Men, w
should hinder Virgins and Young Women from reme
bring the same things, when we find a Disposition ch
good natur'd in the prime of Youth and graceful fe
tures; that according to what *Aristo* saith, as a han
some and well made Shoe, shews the Proportion
the Foot, so they that have Judgment in these Ma
can discern the splendid upright, and uncorrupted foo
steps of a noble and generous Soul in beautiful For
and Features, and Bodies undefil'd. For should t
Question be be put to a Voluptuous Person,

To which are your hot Passions most inclin'd,
Or to the Males, or to the Female kind?

And he should answer thus,

'Tis the same thing to me,
Where ere I Beauty see,

There is no reason that he should be thought to ha
return'd a proper and pertinent Answer to his Concu
fcence; and that a noble and generous Lover, should
apply his Amours to loveliness and good Nature,

only to the Parts that [illegible] the [illegible] but truly a Man that [illegible] and is a good Horseman besides, will not yet value the [illegible] and Swiftness of [illegible] then [illegible] Mare. And he that is a great [illegible] only delight in Dogs, but [illegible] Bitches of [illegible] And [illegible] a Lover as well of civility carry himself with an [illegible] more to one than to another, and make a [illegible] Garments between the Lusts of Men and Women? Besides for their Beauty in the [illegible] of Venus [illegible] they then affirm that the Female [illegible] never [illegible] make any shew of tendency to Virtue? It were absurd to think so. Therefore was [illegible] in the right, [illegible] he said,

The Woman young that [illegible] the [illegible]
From [illegible]

Now there are [illegible] signs and [illegible] of Love [illegible] Wantonness and [illegible] signs of Wantonness and [illegible] in their Faces [illegible] the [illegible] of Modesty and Chastity. Nay, shall there be [illegible] rest, and shall they not be [illegible] and [illegible] love? Both are contrary [illegible] Truth: but every one of these things is [illegible] both Sexes, as we have shew'd.

How then [illegible] the [illegible] Love [illegible] with [illegible]

Portions and having nothing to do with them but to [illegible] Money, a bait to make them perpetual Drudges in fill Menial Employments, or very disagreeable [illegible] conversant with them. Others more desirous of [illegible] dominion of Wenching Gallantry, they fell [illegible] upon Squills or long fish like Herb-[illegible] [illegible] in bulk upon the [illegible] daily, more [illegible] and [illegible] scorn'd the Festivities fought for his Marriage [illegible] or else regarding not at all, neither caring to [illegible] be belov'd. And in my Opinion the Wedlock [illegible] elsewhere, which signifies duty of trust and [illegible] federal [illegible], affording but one Letter from [illegible] which signifies to contain, or embrace, from [illegible] stronger and dearer, does [illegible] [illegible] call'd Conjugal, and is intermix'd by time and [illegible] with necessity. But in that same Wedlock [illegible] supports and infinity [illegible] in *Plato's* Commonwealth [illegible] will be no such Language as *Thine and Mine.* [illegible] perly to speak, there is no Community of Goods [illegible] all Friends, only where two Friends though [illegible] *Bodies*, yet having their Souls united, and [illegible] to think together, and neither being [illegible] having themselves to be two *separate Bodies* [illegible] mutual respect and [illegible], which is the [illegible] bond of Wedlock. But where the Law [illegible] yond the freedom of the Will, or where [illegible] engaged by force or fear, [illegible]

And many other Things that hope defied,

And doubtful spirits [illegible]

There is no question that they who are [illegible] [illegible] (fools) [illegible] *Aside* [illegible] Whereas to Love [illegible] Community [illegible] [illegible] and to [illegible] of [illegible] Affections [illegible] [illegible] upon no [illegible] good [illegible]

[illegible]

could not prevail with her [illegible] only while her Husband was alive. [illegible] having no other [illegible] Chastity, nor Consolation in her Affliction, [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible], who had lain with him in his Youth, and af[illegible] ſter [illegible] the Pleaſure, Periander [illegible] [illegible], ask'd his Minion, whether he were [illegible] Child or no? which the Lad took ſo heinouſly, that he ſtabb'd him. Whereas among Women that are mar-ry'd, thoſe are but the Beginnings of Friendſhip, [illegible] were, a communicating and imparting of Great and Sa-cred Myſteries. The Pleaſure of Coition is a ſmall thing; but the Honour, the Submiſſion, the mutual Love and Fidelity, which daily germinates from thence, [illegible] us, that neither the Delphians rav'd, who gave the Name of Harma or a Chariot to Venus; neither was Homer in an Error, who call'd the Conjunction of Married Women, by the Name of Friendſhip. And Solon was a Law-giver the moſt experienc'd in Conjugal Affairs; who decreed, that a Husband ſhould lye with his Wife thrice a Month at leaſt, not for Pleaſure [illegible] but that as Cities renew their Treaties one with another at ſuch a time, ſo that the Alliance of Marriage might be renew'd by the [illegible] of ſuch En-joyments. But you will ſay, there are many that are in Love with Women that are both baſe and diſhoneſt; [illegible] are there not many more [illegible] [illegible] by [illegible] are enamour'd upon Boys? But though there be a Paſſion after Boys, as well as a Dotage upon Women, yet can neither be truly ſaid to be truly [illegible] and therefore it is an Abſurdity to ſay, that Women are not capable of other Vertues, as well as [illegible] ſpeak of ſo many Signal for their Chaſtity, Pru-dence and Fidelity, we find others no leſs [illegible] their Juſtice, Fortitude, [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Cold. [illegible] are [illegible] [illegible] their Children, [illegible] [illegible] Natural Affection [illegible] [illegible]

Soul, as it is capable of [illegible]
to perfection [illegible]
But as Poetry [illegible]
Rythm, [illegible]
the wi[illegible] and [illegible]
more moving, [illegible]
more apt to [illegible] the Mind, [illegible]
adorn'd a W[illegible]
fensive L[illegible]
such Perfection [illegible]
but in a [illegible] and [illegible]
ders toward [illegible]
favour of the Husband. [illegible]
ceive, otherwise [illegible]
to his honour, [illegible]
have tolerated [illegible] W[illegible]
crifice to Lust, [illegible]
riage, [illegible]
sufficient Charm, [illegible]
if he will be [illegible]
he may [illegible] as the Comedy [illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]

For in Wedlock, as love [illegible]
to be below'd. [illegible]
falling [illegible]
ruin [illegible]
which [illegible]
[illegible]

dictory, who had [illegible] him in his Youth, and [illegible] admitted the Flames [illegible] Sweetness of [illegible] Acquaintance, mix'd his Wisdom, [illegible] Golden to [illegible] which the dead ones so [illegible] should [illegible]. Whereas among Women [illegible] ty'd, that are but the Beginnings of [illegible] which is communicating and imparting of [illegible] ered Mysteries. The Pleasure [illegible] thing; but the Honour, the [illegible] and Mutuality, which daily [illegible] up, that neither the Delphians rav'd, [illegible] Name of [illegible] or a [illegible] was [illegible], who call'd the [illegible] Married Women, by the Name of [illegible]. Solon was a Law-giver the most experienc'd in [illegible] Affairs; who decreed, that a Husband should [illegible] his Wife thrice a Month at least, not for [illegible] but that as Cities renew their Treaties one with [illegible] at such a time, so that the Alliance of [illegible] might be renew'd by the [illegible] of [illegible] joyments. But you will say, there are many that [illegible] Love with Women that are ill and deformed; [illegible] are there not more that [illegible] are enamour'd upon Boys? [illegible] Passion after Boys, as well as a Doting upon Women, yet can neither be truly said to be truly Love? [illegible] therefore it is an Absurdity to say, that Women are not capable of other Virtues, [illegible] to speak of so many Signs of their Chastity, Prudence and Fidelity; we find others no less [illegible] [illegible]

Sayd, as to Inconstancy [illegible] as perfections [illegible] But as Poetry [illegible] Ryhme, [illegible] more moving, [illegible] more apt to [illegible] ador'd a Woman [illegible] Language [illegible] but in a [illegible] favour of her [illegible]

[illegible]

• For in Woman to love [illegible] to be belov'd [illegible] perfect and [illegible] falling [illegible] ruin [illegible] of Constant [illegible]

[illegible] *foot*. The beginning of Co[illegible] is like a kind of Incorporation; for there are at first [illegible] of things that do not suffer [illegible] from the other. The very Mathematical Rudi[illegible] seem a little perplex to Children at the first, [illegible] troubling the Brains of Young [illegible] grown to maturity of Years; so [illegible] [illegible] among Lovers, [illegible] their first [illegible] [illegible] and disquiet. In so much that a Man would think Love it self resembled the mixture of two Liquors, which when they once begin to [illegible] by the Conjunction discover some little [illegible]; so Love at beginning bubbles up with a kind of Effervescency, till it is settled and purify'd, it acquires a firm and [illegible] Constitution. For this indeed is properly [illegible] [illegible], which is call'd the Mixture of the whole through the whole. Whereas the Love of [illegible] Friends conversing and living together is like the [illegible] and interchangings of Epicurus's Atoms, subject to repulses and separations, but can never compose such a Union as proceeds from Love, assisting conjugal Society. For neither are the Pleasures receiv'd from any other Love so great, nor the benefits conferr'd one from another, nor is the Glory and Beauty of any other Friendship so noble and desirable, [illegible] [illegible] Man and Wife at Board and Bed [illegible] [illegible] of Concord [illegible]

[illegible] Wisdom; it is a thing [illegible] [illegible] Doth [illegible] for the [illegible] the Poets call [illegible] the Earth, and the Nature [illegible] for the [illegible] Love [illegible] they copulate every Month, and [illegible] selves by vertue of that Conjunction [illegible] necessity follow, that the Earth [illegible] Mother of all [illegible] number of Plants, [illegible] quish'd, [illegible] ted by the God [illegible] quish to [illegible] of Generation.

But that we may not seem to wander [illegible] our time in Trifles, you your selves are not [illegible] that these Passions are by many [illegible] [illegible] things [illegible] rided by those that make use of [illegible] Friendship of Boys to be like an Egg [illegible] [illegible] the Lovers themselves are like the [illegible] dians, who having [illegible] the Spring [illegible] Pastures, presently [illegible] this Country. And that the Sophister [illegible] and fayrest, when he call'd [illegible] [illegible] by the Name [illegible] Argives, [illegible] by that [illegible] band, deliver'd from the Tyranny [illegible] But these Imputations are not charg'd upon true [illegible] Elegant therefore was that which was said by [illegible] For as he was playing and entertaining [illegible] just as the Down began to [illegible] [illegible] Love of certain Women does [illegible]

[illegible] calend of their Lives. I ſhall only inſtance one Example which happen'd in our time, during the Reign of Cæſar Veſpaſian. Sabinus who was the chief that ſtirr'd up the Revolt in Galatia among many other Companions in the Rebellion had one Sabinus, a Young Gentleman, of no mean Spirit, and for Fame and Riches inferior to none. But having undertaken a very difficult enterprize they miſcarry'd, and therefore expecting nothing but Death by the hand of Juſtice, ſome of them kill'd themſelves, others made their Eſcapes as well as they could; and as for Sabinus he had all the Opportunities that could be to ſave himſelf by flight to the Barbarians. But he had Marry'd a Lady the beſt of Women, which they call'd by the Name of Empone, as much as to ſay in the Greek Language a Heroine. This Woman it was not in his Power to leave, neither could he carry her commodiouſly along with him. He had therefore in the Country certain Vaults or Caves under ground, where he had hid his Treaſure and Moveables of greateſt value, which were only known to two of his freed Bondmen. He diſmiſſing the reſt of his Servants, as if he had intended to have poyſon'd himſelf, and taking along with him his two faithful and truſty Servants, he hid himſelf in one of the Vaults and ſent another of his enfranchis'd Attendants whoſe Name was Martialis, to tell his Wife that her Husband had poyſon'd himſelf, and that the Houſe and his Corps were both burnt together; deſigning by the Lamentation and unfeigned Grief of his Wife, to make the Report of his Death the more eaſily believ'd; which fell out according to his Wiſh. For the Lady ſo ſoon as ſhe heard the News, threw her ſelf upon the Floor, and there continu'd for three Days together without Meat or Drink, making the moſt lamentable Cries, and bewailing her lot with all the marks of a real and unfeigned Anguiſh: Which Sabinus underſtanding, feigning her Sorrow [illegible] laid hands upon her ſelf [illegible] to tell her he was yet alive, and [illegible] Place; however that ſhe ſhould for a while continue her Mourning and be ſure [illegible] counterfeit her Grief, that ſhe ſhould not be diſcover'd. And indeed in all other things the Lady acted her Part ſo well, and heighten'd her Paſſion to that degree, that no Woman could do it better. But having [illegible] deſire to ſee her Husband, ſhe went to him in the Night, and return'd again ſo privately, that no body took any notice of her. And thus ſhe continu'd keeping him Company for ſeven Months together, that it might be ſaid to differ very little from living in Hell it ſelf [illegible] ly diſguis'd [illegible] odd ſort of Habit, [illegible] be known, ſhe carry'd [illegible] diſcover'd to ſeveral [illegible] to obtain his Pardon, ſhe return'd with him [illegible] Den, and for many Years convers'd with him [illegible] Ground; only between [illegible] and there ſhew'd her ſelf in Public [illegible] her Friends and familiar Acquaintance. [illegible] was the moſt incredible [illegible] beſides, that none of thoſe perceiv'd her being [illegible] Child, though ſhe were very big [illegible] For ſuch is the Nature of [illegible] with the Women [illegible] Colour [illegible] Body, and [illegible] Lady [illegible] of [illegible] of her Child-bearing alone by her ſelf, like a L[illegible] hiding her ſelf in her Den with her Husband, and as I may ſay, bred up in private her two Male W[illegible] for at one time ſhe was deliver'd of two Boys. O[illegible] which there was one who was ſlain in *Egypt*; the o[illegible] whoſe Name was alſo *Sabinus*, was but very lately w[illegible] us at *Delphi*. For this reaſon *Cæſar* put the Lady to death; but dearly paid for the *Murder*, by the [illegible] extirpation of his whole Poſterity, which in a ſh[illegible] time after was utterly cut off from the Face of the Earth. For during his whole Reign, there was n[illegible] a more cruel and ſavage Act committed; neither w[illegible] there any other Spectacle, which in all probability the Gods and Dæmons more deteſted, or from which they would turn their Eyes in Abomination of the Sight. Yet then ſhe abated the compaſſion of the Spectators by the boldneſs of her behaviour and the Grandeur of her S[illegible] [illegible] than which there was nothing more [illegible] *Veſpaſian*; when deſpairing of her Husbands Pardon, ſhe did as it were challenge the Emperor to exchange her Life for his; telling him with all, that ſhe accounted it a far greater Pleaſure to have liv'd in darkneſs under ground, than to ſee him Reign in all his Splendor.

Here, as my Father told me, ended the Diſcourſe concerning Love, they being now got pretty near to *Theſp*[illegible] at what time they ſaw coming a good round pa[illegible] toward them one of *Piſias*'s Friends, by name *Diogenes*; to whom when *Soclarus*, while he was yet at a diſtance cry'd out, No tydings of War, *Diogenes*, I hope? No no, ſaid he, there never can be at a Wedding; and therefore mend your pace, for the Nuptial Sacrifice [illegible] only for your coming. And to tell ye the Truth, [illegible] the reſt of the Company were exceeding glad, only *Zeuxippus* ſeemed to be a little moody. And yet he was the firſt who when it came to the concluſion, [illegible] what *Anthemion* had done; and at the [illegible]

To

putting on a Garland upon his Head, and throwing a White Nuptial Robe about his Shoulders, march'd before all the Company through the Market Place, to give thanks to the God of Love. Well done, by Jupiter, come away, come away then, cry'd my Father, that we may Laugh and be merry with our Friend, and adore the Deity, ſo Apparently and Propitiouſly preſent with his Favour and Approbation of the Wedding.

Plutarch's Morals :

Vol. IV.

Five Tragical Hiſtories of Love.

Tranſlated from the Greek *by* Sir *A. I.*

IN *Aliartus*, which is a City of *Bœotia*, liv'd a Young Damſel, of ſurpaſſing Beauty, wh Name was *Ariſtoclia*, the Daughter of *Theoph* This Lady was courted by *Straton* an *Orch* and *Calliſthenes* of *Haliartus*; but *Straton* was the Wealthy of the two, and more enamour'd of the Virgin. For he had ſeen her Bathing her ſelf in the Fountain of *Ercyne*, which is in *Lebadia*, againſt the Time ſhe was to celebrate the So-lemnity of carying the * Sacred Pannier as an Off ing to *Jupiter* the King. But the Virgin her ſelf had a greater Affection for *Calliſthenes*, for that he was more nearly ally'd to her. In this caſe, her Father *Theophanes* not knowing well what to do (for he was afraid of *Straton*, who had the Advantage both of Noble Birth and Riches above all the reſt of the *Bœotians*) reſolv'd to refer the Choice to the Oracle of *Jupiter Trophonius.* On the other ſide, *Straton* (for he was made believe by ſome of the Virgins familiar Acquaintance, that his Miſtriſs had the greateſt Kindneſs for him) earneſtly deſir'd to refer the Matter to the Election of the Virgin her ſelf. But when *Theophanes* put the Queſtion to his Daughter in a great Aſſembly of all the Friends of all Parties, ſo it fell out that the Damſel preferr'd *Calliſthenes.* Thereupon it preſently appear'd in *Straton's* Countenance, how much he was diſguſted at the Indignity he had receiv'd. However, two days after he came to *Theophanes* and *Calliſthenes*, requeſting the Continuance of their Friendſhip, notwithſtanding that ſome *Dæmon* had envy'd him the Happineſs of his intended Marriage. Who ſo well approv'd his Propoſal, that they invited him to the Wedding and the Nuptial Feaſt. But he in the mean time having muſter'd together a great Number of his Friends, together with a numerous Troop of his own Servants, whom he ſecretly diſpers'd and diſpos'd up and down in Places proper for his Purpoſe, watch'd his Opportunity ſo well, that as the Damſel was going down, according to the Cuſtom of the Country, to the Fountain, call'd *Ciſſoeſſa*, there to pay her Offerings to the Nymphs before her Wedding-day, he and his Accomplices ruſhing out of their *Ambuſcado*, ſeiz'd upon the Virgin, whom *Strato* held faſt and pull'd to himſelf. On the other ſide, *Calliſthenes*, with thoſe that were about him, as it is eaſie to be believ'd, flew with all ſpeed to her Relief; and in this fatal Conteſt, while the one tugg'd, and the other hawl'd, the unhappy Damſel periſh'd. As for *Calliſthenes*, he was never ſeen any more, whether he lay'd violent hands upon himſelf, or whether it were

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* This Pannier was of pure Gold, fill'd with all the Firſt Fruits of the Seaſon, and was carry'd by Virgins that were come to Maturity, though not in Honour of *Jupiter*, but of *Bacchus*, as *Dinarchus* affirms. Others ſay, that thoſe Panniers were fill'd by the Nobler Sort of *Athenian* Virgins, with ſuch things as they had wrought with moſt Beauty and Curioſity and of-fer'd to *Diana*, ſignifying thereby that they were weary of their Virginity, and deſir'd to change their Courſe of Life.

that

that he left *Bœotia* as a voluntary Exile, for no Man could give any account of him afterwards. And as for Strato, he flew himself upon the dead Body of the unfortunate Virgin.

A certain great Person, whose Name was *Phido*, designing to make himself Lord of the whole *Peloponnesus*, and more especially desirous that *Argos*, being his Native Country, should be the Metropolis of all the rest, resolv'd to reduce the *Corinthians* under his Subjection. To this purpose he sent to them, to demand a Levy of a thousand young Gentlemen, the most Valiant, and the Chiefest, in the Prime of their Age, in the whole City. Accordingly, they sent him a thousand young Sparks, brisk and gallant, under the Leading of *Dexander*, whom they chose to be their Captain. But *Phido*, designing nothing more then the Massacre of these Gentlemen, to the end he might the more easily make himself Master of *Corinth*, enfeebl'd by so great a Loss (as being by the Scituation of it, the only Bulwark to guard the Entrance into *Peloponnesus*) imparted this Contrivance of his to several of his Confidents, in which Number, was one whose Name was *Abro*, who having been formerly acquainted, and familiarly entertained by *Dexander*, discover'd the whole Conspiracy to his Friend in acknowledgment of his Kindness. By which means the *Phliasii*, before they fell into the *Ambuscade*, retreated and got safe to *Corinth*. *Phido* thus disappointed, made all the Inquiry imaginable, to find out who it was that had betray'd and discover'd his Design. Which *Abro* understanding, fled to *Corinth* with his Wife and all his Family, and seat'd himself in *Melissus*, a certain Village in the Territory of the *Corinthians*. There he begat a Son, whom he nam'd *Melissus*, from the Name of the Place where he was born. The Son of this *Melissus* was *Actæon*, the loveliest and most modest of all the Striplings of his Age. For which reason there were several this fell in Love with him, but none with so much Ardour as *Archias*, being of the Race of the *Heraclidae*, and for Wealth and Authority, the greatest Person in all *Corinth*. This *Archias*, when he found that no fair Means and Perſwaſions would prevail upon the young Lad, reſolv'd to raviſh him away by Force. To which purpoſe he invited himſelf to *Meliſſus*'s Houſe, as it were, to make Merry, accompany'd with a great number of his Friends and Servants, and by their Aſſiſtance, made an Attempt to carry away the Boy by Violence. But the Father and his Friends oppoſing the Rape, and the Neighbours coming in to the Reſcue of the Child, poor *Actaeon*, between the one and the other, was pull'd and hawl'd to Death; and *Archias* with his Company departed. Upon this, *Meliſſus* carry'd the murther'd Body of his Son into the Market place of *Corinth*, and there expoſing him to publick View, demanded Juſtice to be done upon the Murtherers. But finding that the *Corinthians* only pity'd his Condition, without taking any further notice of the Matter, he return'd home, and waited for the Grand Aſſembly of the *Greeks* at *Iſthmus*. At what time, getting up to the very Top of *Neptune*'s Temple, he exclaim'd againſt the whole Race of the *Bacchiadae*, and after he had made a publick Relation of the good Service which his Father *Abro* had done the *Corinthians*, he invok'd the Vengeance of the Gods, and preſently threw himſelf headlong among the Rocks. Soon after the *Corinthians* being plagu'd with a moſt terrible Drought, upon which enſu'd a violent Famine, ſent to the Oracle, to know by what means they might be deliver'd from their Calamity. To whom the Deity made anſwer, that it was *Neptune*'s Wrath, which would not ceaſe till they had reveng'd the Death of *Actaeon*: which *Archias* hearing (for he was one of thoſe that were ſent to the Oracle) he never return'd again to *Corinth*, but ſailing into *Sicily*, built there the City of *Sy-*

racuſe, where after he was become the Father of two Daughters, *Ortygia* and *Syracouſſa*, he was treacherouſly ſlain by *Telephus*, whom he had preternaturally abus'd in his Youth, and who, having the Command of a Ship, Sail'd along with him into *Sicily*.

A certain poor Man, *Skedaſus* by Name, liv'd at *Leuctra*, a ſmall Village in the Territory of the *Theſpians*, and had two Daughters, *Hippo* and *Mileſia*; or as others ſay, *Theano* and *Euxippe*. This *Skedaſus* was a very good Man, and to the Extent of his Fortune, very Hoſpitable to Strangers. Which was the reaſon that moſt readily and gladly he entertain'd two young Gentlemen of *Sparta*, that came to lodge at his Houſe. Who falling in Love with the Virgins, yet were ſo over-aw'd by the Kindneſs that *Skedaſus* had ſhew'd them, that they durſt not make any rude Attempt for that time. The next Morning therefore they went directly to the City of *Delphos*; where after they had conſulted the Oracle, touching ſuch Queſtions as they had to put, they return'd homeward, and travelling through *Bœotia*, ſtopp'd again at *Skedaſus*'s Houſe, who happen'd at that time, not to be at *Leuctra*. However, his Daughters, according to that Education to which their Father had accuſtom'd them, gave the ſame entertainment to the Strangers, as if their Father had been at Home. But ſuch was the perfidious Ingratitude of theſe Gueſts, that finding the Virgins alone, they raviſh'd, and by force deflowr'd the Damſels; and which was worſe, perceiving them lamenting to exceſs the undeſerv'd Injury they had receiv'd, the Raviſhers murther'd 'em, and after they had thrown their Bodies into a Well, went their ways. Soon after *Skedaſus* returning Home, miſs'd both his Daughters, but all things elſe he found ſafe and in order as he left them; which put him into ſuch a Quandary, that he knew not what to ſay or do, till inſtructed by a little Bitch that ſeveral times in a Day came whining and fawning upon him, and then return'd to the Well; he began to ſuſpect what he found to be true, and ſo he drew up the dead Bodies of his Daughters. Moreover, being then inform'd by his Neighbours, that they had ſeen the two *Lacedemonian* Gentlemen which he had entertain'd ſome time before, go into his Houſe, he gueſs'd them to be the Perſons who had committed the Fact, for that they would be always praiſing the Virgins when they lodg'd there before, and telling their Father what happy Men they would be that ſhould have the good Fortune to marry them. Thereupon away he went to *Lacedæmon*, with a Reſolution to make his Complaint to the *Ephori*; but being benighted in the Territory of *Argos*, he put into a Publick Houſe, where he found another Old Man, of the City of *Oreum*, in the Province of *Heſtiæa*; whom when he heard Sighing and Curſing the *Lacedemonians*, *Skedaſus* ask'd him what Injury the *Lacedemonians* had done him? In anſwer to which, the Old Man gave him this Account: *I am*, ſaid he, *a Subject to the Lacedemonians, by whom*, Ariſtodemus *was ſent to* Oreum, *to be Governor of that Place, where he committed ſeveral Outrages and Savage Enormities. Among the reſt, being fallen in Love with my Son, when he could by no fair means procure his Conſent, he endeavour'd to carry him away by main Force out of the Wreſtling-Place: But the Preſident of the Exerciſes oppoſing him, with the Aſſiſtance of ſeveral of the Young Men*, Ariſtodemus *was conſtrain'd to retire; but the next Day, having provided a Galley to be in a readineſs, he raviſh'd away my Son, and ſailing from* Oreum *to the oppoſite Continent, endeavour'd, when he had the Boy, there to abuſe his Body, and becauſe the Lad refus'd to ſubmit to his Luſt, cut the Child's Throat. Upon his Return, he made a great Feaſt at* Oreum, *to which he invited all his Friends. In the mean while, I being ſoon inform'd of the ſad Accident, preſently went and interr'd the Body; and having ſo* *dawn, I made haſte to* Sparta, *and preferr'd my Complaint to the* Epori, *but they gave me no Anſwer, nor took any notice of the Matter.*

Skedaſus having heard this Relation, remain'd very much dejected, believing he ſhould have no better Succeſs. However, in his Turn, he gave an Account to the Stranger of his own ſad Miſchance; which when he had done, the Stranger adviſ'd him not to complain to the *Ephori*, but to return to his own Country, and erect a Monument for his two Daughters. But *Skedaſus* not liking this Advice, went to *Sparta*, made his Caſe known to the *Ephori*, and demanded Juſtice, who taking no notice of his Complaint, away he went to the Kings, but they as little regarding him, he apply'd himſelf to every particular Citizen, and recommended to them the Sadneſs of his Condition. At length, when he ſaw nothing would do, he ran through the City, ſtretching forth his Hands to the Sun, and ſtamping the Ground with his Feet, call'd upon the Furies to revenge his Cauſe; and when he had done all he could, in the laſt place ſlew himſelf; but afterwards the *Lacedæmonians* dearly pay'd for their Injuſtice. For being at that time Lords of all *Greece*, while all the chiefeſt Cities of that ſpacious Region were curb'd by their Garriſons, *Epaminondas* the *Theban* was the firſt that threw off their Yoak, and cut the Throats of the Garriſon that lay in *Thebes*. Upon which, the *Lacedæmonians* making War upon the Revolters, the *Thebans* met them at *Leuctra*, confident of Succeſs from the Name of the Place, for that formerly they had been there deliver'd from Slavery; at what time *Amphytryon* being driven into Exile by *Sthenelus*, came to the City of *Thebes*, and finding them Tributaries to the *Chalcidians*, after he had ſlain *Chalcodon*, King of the *Eubœans*, eas'd them altogether of that Burthen. In like manner it happen'd that the *Lacedæmonians* were vanquiſh'd not far from the Monument of Scedaſus's Daughters. It is reported alſo that before the Fight, Pelopidas being then one of the Theban Generals, and troubled by reaſon of ſome certain Signs that ſeem'd to portend ſome ill Event of the Battel, Scedaſus appear'd to him in a Dream, and bid him be of good Courage, for that the Lacedemonians were come to Leuctra to receive the juſt Vengeance which they ow'd to him and his Daughters; only the Ghoſt adviſ'd him, the Day before he encounter'd the Lacedemonians, to Sacrifice the Fole of a white Mare, which he ſhould find ready for him cloſe by his Daughters Sepulchre. Whereupon Pelopidas, while the Lacedemonians yet lay encamp'd at Tegea, ſent certain Perſons to examine the Truth of the Matter, and finding by the Inhabitants thereabouts that every thing agreed with his Dream, he advanc'd with his Army boldly forward and won the Field.

Phocus was a *Bœotian* by Birth (for he was born in the City of *Gliſas*) the Father of *Challirrhoe*, who was a Virgin of matchleſs Beauty and Modeſty, and courted by thirty young Gentlemen, the Prime of the *Bœotian* Nobility. *Phocus* therefore ſeeing ſo many Suitors about her, ſtill pretended one Excuſe or other to put off her Marriage, afraid leaſt ſome Force or other ſhould be put upon her. At length, when he could hold out no longer, the Gentlemen being offended at his dilatory Anſwers, he deſir'd them to refer it to the *Pythian* Deity to make the Choice. But this the Gentlemen took ſo heinouſly, that they fell upon *Phocus* and ſlew him. In this Combuſtion and Tumult, the Virgin making her Eſcape, fled into the Country, and was as ſoon purſu'd by the young Sparks; but lighting upon certain Country People that were piling up their Wheat in a Barn, by their Aſſiſtance ſhe ſav'd her ſelf; for the Country-men hid her in the Corn; ſo that they who were in chaſe of her, paſs'd her by. The Virgin thus preſerv'd, kept her ſelf cloſe till the General Aſſembly of the *Bœotians*, call'd *Pamboiotia*, and then coming to *Coronea*, ſhe there ſate as a Suppliant before the Altar of * *Itonian Minerva*, and there gave a full Relation of the Villany and Murther committed by her ſeveral Suitors, diſcovering withal the Names of the Perſons, and Places of their Abode. The *Bœotians* commiſerating the Virgin, were no leſs incens'd againſt the young Gentlemen; who having notice of what had paſs'd, fled to *Orchomenus*; but being ſhut out by the Citizens, made their Eſcape to *Hippota*, a Village near to *Helicon*, ſeated between *Thebes* and *Coronea*, where they were receiv'd and protected. Thither the *Thebans* ſent to have the Murtherers of *Phocus* deliver'd up, which the Inhabitants refuſing to do, they march'd againſt the Town with a good Force of other *Bœotians*, under the Leading of *Phœdus*, then the chief Ruler of *Thebes*, and laying Siege to it, for it was a ſtrong Place, at laſt they took it for want of Water; and in the firſt place, having apprehended all the Murtherers, they ſton'd them to Death; then they condemn'd the Inhabitants to perpetual Slavery, broke down the Walls, ruin'd the Houſes, and divided the Land between the *Thebans* and *Coroneans*. The Report goes, that the Night before *Hippota* was taken, there was a Voice heard from *Helicon*, ſeveral times uttering theſe Words, *I am come*; and that when the thirty Rivals heard it, they knew it to be the Voice of *Phocus*; and it was ſaid moreover, that the very Day the Rivals were ſton'd, the Monument of the old Man, which was erected in *Cloiſæ*, was cover'd with Saffron. And as *Phœdus*, the Governor and General of the *Thebans*, was upon his March homeward from the Siege, News was brought him upon the Way, that his Wife had brought him a Daughter, which for the

* Rather *Iconian*.

the good Omens Sake, he call'd by the Name of *Nicoſtrata.*

Alcippus was a *Lacedemonian* by Birth, who marrying *Damocrita*, became the Father of two Daughters. This *Alcippus* being a Perſon that always adviſ'd the City for the beſt, and one that was always ready to ſerve his Country-men upon all Occaſions, was envy'd by a contrary Faction that bandy'd againſt him, and continually accus'd him to the *Ephori*, as one that endeavour'd to ſubvert the ancient Laws and Conſtitutions of the City, and never left till the *Ephori* had baniſh'd the Husband who being condemn'd, forſook the City; but when *Damocrita* and his Daughters would fain have follow'd him, they would not permit them to ſtir. Moreover they confiſcated his Eſtate, to deprive his Daughters of their Portions. Nay, more then this, when there were ſome that courted the Daughters for the Sake of their Fathers Vertue, his Enemies obtain'd a Decree, whereby it was forbid that any Man ſhould make Love to the young Ladies, cunningly alledging, that the Mother had often pray'd to the Gods to favour her Daughters with ſpeedy Wedlock, to the end they might the ſooner bring forth Children to be reveng'd of the Injury done their Father. *Damocrita* thus beſet, and in a Streight on every ſide, ſtay'd till the General Feſtival, when the Women, together with their Daughters, Servants and little Children Feaſt in publick together; on which day, the Wives of the Magiſtrates and Perſons in Dignity, Feaſt all Night in a ſpacious Hall by themſelves. But then it was that *Damocrita*, with a Sword girt about her, and taking her Daughters with her, went in the Night-time to the Temple, and watching her Opportunity, when the Women were all buſie in the great Hall, performing the Myſteries of the Solemnity, after all the Ways and Paſſages were ſtopp'd up, ſhe fetch'd the Wood that was ready prepared for the Sacrifices appertaining to the Feſtival, and pil'd it againſt the Doors of the Room, and ſo ſet Fire to it. All was then in a Hurry, and the Men came crowding in vain to help their Wives; but then it was that *Damocrita* ſlew her Daughters, [illegible] upon their Dead Bodies her ſelf. Thus the *Lacedemonians* not knowing upon whom to wreck their Anger, were forc'd to be contented with only throwing the dead Bodies of the Mother and the Daughters without the Confines of their Territories. For which barbarous Act of theirs the Deity being highly offended, plagu'd the *Lacedemonians*, as their Hiſtories record, with that muſt dreadful Earthquake, ſo remarkable to Poſterity.

Plutarch's

PLUTARCH's

Diſcourſe to an unlearned Prince.

Tranſlated from the Greek by Mr. John Kerſey.

PLato being deſired by the *Cyrenians* to preſcribe to them good Laws, and to ſettle their Government, refuſed to do it; ſaying, That it was a hard matter to give them any Law, whilſt they enjoyed ſo much Proſperity; ſince nothing is ſo fierce, arrogant and untameable as a Man that thinks himſelf to be in a happy Condition: Wherefore it is very difficult to give Counſel to Princes in Matters of Government; for they fear to receive Advice as a thing ſeeming to command them, leaſt the Force of Reaſon ſhould ſeem to leſſen their Power, by obliging it to ſubmit to Truth. And they conſider not the Saying of *Theopompus*, King of *Sparta*, who being the firſt in that Country that joyn'd the * *Ephori* with the Kings, was reproached by his Wife, becauſe by this means he would leave the Kingdom to his Children leſs than he found it, to whom he replied, that he ſhould render it ſo much the greater, by how much the more firm it was; for by holding the Reins of Government ſomewhat looſe, he avoided all Envy and Danger; nevertheleſs, ſince he permitted the Stream of his Power to flow ſo freely into other Channels, what he gave to them muſt needs be a Loſs to himſelf. Though Philoſophy poſſeſſing a Prince as his Aſſiſtant and Keeper, by taking away the dangerous part of Fulneſs of Power, leaves the ſound. But many Kings and Princes fooliſhly imitate thoſe unskilful Statuaries, who think to make their Images look Great and Fierce, if they make them much ſtradling and diſtended; after the ſame manner, they, by the grave Tone of their Voice, ſtern Countenance, and moroſe Behaviour, would affect a kind of Majeſtick Grandeur, not unlike thoſe Statues, that without ſeem to be of an Heroic and Divine Form, but within, are fill'd with nothing but Earth, Stone and *Lead*, with this only Difference, that the weight of theſe maſſie Bodies renders them ſtable and unmoveable, whereas unlearned Princes, by their internal Ignorance, are often ſhaken and overthrown, and in regard they do not build their Power on its true Baſis and Foundation, they fall together with it: For as it is neceſſary at firſt that the Rule it ſelf ſhould be right and ſtreight, before thoſe things that are applied to it can be rectified and made like unto it. So a Potentate ought in the firſt place to learn how to govern his own Paſſions, and to imbue his Mind with a Tincture of Princely Vertues, and afterwards to make his Subjects conformable to his Example; for it is not the Property of one that is ready to fall himſelf, to hinder another from Tripping; nor of one that is Rude and Illiterate, to inſtruct the Ignorant; neither can a Perſon Govern, that is under no Government. But many being deceived by a falſe Opinion, eſteem it the chiefeſt Good in Ruling, to be ſubject to no Authority; and thus the *Perſian* King accounted all as his Servants and Slaves except his Wife, whoſe Maſter he ought more eſpecially to have been. Who then ſhall have Power to govern a Prince? The Law, without doubt, which (as *Pindar* ſaith) is the King of Mortal and Immortal Beings, and is not written without in Books, nor engraven on Wood or Stone, but is a clear Reaſon imprinted in the Heart, always reſiding and watching therein, and never ſuffering the Mind to be without Government. The King of *Perſia* indeed, commanded one of his Lords that lay in the ſame Chamber, to attend him every Morning, and to ſound theſe Words in his Ears: *Ariſe, O King! and take care of thoſe Affairs and Duties that* * Oromaſdes *requires of thee.* But a Wiſe and Learned Prince hath ſuch a Monitor within his Breaſt, that always prompts and admoniſhes him to the ſame effect. It was a Saying of *Polemon*, that Love was the Miniſter of the Gods, appointed to take care of the Education of Youth, but it might be more truly affirmed, that Princes are the Adminiſtrators of the Divine Power, for the Safety and Protection of Mankind, to diſtribute part of thoſe Goods that God beſtows on Men, and to reſerve part for themſelves.

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* Certain Magiſtrates, whoſe Office it was to inſpect the Affairs of the Common-wealth.

* One of the Gods of the *Perſians.*

Doſt thou behold the vaſt and azure Skie,
How in its liquid Arms the Earth doth lie?

The Air indeed diſpierces the firſt Principles of convenient Seeds, but the Earth cauſeth them to ſpring forth; ſome grow and thrive by the means of moderate and refreſhing Showrs, ſome delight in gentle Breezes of Wind, and ſome are cheriſhed by the Influence of the Moon and Stars; but 'tis the Sun that perfects and beautifies all, inſpiring them with the Principle of mutual Sympathy and Love. Nevertheleſs, all theſe, ſo many, and ſo great Benefits that are the Effects of the Divine Munificence and Liberality, cannot be enjoyed, nor duly made uſe of, without a Law, Juſtice and a Prince; for Juſtice is the end of the Law, the Law is the Prince's Work, and the Prince is the Image of God, that diſpoſeth all things; he doth not ſtand in need of a *Phidias*, a *Polycletus*, or a *Myro*; but by the Practice of Vertue,

tue, makes himſelf moſt like the Divine Nature, an becomes a moſt delectable Object to God and Ma for as God hath placed the Sun and Moon in Heav as manifeſt Tokens of his Power and Glory, ſo th Majeſty of a Prince is reſplendent on Earth, as he is hi Repreſentative and Vice-gerent.

Who doth like God moſt Righteous Laws diſpenſe.

Viz. Such a one as is endowed with the Wiſdom and Underſtanding of the Deity, but pretends not to bran diſh his Scepter, Thunder or Trident, as ſome have vain ly cauſed themſelves to be painted in ſuch a Poſture, thereby expoſing their egregious Folly to the World, in affecting that which they are not able to attain to. For God cannot but be incenſed againſt thoſe that preſume to imitate him, in producing Thunder, Lightnings, and in ſuch like Works of his Omnipotence; but if any ſtrive to emulate his Goodneſs and Mercy, being well pleaſed with their Endeavours, he will aſſiſt them, and will endue them with his Juſtice, Truth and Gentleneſs, than which, nothing can be more Sacred and Pure not Fire, not Light, not the Courſe of the Sun, nor the Riſing and Setting of the Stars, nor even Eterni and Immortality it ſelf: For God is not only happy by reaſon of the Duration of his Being, but becauſe of the Excellency of his Vertue, this is properly Divine and Tranſcendent, and that is alſo good which is govern by it. *Anaxarchus* endeavouring to comfort *Alexand* who was very much afflicted for the Murther he had committed on the Perſon of *Clitus*, told him, that he regretted it, and that the the Gods had determined, that whatſoever was done by a King, ſhould be accounted Lawful and Juſt; but by this means he indifferently pre vented his Repentance, and encouraged him to the committing the like Crimes again. But if any

he

be permitted to gueſs at theſe Matters, *Jupiter* hath not Juſtice for an Aſſeſſor or Counſellor, but is himſelf Juſtice and Right, and the Original and Perfection of all Laws; and therefore the Antients deviſed and taught theſe things, that they might thereby ſhew, that *Jupiter* himſelf could not Rule well without Juſtice, for ſhe is (according to *Heſiod*) a pure and undefiled Virgin, and the Companion of Modeſty, Chaſtity and *Simplicity; hence Kings are called Venerable, for they deſerve moſt Veneration that fear leaſt; but a Prince ought to be more afraid of doing Ill, than of ſuffering, for this is the Cauſe of the other, and this is a noble and generous ſort of Fear, well becoming a Prince; to be ſollicitous leaſt any Harm ſhould befall his Subjects unawares, and not expected.

As faithful Dogs ſurpriz'd with ſudden Fear,
When once they ſee the Savage Beaſts appear,
Not for themſelves, but of their Flocks take care.

Epaminondas, when on a certain Feſtival Day, the *Thebans* gave themſelves up wholly to Drinking and Carowſing, went about alone and view'd the Arſenal and the Walls of the City, ſaying, That he was Sober and Vigilant, that others might have Liberty to be Drunk and to Sleep. And *Cato* at *Utica*, when he called together by Proclamation, all his Souldiers that had eſcaped the Slaughter, to the Sea-ſide, cauſed them to embark in Ships, and having prayed for their proſperous Voyage, returned home and kill'd himſelf, leaving an Example to Princes, for whom they ought to fear, and what they ought to contemn. *Clearchus*, King of *Pontus*, creeping into a Cheſt, ſlept therein like a Snake; and *Ariſtodemus* lay with his Concubine in a Bed, plac'd in

* Inſtead of ὠφελείας, I read ἀφελείας

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in an upper Room over a Trap door, her Mother removing the Ladder as ſoon as they were got up, and bringing it again in the Morning: How then did he Fear to be ſeen in the Theatre, in the Judgment Hall, in the Court, or at a Feaſt, who had turned his Bed-Chamber into a Priſon? For indeed good Princes are poſſeſſed with Fear for their Subjects, but Tyrants are afraid of them, inſomuch that their Timorouſneſs encreaſeth with their Power, ſince by how much the more People they have under their Dominion, ſo much the more Objects they ſee of Dread and Terror. Neither is it probable nor convenient (as ſome Philoſophers affirm) that God ſhould be mingled together with Matter that is altogether paſſive, and obnoxious to innumerable Neceſſities, Chances and Mutations; but to us he ſeems to be placed ſomewhere above with an eternal Nature, that always operates after the ſame manner, and proceeding (as *Plato* ſaith) on Sacred Foundations, according to Nature, brings his Works to Perfection: And as he hath placed the Sun in the Firmament, as a clear Image of his moſt Sacred and Glorious Eſſence, in which, as through a Glaſs, he exhibits himſelf to the Contemplation of Wiſe Men: So in like manner the Splendor of Juſtice that appears in ſome Cities, is a Kind of Repreſentation of the Divine Wiſdom, which happy and prudent Perſons deſcribe by the help of Philoſophy, addicting themſelves to the Study of things of a moſt ſublime and excellent Nature. It is certain that this Diſpoſition of Mind cannot be attained but by the Doctrine of Philoſophy; otherwiſe we ſhall lye under the ſame Circumſtances as *Alexander*, who ſeeing *Diogenes* at *Corinth*, and being aſtoniſhed at his Ingenuity and Majeſtick Gravity, let fall this Expreſſion, *If I were not Alexander, I would chooſe to be* Diogenes; for being almoſt oppreſt with the Weight of his own Grandeur and Power, which are the Impediments of Vertue and Meditation, dition, he ſeemed to envy the Happineſs of a Thread-bare Cloak and Pouch, with which the *Cynic* rendred himſelf as invincible, as he could be with all his Armor, Horſes and Spears: However, he had an Opportunity to Philoſophize, and to become *Diogenes* in his Mind, though he remained *Alexander* in his outward State and Condition; and he might more eaſily be *Diogenes*, becauſe he was *Alexander*, foraſmuch as to keep the Veſſel of his Proſperous Fortune ſteady, which was toſſed with the Winds and Waves, he ſtood in need of a good quantity of Ballaſt, and of a skilful Pilot: Amongſt the mean and inferior ſort of People, Folly mingled with Weakneſs is deſtitute of an Ability to do Miſchief, and the Mind is vexed and diſtracted by it as a diſtempered Brain is with troubleſome Dreams, inſomuch that it hath not ſtrength enough to execute what it deſires; but Power joyned with a corrupt and depraved Inclination, adds the Fuel of Madneſs to the Fire of the Paſſions; ſo true is that Saying of *Dionyſius*, who declared that he then chiefly enjoyed his Authority, when he ſpeedily performed what he deſigned; but herein lyes the greateſt Danger, leſt he that is able to do all things that he deſires, ſhould deſire thoſe things that he ought not.

The Word's no ſooner ſaid but th' Act is done.

Vice being furniſhed with Wheels by Power, ſets all the Faculties of the Soul in a violent Fermentation; of Anger it makes Murther, of Love Adultery, and of Covetouſneſs, the Confiſcation of other Mens Goods.

The Word's no ſooner ſaid——

But the Offender is Executed, and the accuſed Perſon is put to Death meerly upon Suſpicion; and as Naturaliſts affirm, that the Lightning breaks forth after the Thunder, as the Blood follows the Wound, but is ſeen firſt, ſince whilſt the Ear expects the Sound, the Eye diſcerns the Light, ſo under ſome Governments the Puniſhments precede the Accuſation, and the Condemnation prevents the proving of the Crime.

There Fury reigns, as Cables can't aſſwage,
Nor Anchors ſtop the foaming Billows Rage,

Unleſs this exorbitant Power be reſtrained and kept within its due Bounds by the force of ſound Reaſon. Therefore a Prince ought to imitate the Sun, which being come to its greateſt height in the Northern Signs, moves ſloweſt, whereby he renders his Courſe the more ſafe: For 'tis not poſſible that the Vices and Faults of Perſons in Authority can be concealed in Obſcurity; but as People that are troubled with the Falling-Sickneſs, if they wander about in the Cold, are ſeized with a Giddineſs in the Head, and a Dimneſs in the Sight, which are the uſual Symptoms of that Diſeaſe; ſo Fortune, when ſhe hath a little exalted illiterate and fooliſh Men with Riches, Glory, or Authority, ſuddenly haſtens their Ruine: And as amongſt empty Veſſels, it cannot eaſily be diſcerned which are whole and which are leaky, but by the powring in of any Liquor; ſo corrupt and exulcerated Minds, with the Infuſion of Power, are not able to contain it, but immediately overflow with Concupiſcenſe, Anger, Arrogance and Folly. And what need is there of mentioning theſe Particulars? ſince the leaſt Faults and Miſcarriages of renowned and famous

Men lye under the laſh of Slander and Calumny; *Cimon* was accuſed for being too much addicted to the Drinking of Wine, *Scipio* was blamed for delighting in Immoderate Sleep, and *Lucullus* for making too liberal and coſtly Entertainments.

Plutarch's Morals:

Vol. IV.

Of Herodotus's *Malice.*

Tranſlated out of the Original Greek, by A. G. *Gent.*

THE Stile, O *Alexander*, of *Herodotus*, as being ſimple, free, and eaſily ſuiting it ſelf to its Subject, has deceived *many*; but *more* a Perſwaſion of his Diſpoſitions being equally ſincere. For 'tis not only (as *Plato* ſays) an extream Injuſtice, to make a ſhew of being Juſt, when one is not ſo; but 'tis alſo the higheſt Malignity, to pretend to Simplicity and Mildneſs, and be in the mean time really moſt Malicious. Now ſince he principally exerts his Malice againſt the *Bœotians* and *Corinthians*, though without ſparing any other, I think my ſelf oblig'd to defend our Anceſtors and the Truth againſt this part of his Writings, ſince thoſe, who would detect all his other Lies and Fictions, would have need of many Books. But, as *Sophocles* has it, *the Face of Perſwaſion is prevalent*, eſpecially when deliver'd in good Language, and ſuch as has Power to conceal both the other Abſurdities, and the ill Nature of the Writer. King *Philip* told the *Greeks*, who revolted from him to

Titus Quinctius, that they had got a more poliſht, but a longer-laſting Yoke: So the Malice of *Herodotus* is indeed more polite and delicate than that of *Theopompus*, yet it pinches cloſer, and makes a more ſevere Impreſſion, not unlike to thoſe Winds, which blowing ſecretly through narrow Chinks, are ſharper than thoſe that are more diffus'd. Now it ſeems to me very convenient to delineate, as it were in a rough Draught, thoſe Signs and Marks that diſtinguiſh a malicious Narration from a candid and unbiaſs'd one, applying afterwards every Point we ſhall examine, to ſuch as appertain to them.

Firſt then, Whoever in relating a Story ſhall uſe odious Terms, when gentler Expreſſions might do as well, he is not to be eſteemed impartial, but an Enjoyer of his own Fancy in putting the worſt Conſtruction on Things; as if any one, inſtead of ſaying *Nicias* is too preciſe, ſhould call him Phanatick, or ſhould accuſe *Cleon* of Preſumption and Madneſs, rather than of Inconſiderateneſs in Speech.

Secondly, When a Writer, catching hold of a Fault which has no reference to his Story, ſhall draw it into the Relation of ſuch Affairs, as need it not, extending his Narrative with Circumlocutions, only that he may inſert a Mans Misfortune, Offence, or diſcommendable Action, 'tis manifeſt that he delights in ſpeaking Evil. Therefore *Thucydides* would not clearly relate the Faults of *Cleon*, which were very numerous; and as for *Hyperbolus* the Orator, having toucht at him in a Word, and call'd him an ill Man, he let him go. *Philiſtus* alſo paſs'd over all thoſe Outrages committed by *Dionyſius* on the *Barbarians*, which had no Connexion with the *Grecian* Affairs. For the Excurſions and Digreſſions of Hiſtory are principally allow'd for Fables and Antiquities, and ſometimes alſo for Encomiums. But he, who makes Reproaches and Detractions an Addition to his Diſcourſe, ſeems to incur the *Tragedians* Curſe on *the Collector of Mens Calamities.*

Now the Oppoſite to this is known to every one, as the omitting to relate ſome good and laudable Action, which, though it may ſeem not to be reprehenſible, yet is then done maliciouſly, when the Omiſſion happens in a Place, that is pertinent to the Hiſtory. For to praiſe unwillingly, is ſo far from being more Civil than to diſpraiſe willingly, that 'tis perhaps rather more Uncivil.

The *Fourth* Sign of a partial Diſpoſition in writing of Hiſtory, I take to be this, when, a Matter being related in two or more ſeveral manners, the Hiſtorian ſhall embrace the worſt. Sophiſters indeed are permitted for the obtaining either of Profit or Reputation, to undertake the Defence of the worſe Cauſe; for they neither create any firm Belief of the Matter, nor yet do they deny, that they are often pleaſed in maintaining Paradoxes, and making incredible things appear probable. But an Hiſtorian is then juſt, when he aſſerts ſuch things, as he knows to be true, and of thoſe, that are uncertain, reports rather the better, than the worſe. Nay there are many Writers, who wholly omit the Worſe. Thus *Ephorus* writes of *Themiſtocles*, that he was acquainted with the Treaſon of *Pauſanias*, and his Negotiations with the Kings Lieutenants; but that he neither conſented to it, nor hearkned to *Pauſanias*'s Proffers of making him partaker of his Hopes. And *Thucydides* left the whole Matter out of his Story, as judging it to be falſe. Moreover in things, confeſs'd to have been done, but of doing which the Cauſe and Intention is unknown, he, who caſts his Conjectures on the worſe ſide, is partial and malicious. Thus do the *Comedians*, who affirm the *Peloponneſian* War to have been kindled by *Pericles* for the Love of *Aſpaſia*, or the Sake of *Phidias*, and not through any Deſire of Honour or Ambition of pulling down the *Peloponneſians* Pride, and giving place in nothing to the *Lacedemonians.* For thoſe who ſuppoſe a bad Cauſe for laudable Works and commendable Actions, endeavouring by Calumnies to inſinuate ſiniſter Suſpicions of the Actor, when they cannot openly diſcommend the Act; as they, that impute the Killing of *Alexander* the Tyrant by *Theba* not to any Magnanimity, or Hatred of Vice, but to a certain feminine Jealouſie and Paſſion; and thoſe, that ſay, *Cato* ſlew himſelf for fear, *Cæſar* ſhould put him to a more ſhameful Death: ſuch as theſe are manifeſtly in the higheſt degree envious and malicious.

An Hiſtorical Narration is alſo more or leſs guilty of Malice, according as it relates the manner of the Action; as if one ſhould be ſaid to have perform'd an Exploit rather by Money, than Vertue, as ſome affirm of *Philip*; or elſe eaſily, and without any Labour, as 'tis ſaid of *Alexander*; or elſe not by Prudence, but Fortune, as the Enemies of *Timotheus* painted Cities falling into his Nets, as he lay ſleeping; for they undoubtedly diminiſh the Greatneſs and Beauty of the Actions, who deny the Performers of them to have done them generouſly, induſtriouſly, vertuouſly, and by themſelves.

Moreover, thoſe who will directly ſpeak ill of any one, incur the Reproach of Moroſeneſs, Raſhneſs, Madneſs, unleſs they keep within Meaſure. But they who ſend forth Calumnies obliquely, as if they were ſhooting Arrows out of Corners, and then ſtepping back, think to conceal themſelves by ſaying, they do not believe, what they moſt earneſtly deſire to have believ'd, whilſt they diſclaim all Malice, condemn themſelves alſo farther of Diſingenuity. Next to theſe are they, who with their Reproaches intermix ſome Praiſes; as did *Ariſtoxenus*, who, having term'd *Socrates* Unlearned, Ignorant and Libidinous, added, *Yet was he free from Injuſtice.* For, as they who flatter artificially, and craftily, ſometimes mingle light Reprehenſions with their many and great Praiſes, joyning this Liberty of Speech, as a Sauce to their Flattery: ſo Malice, that it may gain Belief to its Accuſations, adds alſo Praiſe. We might here alſo reckon up more Notes, but theſe are ſufficient to let us underſtand the Nature and Manners of *Herodotus*.

Firſt therefore, beginning, as the Proverb is, with *Veſta*, whereas all the *Grecians* affirm *Io*, Daughter to *Inachus*, to have been worſhipt with Divine Honour by the *Barbarians*, for her Glory, to have left her Name to many Seas and principal Ports, and to have given a Source and Original to moſt Noble and Royal Families; this famous Author ſays of her, that ſhe gave her ſelf to certain *Phœnician* Merchants, having been not unwillingly deflowr'd by a Mariner, and fearing, leſt ſhe ſhould be found by her Friends to be with Child. And he belyes the *Phœnicians*, as having deliver'd theſe things of her, and ſays, that the *Perſian* Stories teſtifie her being carry'd away by the *Phœnicians* with other Women. Preſently after he gives Sentence on the braveſt and greateſt Exploits of *Greece*, ſaying, that the *Trojan* War was fooliſhly undertaken for an ill Woman. *For 'tis manifeſt*, ſays he, *that had they not been willing, they had never been raviſht.* Let us then ſay, that the Gods alſo acted fooliſhly, in inflicting their Indignation on the *Spartans*, for abuſing the Daughters of *Skedaſus* the *Leuctrian*, and in puniſhing *Ajax* for the Violation of *Caſſandra*. For 'tis manifeſt, if we believe *Herodotus*, that, if they had not been willing, they had never been defil'd. And yet he himſelf ſaid, that *Ariſtomenes* was taken alive by the *Spartans*; and the ſame afterwards hapned to *Philopœmen*, Prætor of the *Achæans*; and the *Carthaginians* took *Regulus*, the Conſul of the *Romans*; than whom there are not eaſily to be found more valiant and warlike Men. Nor is it to be wondred, ſince the very Leopards and Tigers are taken alive by Men. But *Herodotus* blames the poor Women that have been abus'd by Violence, and Patronizes their Raviſhers. Nay, he is ſo favorable to the *Barbarians*, that acquitting *Buſiris* of thoſe Human Sacrifices, and that Slaughter of his Gueſts, for which he is accus'd, and attributing by his Teſtimony to the *Ægyptians* much Religion and Juſtice, he endeavours to caſt that abominable Wickedneſs, and thoſe impious Murthers on the *Grecians*. For in his Second Book, he ſays, that *Menelaus* having received *Helena* from *Proteus*, and been honour'd by him with many Preſents, ſhew'd himſelf a moſt unjuſt and wicked Man. For wanting a fit Wind to ſet Sail, he found out an impious Device, and having taken two of the Inhabitants Boys, conſulted their Entrals; for which Villany being hated and perſecuted, he fled with his Ships directly into *Africa*. From what *Ægyptian* this Story proceeds, I know not. For on the contrary many Honours are even at this day given by the *Ægyptians* both to *Helena* and *Menelaus*. The ſame *Herodotus*, that he may ſtill be like himſelf, ſays, that the *Perſians* learnt the Defiling of the Male Sex from the *Greeks*. And yet how could the *Greeks* have taught this Impurity to the *Perſians*, amongſt whom, 'tis confeſs'd by all, that Boys were caſtrated, before ever they arriv'd in the *Grecian* Seas? He writes alſo, that the *Greeks* were inſtructed by the *Ægyptians* in their Pomps, Solemn Feſtivals, and Worſhip of the twelve Gods; that *Melampus* alſo learnt of the *Ægyptians* the Name of *Dionyſius* [or *Bacchus*] and taught it the other *Greeks*; that the Myſteries likewiſe and Rites of *Ceres* were brought out of *Ægypt* by the Daughters of *Danaus*; and that the *Ægyptians* were wont to beat themſelves and make great Lamentation, but yet would not tell the Names of their Deities, but conceal'd them in Silence. As to *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, whom the *Ægyptians* nam'd Gods, and the *Greeks* very aged

Men, he no where makes uſe of this Diſtinction, although he places alſo the *Ægyptian* *Hercules* amongſt the Gods of the ſecond Rank, and *Bacchus* amongſt thoſe of the third, as who had ſome Beginning of their Being, and were not Eternal, and yet he pronounces thoſe to be Gods, but to theſe as having been Mortal, and being now Demi-Gods, he thinks we ought to perform Anniverſary Solemnities, but not to Sacrifice to them as to Gods. The ſame alſo he ſaid of *Pan*, overthrowing the moſt venerable and pureſt Sacrifices of the *Greeks* by the proud Vanities and Mythologies of the *Ægyptians*. Nor is this impious enough. But moreover, deriving the Pedigree of *Hercules* from *Perſeus*, he ſays, that *Perſeus* was an *Aſſyrian*, as the *Perſians* affirm. *But the Leaders*, ſays he, *of the* Dorians *may appear to be deſcended in a right Line from the* Ægyptians, *reckoning their Anceſtors from before* Danae *and* Acriſius. For he has wholly paſs'd by *Epaphus*, *Io*, *Jaſius*, and *Argus*, being not only ambitious to make the other *Hercules's* *Ægyptians* and *Phœnicians*, but to carry this alſo, whom himſelf ſays to have been the third, out of *Greece* to the *Barbarians*. But of the ancient learned Writers, neither *Homer*, nor *Heſiod*, nor *Archilochus*, nor *Piſander*, nor *Steſichorus*, nor *Alcman*, nor *Pindar*, make any mention of the *Ægyptian* or *Phœnician Hercules*, but do all acknowledge this our own *Bœotian* and *Argive Hercules*. Now of the ſeven Sages, whom he calls Sophiſters, he affirms *Thales* to have been a *Barbarian*, *deſcended of the Phœnicians*. Speaking ill alſo of the Gods under the Perſon of *Solon*, he has theſe Words: *Thou*, O Crœſus, *askeſt me concerning Human Affairs, who know, that every one of the Deities is envious and* [illegible]. Thus attributing to *Solon*, what himſelf thinks of the Gods, he joyns Malice to Blaſphemy. Having made uſe alſo of *Pittacus* in ſome trivial Matters, not worth the mentioning, he has paſſed over the greateſt and gallanteſt Action that was ever done by him. For when the *Athenians* and *Mitylenians* were at War about the *Sigeum*, *Phrynon*, the *Athenian* General, challenging whoever would come forth to a ſingle Combat, *Pittacus* advanc'd to meet him, and catching him in a Net, ſlew that ſtout and giant-like Man. For which, when the *Mitylenians* offer'd him great Preſents, darting his Javelin, as far as he could, out of his Hand, he deſir'd only ſo much Ground, as he ſhould reach with that Throw, the Place being to this Day called *Pittaceum*. Now what does *Herodotus*, when he comes to this? Inſtead of *Pittacus*'s valiant Act, he tells us the Flight of *Alcæus* the Poet, who, throwing away his Arms, ran out of the Battle; by this his not writing of honourable Deeds, and not paſſing over ſuch, as are diſhonourable, giving his Teſtimony to thoſe, who ſay, that from one and the ſame Malice proceed both Envy, and a Rejoycing at other Mens Harms.

After this, he accuſes of Treaſon the *Alcmæonidæ*, who ſhew'd themſelves generous Men, and deliver'd their Country from Tyranny. He ſays, that they receiv'd *Piſiſtratus* after his Baniſhment, and got him call'd Home, on condition he ſhould marry the Daughter of *Megacles*; but that the Damſel ſaying to her Mother, *Do you ſee, Mother, how I am, contrary to Nature, known by* Piſiſtratus? The *Alcmæonidæ* were ſo offended at this Villany, that they expell'd the Tyrant. Now that the *Lacedæmonians* might have no leſs Share of his Malice than the *Athenians*, behold how he beſpatters *Othryadas*, the Man, moſt admir'd and honour'd by them. *He only*, ſays he, *remaining alive of the three hundred, and aſham'd to return to* Sparta, *his Companions being loſt, ſlew himſelf at the ſame place*. For having before-ſaid, the Victory was doubtful on both ſides, he here, by making *Othryadas* aſham'd, witneſſes that the *Lacedæmonians* were vanquiſh'd. For 'twas ſhameful for him to ſurvive, if conquer'd; but glorious, if Conqueror. I paſs by now, that having repreſented *Cræſus*, as fooliſh, vainglorious, and ridiculous in all things, he makes him, when a Priſoner, to have taught and inſtructed *Cyrus*, who ſeems to have excell'd all other Kings in Prudence, Vertue and Magnanimity. Having teſtify'd of the ſame *Cræſus* nothing elſe that was commendable, but his honouring the Gods with many and great Oblations, he ſhews that very Act of his to have been the moſt impious of all. For he ſays, that he and his Brother *Pantaleon* contended for the Kingdom, while their Father was yet alive; and that *Cræſus* having obtain'd the Crown, cauſ'd a Companion and familiar Friend of *Pantaleons* to be torn in pieces in a Fulling-Mill, and ſent Preſents, made of his Money, to the Gods. Of *Deioces* alſo, the *Median*, who by Vertue and Juſtice obtain'd the Government, he ſays, that he got it not by real, but pretended Juſtice. But I let paſs the *Barbarian* Examples, ſince he has offer'd us Plenty enough in the *Grecian* Affairs. He ſays, that the *Athenians*, and many other *Ionians*, were ſo aſham'd of that Name, that they wholly refus'd to be call'd *Ionians*; and that thoſe, who eſteem'd themſelves the nobleſt amongſt them, and deſcended from the very *Prytaneum* [or *Senate*] of *Athens*, begat Children on *Barbarian* Wives, whoſe Parents and former Children they had ſlain; that the Women had therefore made a Law among themſelves, confirm'd it by Oath, and deliver'd it to be kept by their Daughters, never to eat with their Husbands, nor to call any of them by his Name; and that the preſent *Mileſians* are deſcended from theſe Women. Having afterwards added, that thoſe are true *Ionians*, who celebrate the Feaſt call'd *Apaturia*; *They all*, ſays he, *keep it, except the* Ephesians *and* Colophonians. In this manner does he deprive theſe two States of their Nobility. He ſays moreover, that the *Cumæans* and *Mitylenæans* agreed with *Cyrus*, to deliver up to him for a Price *Pactyas*, who had revolted from him; I know

[illegible]

not indeed, says he, *for how much, since 'tis not certain what it was.* But he ought not to have caſt ſuch an Infamy on a *Grecian* City, without a more aſſured Knowledge. He ſays farther, that the *Chians* drew *Pactyas*, who was brought to them out of the Temple of *Minerva Poliuchus* [or Guardianeſs of the City] and deliver'd him up, having receiv'd the Field *Atarnes* for their Recompence; and yet *Charon* the *Lampſacenian*, a more ancient Writer, relating this Matter concerning *Pactyas*, charges neither the *Mitylenians* nor the *Chians* with any ſuch Action. Theſe are his very Words. Pactyas, *hearing, that the* Perſian *Army drew near, fled firſt to* Mitylene, *then to* Chios, *and fell into the Hands of* Cyrus.

Our Author in his third Book, relating the Expedition of the *Lacedæmonians* against the Tyrant *Polycrates*, affirms, that the *Samians* think and ſay, that the *Spartans*, to recompence them for their former Aſſiſtance againſt the *Meſſenians*, both brought back the *Samians*, that were baniſht, and made War on the Tyrant. But that the *Lacedæmonians* deny this, and ſay, they undertook not this Deſign to help or deliver the *Samians*, but to puniſh them for having taken away a Cup ſent by them to *Crœſus*; and beſides, a Breaſt-plate ſent them by *Amaſis*. And yet we know, that there was not at that time any City, ſo deſirous of Honour, or ſuch an Enemy to Tyrants, as *Sparta*. For what Breaſt-plate or Cup was the Cauſe of their driving the *Cypſelides* out of *Corinth* and *Ambracia*, *Lygdamis* out of *Naxus*, the Children of *Piſiſtratus* out of *Athens*, *Æſchines* out of *Sicyon*, *Symmachus* out of *Thaſus*, *Aulis* out of *Phocæa*, and *Ariſtogenes* out of *Miletus*? and of their overturning the domineering Powers of *Theſſaly*, pulling down *Ariſtomedes* and *Angelus* by the help of King *Leotychides*? Which Facts are elſewhere more largely deſcrib'd. Now if *Herodotus* ſays true, they were in the higheſt degree guilty both of Malice and Folly, when denying a moſt honourable and moſt juſt Cauſe of their Expedition, they confeſs'd, that in remembrance of a former Injury, and through highly valuing an inconſiderable Matter, they invaded a miſerable and afflicted People. Now perhaps he gave the *Lacedæmonians* this Stroke, as directly falling under his Pen; but the City of *Corinth*, which was wholly out of the Courſe of his Story, he has in his paſſing by it, as they ſay, beſpatter'd with a moſt filthy Crime, and moſt ſhameful Calumny. *The* Corinthians, ſays he, *ſtudiouſly forwarded this Journey of the* Lacedæmonians, *as having themſelves alſo been formerly affronted by the* Samians. *The Matter was this*; Periander, *Tyrant of* Corinth, *ſent three hundred Boys, Sons to the principal Men of* Corfu, *to King* Alyattes, *to be gelt. Theſe, going aſhore in the Iſland of* Samos, *were by the* Samians *taught to ſit, as Suppliants, in the Temple of* Diana; *where they preſerv'd them, ſetting before them for their Food Cakes made of Seſame-Seed and Honey.* This our Author calls an Affront, put by the *Samians* on the *Corinthians*, who therefore inſtigated the *Lacedæmonians* againſt them; to wit, becauſe the *Samians* had ſav'd the Children of the *Greeks* from being unmann'd. By attributing this Villany to the *Corinthians*, he makes the City more wicked than the Tyrant. He indeed reveng'd himſelf on thoſe of *Corfu*, who had ſlain his Son. But what had the *Corinthians* ſuffer'd, that they ſhould puniſh the *Samians* for putting an Obſtacle to ſo great a Cruelty and Wickedneſs? And this, after three Generations, reviving the Memory of an old Quarrel for the Sake of that Tyranny, which they found ſo grievous and intollerable, that they are ſtill endleſly aboliſhing all the Monuments and Marks of it, though long ſince extinct. Such then was the Injury done by the *Samians* to the *Corinthians*. Now what kind of Puniſhment was it, the *Corinthians* would have inflicted on them? Had they been indeed angry the *Samians*, they ſhould not have incited, but rather diverted the *Lacedæmonians* from their War againſt *Polycrates*, that the *Samians* might not by the Tyrants Overthrow, recover Liberty, and be freed from their Slavery. But what is moſt to be obſerv'd, why were the *Corinthians* ſo offended with the *Samians*, that deſir'd indeed, but were not able to ſave the *Corcyreans* Children, and yet were not diſpleas'd with the *Cnidians*, who both preſerv'd them, and reſtor'd them to their Friends? Nor indeed have the *Corcyreans* any great Eſteem for the *Samians* on this Account; but of the *Cnidians* they preſerve a Memorial, having granted them ſeveral Honors and Priviledges, and made Decrees in their Favour. For theſe, ſailing to *Samos*, drave away *Perianders* Guards from the Temple, and taking the Children aboard their Ships, carry'd them ſafe to *Corfu*, as 'tis recorded by *Antenor* the *Cretan*, and *Dionyſius* the *Chalcidian* in his *Foundations*. Now that the *Spartans* undertook not this War on any deſign of puniſhing the *Samians*, but to ſave them by delivering them from the Tyrant, we have the Teſtimony of the *Samians* themſelves. For they affirm, that there is in *Samos* a Monument, erected at the publick Charge, and Honours there done to *Archias* a *Spartan*, who, fighting valiantly, fell in that Quarrel; for which Cauſe alſo his Poſterity ſtill keep a familiar and friendly Correſpondence with the *Samians*, as *Herodotus* himſelf witneſſes.

In his Fifth Book he ſays, that *Cliſthenes*, one of the beſt and nobleſt Men in *Athens*, perſwaded the Prieſteſs *Pythia* to be a falſe Propheteſs, always exhorting the *Lacedæmonians* to free *Athens* from the Tyrants; calumniating this moſt excellent and juſt Action by the Imputation of ſo great a Wickedneſs and Impoſture, and taking from the God the Credit of that true and good Propheſie, beſeeming even *Themis* her ſelf, who is alſo ſaid to have joyn'd with him. He ſays farther, that *Iſagoras* proſtituted his Wife to *Cleomenes*, who came to his. Then, as his manner is, to gain Credit, mixing ſome Praiſes with his Reproaches, he ſays: *Iſagoras, The So*[illegible] *of* Tiſander, *was of a Noble Family, but I cannot tell the Original of it. His Kinſmen indeed Sacrifice to* Jupiter Carius. O this pleaſant and cunning Scoffer of a Writer, who thus diſgracefully ſends *Iſagoras* to the *Carians*, as it were to the Ravens. As for *Ariſtogiton*, he puts him not forth at the Back-door, but thruſts him directly out of the Gate into *Phœnicia*; ſaying, that he had his Original from the *Gephyræans*, and that the *Gephyræans* were not, as ſome think, *Eubœans* or *Eretrians*, but *Phœnicians*, as himſelf is fully perſwaded. And ſince he cannot altogether take from the *Lacedæmonians* the Glory of having deliver'd the *Athenians* from the Tyrants, he endeavours to cloud and diſgrace that moſt honorable Act by as foul a Paſſion. For he ſays, they preſently repented of it, as not having done well, in that they had, by the Inducement of ſpurious and deceitful Oracles, driven the Tyrants, who were their Allies, and had promis'd to put *Athens* into their Hands, out of their Country, and reſtor'd the City to an ungrateful People. He adds, that they were about to ſend for *Hippias* from *Sigeum*, and bring him back to *Athens*; but that they were oppos'd by the *Corinthians*, *Soſicles* telling them how much the City of *Corinth* had ſuffer'd under the Tyranny of *Cypſelus* and *Periander*; and yet there was no Outrage of *Periander* more abominable and cruel, than his ſending the three hundred Children to be emaſculated, for the deliverance and ſaving of whom from that contumely, the *Corinthians*, he ſays, were angry, and bore a Grudge against the *Samians*, as having put an Affront upon them. With ſo much Repugnance and Contradiction is that Malice of his Diſcourſe fill'd, which on every Occaſion inſinuates it ſelf into his Narrations. After this, relating the *Action at Sardis*, he, as much as in him lies, [illegible] and discredits the Matter; being so audacious, as to call the Ships which the *Athenians* sent to the Assistance of the *Ionians*, who had revolted from the King, the Beginning of Evils, because they endeavour'd to deliver so many and so great *Grecian* Cities from the *Barbarians*. As to the *Eretrians*, making mention of them only by the way, he passes over in silence a great, gallant, and memorable Action of theirs. For when all *Ionia* was in a Confusion [and Uproar] and the King's Fleet drew nigh, they, going forth to meet him, overcame in a Sea fight the *Cyprians* in the *Pamphylian* Sea. Then turning back, and leaving their Ships at *Ephesus*, they invaded *Sardis*, and besieg'd *Artaphernes*, who was fled into the Castle, that so they might raise the Siege of *Miletus*. And this indeed they effected, causing the Enemies [to break up their Camp, and] remove thence in a wonderful Fright, and then seeing themselves in danger to be oppress'd by a Multitude, retired. This not only others, but *Lysanias Mallotes* also in his History of *Eretria* relates, thinking it convenient, if for no other Reason, yet after the Taking and Destruction of the City, to add this valiant and heroick Act. But this [Writer of ours] says, they were defeated, and pursued even to their Ships by the *Barbarians*; though *Charon* the *Lampsacenian* has no such thing, but writes thus word for word: *The* Athenians *set forth with twenty Gallies to the Assistance of the* Ionians, *and going to Sardis, took all thereabouts, except the King's [Fortress or] Wall; which having done, they returned to* Miletus.

In his *Sixth* Book [our Author] discoursing of the *Plataeans*, how they gave themselves to the *Lacedaemonians*, who exhorted them rather to have Recourse to the *Athenians*, who were nearer to them, and no bad Defenders; he adds, not as a Matter of Suspicion or Opinion, but as a thing certainly known by him, that the *Lace-*

Lacedemonians gave the *Platæans* this Advice, not so much for any good Will, as through a Desire to find Work for the *Athenians*, by engaging them with the *Bœotians*. If then *Herodotus* is not Malicious, the *Lacedemonians* must have been both fraudulent and ſpightful, the *Athenians* Fools, in ſuffering themſelves to be thus impos'd on, and the *Platæans* were brought into play, not for any good Will or Reſpect, but as an Occaſion of War. He is farther manifeſtly convinced of belying the *Lacedemonians*, when he ſays, that, whilſt they expected the Full Moon, they fail'd of giving their Aſſiſtance to the *Athenians* at *Marathon*. For they not only made a thouſand other Excurſions and Fights at the beginning of the Month, without ſtaying for the Full Moon; but wanted ſo little of being preſent at this very Battle, which was fought the ſixth Day of the Month *Boedromion*, that at their coming they found the Dead ſtill lying in the Field. And yet he has written thus of the Full Moon. *'Twas impoſſible for them to do these things at that preſent, being unwilling to break the Law; for 'twas the beginning of the Month, and they ſaid, they could not go forth on the ninth Day, the Orb of the Moon being not yet full. And therefore they ſtay'd for the Full Moon.* But thou [O *Herodotus*!] transferreſt the Full Moon to the Beginning of the Mo[illegible] when ſhe is but yet in her firſt Quarter, and at the ſame time confoundeſt the Heavens, Days, and all things. And profeſſing to write of the *Greek* Affairs, but more particularly and carefully thoſe of *Athens*, thou doſt not ſo much as ſay a Word of that ſolemn Pomp, which the *Athenians*, even at this Day, ſend to *Agræ*, celebrating a Feaſt of Thanksgiving to *Hecate* for their Victory. But this helps *Herodotus* to refel the Crime, with which he is charged, of having flatter'd the *Athenians* for a great Sum of Money, he receiv'd of them. For if he had rehearſed theſe things to them, they would not have omitted or neglected that wicked *Philippides*, who, going from the Fight, call'd the *Lacedæmonians* to it, especially since he went, as himſelf ſays, in two Days from *Athens* to *Sparta*; unleſs the *Athenians* ſent for their Allies to the Fight, after their Enemies were overcome. Indeed *Diyllus* the *Athenian*, none of the moſt contemptible Hiſtorians, ſays, that he received from *Athens* a Preſent of ten Talents, *Anytus* propoſing the Decree. Moreover *Herodotus*, as many ſay, has in relating the Fight at *Marathon*, derogated from the Credit of it, by the Number he ſets down of the Slain. For he writes, that the *Athenians* made a Vow to Sacrifice ſo many Kids to *Diana Agrotera*, as they ſhould kill *Barbarians*; but that after the Fight, the Number of the Dead appearing infinite, they appeaſed the Goddeſs by making a Decree, to immolate five hundred to her every year. But letting this paſs, let us ſee, what was done after the Fight. *The* Barbarians, *ſays he, retiring back with the reſt of their Ships, and taking the* Eretrian *Slaves out of the Iſland, where they had left them, doubled the Point of Sunium, deſiring to prevent the* Athenians, *before they could gain the City. The* Athenians *ſuſpected this to have been done by a Plot of the* Alcmæonidæ, *who by Agreement ſhew'd a Shield to the* Perſians *when they were got into their Ships. They therefore doubled the Cape of Sunium.* Let us in this place take no notice of his calling the *Eretrians* Slaves, who ſhew'd as much Courage and Gallantry in this War, as any other of the Grecians, and ſuffer'd things, unworthy their Vertue. Nor let us inſiſt much on the Calumny, with which he defames the *Alcmæonidæ*, of whom, were both the greateſt Families, and nobleſt Men of the City. The Greatneſs of the Victory it ſelf is overthrown, and the End of that ſo celebrated Action comes to nothing; nor does it ſeem to have been a Fight, or any great Exploit, but only a light Skirmiſh with the *Barbarians*, as the Envious and

Ill-willers affirm, if they did not after the Battle fly away, cutting their Cables, and giving themſelves to the Wind, for to carry them as far as might be from the *Attick* Coaſt; but having a Shield lifted up to them as a Signal of Treaſon, made ſtraight with their Fleet for *Athens*, in hope to ſurpriſe it, and having at leiſure doubled the Point of *Sunium*, were diſcovered above the Port *Phalerus*, ſo that the Chief and moſt Illuſtrious Men, deſpairing to ſave the City, would have betray'd it: for a little after, acquitting the *Alcmæonidæ*, he charges others with the Treaſon. *For the Shield indeed was ſhown, nor can it be deny'd*, ſays he, as if he had ſeen it himſelf. But this could no way be, ſince the *Athenians* obtain'd a ſolid Victory; and if it had been done, it could not have been ſeen by the *Barbarians*, flying in an Hurry amidſt Wounds and Arrows into their Ships, and leaving every one the Place with all poſſible ſpeed. But when he again pretends to excuſe the *Alcmæonidæ* of thoſe Crimes, which he, firſt of all Men, objected againſt them, he ſpeaks thus. *I cannot bear this Diſcourſe, that the* Alcmæonidæ *by agreement, lifted up a Shield to the* Perſians, *and would have brought the* Athenians *under the Power of the* Barbarians *and* Hippias. I remember a certain Clauſe, [the Tenor of which, is this:] *Tie and only me, and having taken me, let me go.* Thus you firſt *Accuſe*, then Apologize, and write Calumnies againſt Illuſtrious Men, which again you refute; to wit, diſcrediting your ſelf. For you heard your ſelf ſay, that the *Alcmæonidæ* lifted up a Shield to the vanquiſhed and flying *Barbarians*. And in thoſe very things, which you alledge for the *Alcmæonidæ*, you ſhew your ſelf a Sycophant. For if, as here you write, the *Alcmæonidæ* were more, or no leſs Enemies to Tyranny than Callias the Son of *Phænippus*, and Father of *Hipponicus*, where will you place their Conſpiracy, of which you write in your former Books, that aſſiſting *Piſiſtratus*, they brought back from Exile to the Tyranny, and did not drive him away, till he was accus'd of unnaturally abuſing his Wife? Such then are the Repugnancies of theſe things; and by his intermixing the Praiſes of *Callias*, the Son of *Phænippus*, amidſt the Crimes and Suſpicions of the *Alcmæonidæ*, and joyning to him his Son *Hipponicus*, who was, as *Herodotus* himſelf ſays, one of the richeſt Men in *Athens*, he confeſſes, that he brought in *Callias*, not for any neceſſity of the Story, but to ingratiate himſelf, and gain Favour with *Hipponicus*. Now, whereas all know, that the *Argives* deny not to enter into the common League of the *Grecians*, though they thought not fit to follow, and be under the Command of the *Lacedæmonians*, who were their mortal Enemies, and that this was no otherwiſe, [our Author] ſubjoyns a moſt malicious Cauſe for it, writing thus, *When* [*they ſaw*] *they were compriſed by the* Greeks, *knowing that the* Lacedæmonians *would not admit them into a ſhare of the* Command, *they requeſted it, that they might have a Pretence to lye ſtill.* And of this, he ſays, the *Argive* Embaſſadors afterwards put *Artaxerxes* in mind, when they attended him at *Suſa*, and that he ſaid, He eſteem'd no City more his Friend than *Argos*. Then adding, as his Manner is, to cover the Matter, he ſays. *Of theſe things I know nothing certainly; but this I know, that all Men have Faults, and that the worſt things were not done by the* Argives. *But I muſt tell ſuch things as are reported, though I am not bound to believe them all; and let this be underſtood of all my* Narrations. *For 'tis farther ſaid, that the* Argives, *when they were not able to ſuſtain the War againſt the* Lacedæmonians, *call'd the* Perſian *into* Greece, *willing rather to ſuffer any thing than the preſent Trouble.* Therefore, what himſelf reports the *Æthiopian* to have ſaid of the Ointment and Purple, *Deceitful are the Beauties, deceitful the Garments of the Perſians*; may not any one ſay the ſame of him; *Deceitful are the Phraſes, deceitful the Figures of* Herodotus's *Speeches, as*

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being perplext, confuſed, and full of Ambiguities? For as Painters ſet off, and render more eminent the luminous part of their Pictures, by adding ſhadows, ſo he by his Denials extends his Calumnies, and by his dubious Speeches, makes his Suſpicions take deeper Impreſſion. If the *Argives* joyn'd not with the other *Greeks*, but ſtood out through an Emulation of the *Lacedæmonians* Command and Valor, it cannot be deny'd, but that they acted in a manner, not beſeeming their Nobility and Deſcent from *Hercules*. For it had been more honorable for the *Siphnians* and *Cythnians* to have defended the *Grecian* Liberty, than contending with the *Spartans* for Superiority, to have avoided ſo many, and ſuch ſignal Combats. And if it were they, who brought the *Persian* into *Greece*, becauſe their War againſt the *Lacedæmonians* ſucceded ill, how came it to paſs, that they did not at the coming of *Xerxes* openly joyn themſelves to the *Medes*? or, if they would not fight under the King, why did they not, being left at Home, make Incurſions into *Laconia*, or again attempt *Thyrea*, or by ſome other way diſturb and infeſt the *Lacedæmonians*? Since they might have greatly damaged the *Grecians* by hindring the *Spartans* from going with ſo great an Army to *Platea*. But in this place indeed he has highly magnified the *Athenians*, and pronounc'd them the Saviours of *Greece*, doing herein rightly and juſtly, if he had not intermixt many Reproaches with their Praiſes. But now, when he ſays, that the *Lacedæmonians* were betray'd by the other *Greeks*; and that being left alone, and having undertaken great Exploits, they dy'd generouſly, having before ſeen that the *Greeks*, favouring the *Medes*, held Intelligence with *Xerxes*, 'tis manifeſt, he ſpeaks not theſe things ſo much to the Commendation of the *Athenians*, as that, praiſing the *Athenians*, he may ſpeak ill of all the reſt. For how can any one now be angry with him for ſo bitterly and outragiouſly, at every turn, upbraiding the *Thebans* and *Phocæans*, when he charges even those who expos'd themselves to all Perils for *Greece*, with a Treason, which, as himself says, was never acted. Nay, of the *Lacedæmonians* themselves, he makes it doubtful, whether they fell in the Battle, or yielded to the Enemy, distinguishing them by very slight Conjectures from those that were slain at *Thermopylæ*.

After this, when he declares the Shipwrack, that befel the Kings Fleet, and how, an infinite Mass of Wealth being cast away, *Aminocles* the *Magnesian*, Son of *Cresines*, was greatly enriched by it, having gotten an immense Quantity of Gold and Silver; he could not so much as let this pass without snarling at it. *For this Man*, says he, *who had till then been none of the most Fortunate, by these Wrecks became exceeding Rich; for the Misfortune he had in Killing his Son, much Afflicted his Mind.* This indeed is manifest to every one, that he brought this golden Treasure, and this Wealth, cast up by the Sea, into his History, that he might make way for the inserting *Aminocles*'s Killing his Son. Now, whereas *Aristophanes* the *Bœotian* wrote, that having demanded Money of the *Thebans*, he receiv'd none, and that going about to discourse and reason with the young Men, he was prohibited by the Magistrates through their Clownishness and Hatred of Learning; of which there is no other Argument. But *Herodotus* bears Witness to *Aristophanes*, whilst he charges the *Thebans* with some things falsly, with others ignorantly, and with others, as hating them, and having a Quarrel with them. For he affirms, that the *Thessalians* at first, upon necessity, inclin'd to the *Medes*, in which he says the Truth; and prophesying of the other *Grecians*, that they would betray the *Lacedæmonians*; he added, that they would not do it willingly, but upon Necessity, one City being taken after another. But he does not allow the *Thebans* the same Plea of Necessity, although they sent to *Tempe* five hundred Men under the Command of *Mnamias*, and to *Thermopylæ* as many, as *Leonidas* deſir'd; who alſo alone, with the *Theſpians*, ſtood by him, the reſt leaving him, after he was ſurrounded. But when the *Barbarian*, having poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Avenues, was got into their Confines, and *Demaratus* the *Spartan*, favouring in right of Hoſpitality *Attaginus*, the Chief of the Oligarchy, had ſo wrought, that he became the Kings Friend and Familiar, whilſt the other *Greeks* were in their Ships, and none coming on by Land; then at laſt being forſaken, did they accept Conditions of Peace, to which they were compell'd by great Neceſſity. For they had neither the Sea and Ships at hand, as had the *Athenians*, nor did they dwell far off, as the *Spartans*, who inhabited the moſt remote parts of *Greece*; but were not above a Day and an halfs Journey from the *Median* Army, whom they had already with the *Spartans* and *Theſpians* alone reſiſted at the Entrance of the Streights, and were defeated. But this Writer is ſo equitable, that having ſaid the *Lacedæmonians* being alone, and deſerted by their Allies, would perhaps make a Compoſition with the Enemy, when he could not wholly obliterate this moſt great and glorious Act of the *Thebans*, yet went about to deface it with a moſt vile Imputation and Suſpicion, writing thus: *The Confederates, who had been ſent, return'd back, obeying the Commands of* Leonidas; *there remain'd only with the* Lacedæmonians *the* Theſpians, *and the* Thebans: *of theſe, the* Thebans *ſtay'd againſt their Wills, for* Leonidas *retain'd them as Hoſtages; but the* Theſpians *moſt willingly, as who ſaid, they would never depart from* Leonidas, *and thoſe that were with him.* Does he not here manifeſtly diſcover himſelf to have a peculiar Pique and Hatred againſt the *Thebans*, by the Impulſe of which he not only falſly and unjuſtly calumniated the City, but did not ſo much as take care to render his Contradiction probable, or to conceal it

his

left from a few Men, his being conſcious of having knowingly contradicted himſelf? For having before ſaid, that *Leonidas*, perceiving his Confederates not to be in good Heart, nor prepared to undergo Danger, wiſh'd them to depart; he a little after adds, that the *Thebans* were, againſt their Wills, detain'd by him; whereas, if he had believ'd them inclin'd to the *Medians*, he ſhould have driven them away, though they had been willing to tarry. For if he thought that thoſe, who were not briſk, would be uſeleſs, to what purpoſe was it to mix among his Souldiers thoſe, that were ſuſpected? Nor was the King of the *Spartans*, and General of all *Greece*, ſo ſenſleſs as to think, that four hundred armed *Thebans* could be detain'd as Hoſtages, by his three hundred, eſpecially the Enemy being both in his *Front* and Rear. For though at firſt he might have taken them along with him as Hoſtages; 'tis certainly probable, that at laſt having no regard for him, they would have gone away from him, and that *Leonidas* would have more fear'd being encompaſs'd by them, than by the Enemy. Furthermore, would not *Leonidas* have been ridiculous, to have ſent away the other *Greeks*, as if by ſtaying they ſhould ſoon after have dy'd, and to have detain'd the *Thebans*, that being himſelf about to dye, he might keep them for the *Greeks*? For if he had indeed carry'd them along with him for Hoſtages, or rather for Slaves, he ſhould not have kept them with thoſe, that were at the point to periſh, but have deliver'd them to the *Greeks*, that went away. There remain'd but one Cauſe, that might be alledg'd for *Leonidas*'s unwillingneſs to let them go, to wit, that they might dye with him, and this our Hiſtorian himſelf has taken away, writing thus of *Leonidas*'s *Ambition*: Leonidas, *conſidering theſe things, and deſirous that this Glory might redound to the* Spartans *alone, ſent away his Confederates rather for this, than becauſe they differ'd in their Opinions.* For it had certainly been

the

height of Folly to keep his Enemies againſt their Wills to be Partakers of that Glory, from which he drave away his Confederates. But 'tis manifeſt from the Effects, that, *Leonidas* ſuſpected not the *Thebans* of Inſincerity, but eſteem'd them to be his ſtedfaſt Friends. For he march'd with his Army into *Thebes*, and at his requeſt obtain'd that which was never granted to any other, to ſleep within the Temple of *Hercules*, and the next Morning related to the *Thebans* the Viſion, that had appear'd to him. For he imagin'd, that he ſaw the moſt illuſtrious and greateſt Cities of *Greece*, irregularly toſs'd, and floating up and down in a very ſtormy and tempeſtuous Sea; that *Thebes*, being carry'd above all the reſt, was lifted up on high to Heaven, and ſuddenly after diſappear'd. And this indeed had a Reſemblance of thoſe things, which long after befel that City. Now *Herodotus* in his Narration of that Fight, hath obſcur'd alſo the braveſt Act of *Leonidas*, ſaying, that they all fell in the Streights near *Colonus*. But the Affair was otherwiſe manag'd. For when they perceiv'd by Night, that they were encompaſs'd by the *Barbarians*, they march'd ſtreight to the Enemies Camp, and got very near the Kings Pavilion, with a Reſolution to kill him, and leave their Lives about him. They came then to his Tent, killing, or putting to flight all they met. But when *Xerxes* was not found there, ſeeking him in that vaſt Camp, and wandring about, they were at laſt with much difficulty ſlain by the *Barbarians*, who ſurrounded them on every ſide. What other Acts and Sayings of the *Spartans Herodotus* has omitted, we will write in the Life of *Leonidas*. Yet that hinders not, but we may here ſet down alſo ſome few. Before *Leonidas* went forth to that War, the *Spartans* exhibited to him a Funeral Fight, at which the Fathers and Mothers of thoſe who went along with him, were Spectators. *Leonidas* himſelf, when one ſaid to him, *You lead very few with* to the Battle: answered, *They are enough to die there.* When his Wife, at his Departure, ask'd him, what Commands he had for her; he turning to her, said, *I command you to marry a good Man, and bring him good Children.* After he was enclosed by the Enemy at *Thermopylæ*, desiring to save two, that were related to him, he gave one of them a Letter, and sent him away; but he rejected it, saying, angrily, *I follow'd you as a Souldier, not as a Post.* The other he commanded on a Message to the Magistrates of *Sparta*; but he answering, *'Tis a Messengers Business*, took his Shield, and stood up in his Rank. Who would not have blam'd another, that should have omitted these things? But he, who has collected and recorded the Fart of *Amasis*, the coming of the Thiefs Asses, and the giving of Bottles, and many such like things, cannot seem to have omitted these gallant Acts, and these remarkable Sayings, by Negligence and Oversight, but as bearing ill Will, and being unjust to some. He says, that the *Thebans*, being at the first with the *Greeks*, fought, but compell'd by Necessity. For belike not only *Xerxes*, but *Leonidas* also, had Whipsters following his Camp, by whom the *Thebans* being scourg'd, were forc'd against their Wills to fight. And he says, that the fought upon Necessity, who might have gone away and fled; and that they inclin'd to the *Medes*, whereas not one came in to help them. After this, he writes, that the rest making to *Colonus*, the *Thebans* separated themselves from them, lifted up their Hands to the *Barbarians*, and coming near, cry'd with a most true Voice, that they had favour'd the *Medes* Affairs, had given Earth and Water to the King, that now being forc'd by Necessity, they were come to *Thermopylæ*, and they were innocent of the Kings Wound. Having said these things, they obtain'd Quarter; for they had the *Thessalians* for Witnesses of all they said. Behold, how amidst the *Barbarians* Exclamations, Tumults of all sorts, Flights and Pursuits, their

Apology was heard, the Witneſſes examin'd, and the *Theſſalians* in the midſt of thoſe, that were ſlain and trodden under Foot, all being done in a very narrow Paſſage, Patroniz'd the *Thebans*, to wit, becauſe the *Thebans* had but a little before driven away them, who were poſſeſt of all *Greece* as far as *Theſpiæ*, having Conquer'd them in a Battel, and ſlain their Leader *Lattamyas*. For thus at that time ſtood Matters between the *Bœotians* and the *Theſſalians*, without any Friendſhip or Good Will. But yet how did the *Thebans* eſcape, the *Theſſalians* helping them with their Teſtimony? *Some of them*, ſays he, *were ſlain by the* Barbarians. *Many of them were by Command of* Xerxes *mark'd with the Royal Mark, beginning with their Leader* Leontiades. Now the Captain of the *Thebans* at *Thermopylæ*, was not *Leontiades*, but *Anaxander*, as both *Ariſtophanes*, out of the Commentaries of the Magiſtrates, and *Nicander* the *Colophonian* have taught us. Nor did any Man, before *Herodotus*, know, that the *Thebans* were ſtigmatiz'd by *Xerxes*. For otherwiſe this would have been an excellent Plea for them againſt his Calumny, and this City might well have glory'd in these Marks, that *Xerxes* had puniſht *Leonidas* and *Leontiades* as his greateſt Enemies, having outrag'd the Body of the one when he was Dead, and cauſ'd the other to be tormented, whilſt living. But he, who makes the *Barbarian's* Cruelty againſt *Leonidas*, when dead, a Sign, that he hated him moſt of all Men, when living; and yet ſays that the *Thebans*, though favouring the *Medes*, were ſtigmatiz'd by them at *Thermopylæ*, and having been thus ſtigmatiz'd, again chearfully took their Parts at *Platææ*, ſeems to me not unlike to *Hippoclides*, who being told, as he was dancing over the Tables at a Feſtival, that he had danc'd away the Truth, made anſwer, Hippoclides *cares not for that*.

In his Eighth Book, our Author ſays, that the Greeks being frighted, deſign'd to fly from *Artemiſium* into

Greece, and then being requested by the *Eubœans* to stay a little, till they could dispose of their Wives and Families, they regarded them not, till such time as *Themistocles*, having taken Money of them, divided it between *Eurybiades* and *Adimantus*, the Captain of the *Corinthians*, and that then they stay'd, and had a Sea-Fight with the *Barbarians*. Yet *Pindar*, who was not a Citizen of any of the Confederate Cities, but of one that was suſpected to take part with the *Medians*, having made mention of *Artemiſium*, brake forth into this Exclamation. [*This is the Place*] *where the Sons of the Athenians laid the glorious Foundation of Liberty*. But *Herodotus*, by whom, as ſome will have it, *Greece* is honour'd, makes that Victory a Work of Bribery and Theft, ſaying, that the *Greeks*, deceiv'd by their Captains, who had to that end taken Money, fought againſt their Wills. Nor does he here put an end to his Malice. All Men in a manner confeſs, that, although the *Greeks* got the better at Sea, they nevertheleſs abandon'd *Artemiſium* to the *Barbarians*, after they had receiv'd the News of the Overthrow at *Thermopylæ*. For 'twas to no purpoſe for them to ſtay there, and keep the Sea, the War being already within *Pylæ*, and *Xerxes* having poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Avenues. But *Herodotus* makes the *Greeks* contriving to fly, before they heard any thing of *Leonidas*'s Death. For thus he ſays: *But they, having been ill treated, and eſpecially the Athenians, half of whoſe Ships were ſorely ſhatter'd, conſulted to take their Flight into* Greece. But let him be permitted ſo to name, or rather to reproach this Retreat of theirs before the Fight; for having before call'd it a *Flight*, he both now ſtiles it a *Flight*, and will again a little after term it a *Flight*; ſo bitterly does he adhere to this Word *Flight*. *Preſently after this* [ſays he] *there came to the Barbarians in a Pinnace a Man of Hiſtiæa, who acquainted them with the Flight of the Grecians from Artemiſium.*

miſium. *They, becauſe the thing ſeem'd incredible, ſent a Meſſenger to [illegible], and ſent forth ſome light Gallies to diſcover the Truth.* But what is this you ſay? That they fled as conquer'd, whom the Enemies after the Fight could not believe to have fled, as having got much the better? Is then this [a Fellow] fit to be believ'd, when he writes of any Man or City, who in one Word deprives *Greece* of the Victory, throws down the Trophy, and pronounces the Inſcriptions, they had ſet up to *Diana* on the Eaſt Side of *Artemiſium*, to be nothing but Pride and vain Boaſting? The Tenor of the Inſcription was, as follows.

When Athens *Youth had in a Naval Fight*
All Aſia's *Forces on this Sea o'rethrown,*
And the Medes *Army put to Flight,*
Than which a greater ſcarce was ever known,
To ſhew, how much Diana *they reſpected,*
This Trophy to her Honour they erected.

Moreover, not having deſcrib'd any Order of the *Greeks*, nor told us, what Place every City of their's held during the Sea-fight, he ſays, that in this Retreat, which he calls their Flight, the *Corinthians* ſail'd firſt, and the *Athenians* laſt. He indeed ought not to have too much inſulted over the *Greeks*, that took part with the *Medes*, who, being by others thought a *Thurian*, reckons himſelf among the *Halicarnaſſeans*, which, being *Dorians* by Deſcent, went with their Wives and Children to the War againſt the *Greeks*. But he is ſo far from giving firſt an Account of the Streights, they were in, who revolted to the *Medes*, that relating how the *Theſſalians* ſent to the *Phoceans*, which were their mortal Enemies, and promis'd to preſerve their Country free from all Dammage, if they might receive from them a Reward of fifty Talents, he writ thus of the *Phoceans*: *For the* Phoceans *were the only People in thoſe Quarters, who* [illegible] to the Medians, and that, as far as I upon due conſideration can find, for no other Reaſon, but becauſe they hated the Theſſalians; for if the Theſſalians had been affected to the Grecian Affairs, I ſuppoſe the Phocæans would have joyn'd themſelves to the Medes. And yet a little after he will ſay, that thirteen Cities of the *Phocæans* were burnt by the *Barbarians*, their Country laid waſt, and the Temple, which was in *Abæ*, ſet on fire, and all of both Sexes put to the Sword, except thoſe, that by Flight eſcap'd to *Parnaſſus*. Nevertheleſs, he puts thoſe, who ſuffered all Extremities, rather than they would loſe their Honeſty, in the ſame Rank with thoſe, who moſt affectionately ſided with the *Medians*. And when he could not blame the *Phocæans* Actions, he deviſ'd falſe Cauſes, framing Suſpicions againſt them with his Pen, and judging them, not by what they did, but by the Conſtruction, put on their Intentions by the *Theſſalians*, who gap'd after their Dominions, as if they therefore refuſed to enter into the Treaſon, becauſe others had prevented them. Now if any one, going about to excuſe the Revolt of the *Theſſalians* to the *Medes*, ſhould ſay, that they would not have done it, but for the Hatred, they bare the *Phocæans*, whom when they ſaw joyn'd to the *Greeks*, they, againſt their Inclinations, followed the Party of the *Medes*; would not ſuch an one be thought moſt ſhamefully to flatter, and for the Sake of others, to pervert the Truth, by feigning good Cauſes for evil Actions? Indeed, I think, he would, why then ſhould not he be thought openly to calumniate, who ſays, that the *Phocæans* choſe the beſt, not for the Love of Vertue, but becauſe they ſaw the *Theſſalians* on the contrary ſide? For neither does he refer this Device to other Authors, as he is elſewhere wont to do, but ſays, that himſelf found it out by Conjecture. He ſhould therefore have produc'd certain Arguments, by which he was perſwaded, that they, who did things like the beſt, followed the ſame Counſels with the worſt. For what he ſays of their Emulations, is ridiculous. For neither did the difference between the *Æginetæ* and the *Athenians*, nor that between the *Chalcidians* and the *Eretrians*, nor yet that between the *Corinthians* and the *Megarians*, hinder them from fighting together for *Greece*. Nor did the *Macedonians*, their moſt bitter Enemies, plaguing the *Theſſalians*, divert them from their Friendſhip with the *Barbarians*. For the common Danger did ſo bury their private Grudges, that baniſhing their other Paſſions, they apply'd their Minds either to Honeſty, for the ſake of Vertue, or to profit through the Impulſe of Neceſſity. And indeed after that Neceſſity, which compell'd them to obey the *Medians*, was over, they return'd again to the *Greeks*, as *Lacrates* the *Spartan* has openly teſtified of them. And *Herodotus*, as conſtrain'd to it, in his Relation of the Affairs at *Platæa*, confeſs'd that the *Phocians* took part with the *Greeks*. Neither ought it to ſeem ſtrange to any, if he thus bitterly inveighs againſt the unfortunate; ſince he reckons amongſt Enemies and Traitors thoſe, who were preſent at the Engagement, and together with the other *Greeks*, hazarded their Safety. *For the* Naxians, ſays he, *ſent three Ships to the aſſiſtance of the* Barbarians, *but* Democritus, *one of their Captains, perſuaded the other two to take the Party of the* Greeks. So unable he is to praiſe without diſpraiſing, that if he commends one Man, he muſt condemn a whole City or People. But in this there give Teſtimony againſt him, of the more ancient Writers, *Hellanicus*, and of the latter, *Ephorus*, one of which ſays, that the *Naxians* came with ſix Ships to aid the *Greeks*, and the other with five. And *Herodotus* convinces himſelf of having feigned theſe things. For the Writers of the *Naxian* Annals ſay, that they had before beaten back *Megabates*, who came to their Iſland with two hundred Ships; and after that, to fight the General *Datis*, who had ſet their City on fire. Now if, as *Herodotus* has elſewhere ſaid, the *Barbarians* burnt their City, ſo that the Men were glad to ſave themſelves by flying into the Mountains; had they not juſt Cauſe rather to ſend Aid to the Deſtroyers of their Country, than to help the Protectors of the common Liberty? But that he fram'd this Lye, not ſo much to honor *Democritus*, as to caſt Infamy on the *Naxians*, is manifeſt from his omitting and wholly paſſing over in Silence the valiant Acts then perform'd by *Democritus*, of which *Simonides* gives us an Account in this Epigram.

When as the Greeks *at Sea the* Medes *did meet,*
And had near Salamis *a Naval Fight,*
Democritus *third time led up the Fleet,*
Charging the Enemy with all his Might.
He took five of their Ships, and did another,
Which they had taken from the Greeks, *recover.*

But why ſhould any one be angry with him about the *Naxians*? If we have as ſome ſay, *Antipodes* inhabiting the other Hemiſphere; I believe, that they alſo have heard of *Themiſtocles* and his Counſel, which he gave the *Greeks* to fight a Naval Battel before *Salamis*, where the *Barbarian* being overcome, he built in *Malta* a Temple to *Diana* the Counſellor. This gentle Writer, endeavouring, as much as in him lies, to deprive *Themiſtocles* of the Glory of this, and tranſfer it to another, writes thus Word for Word; *Whilſt things were thus,* Mneſiphilus, *an* Athenian, *asks* Themiſtocles, *as he was going aboard his Ship, what had been reſolv'd on in Council, and being anſwered, that 'twas decreed, the Ships ſhould be brought back to* Iſthmus, *and a Battel fought at Sea before* Peloponneſus; he ſaid, *If then they remove the Navy from* Salamis, *you,* Themiſtocles, *ſhall never fight for your Country; for they will every one return to his own City. Where-*

ſore, if there be any way left, go, and endeavour to break this Reſolution, and if it be poſſible, perſwade Euribyades to change his Mind and ſtay here. Then adding, that the Advice pleas'd *Themiſtocles*, who, without making any Reply, went ſtreight to *Euribyades*, he has theſe very Expreſſions. *And ſitting by him, related, what he had heard from* Mneſiphilus, *feigning, as if it came from himſelf, and adding other things.* You ſee how he accuſes *Themiſtocles* of Diſingenuity in arrogating to himſelf the Counſel of *Mneſiphilus.* And further deriding the *Greeks*, he ſays, that *Themiſtocles*, who was call'd another *Ulyſſes* for his Wiſdom, was ſo blind, that he could not foreſee, what was fit to be done. But that *Artemiſia*, who was of the ſame City with *Herodotus*, without being taught by any one, but by her own Conſideration, ſaid thus to *Xerxes*. *The* Greeks *will not long be able to hold out againſt you; nor is it probable, if you march your Army by Land to* Peloponneſus, *that they will ſit ſtill, or take care to fight at Sea for the* Athenians. *But if you make haſte to give them a Naval Battel, I fear, leſt your Fleets receiving Dammage, may prove alſo very prejudicial to your Land Forces.* Certainly *Herodotus* wanted nothing but Verſe to make *Artemiſia* another *Sibyl*, ſo exactly propheſying of things to come. Therefore *Xerxes* alſo deliver'd his Children to her to be carry'd to *Epheſus*; for he had (it ſeems) forgot to bring Women with him from *Suſa*, if indeed they wanted a Train of Female Attendants. But 'tis not our Deſign to ſearch into the Lies of *Herodotus*; we only make inquiry into thoſe, which he invented to detract from the Glory of others. He ſays, 'tis reported by the *Athenians*, that *Adimantus*, Captain of the *Corinthians*, when the Enemies were now ready to join Battel, was ſtruck with ſuch Fear and Aſtoniſhment, that he fled; not thruſting his Ship backward by the Stern, or leiſurely retreating through thoſe, that were engag'd, but openly hoiſing up his Sails, and turning

Heads of all his Veſſels. And that about the farther part of the *Salaminian* Coaſt, he was met by a Pinnace, out of which one ſpake thus to him: *Thou indeed,* Adimantus, *fly'ſt, having betray'd the* Grecians, *yet they overcome, and according to their Deſires have the better of their Enemies.* This Pinnace certainly was let down from Heaven. For what ſhould hinder him from erecting a Tragical Machine, who by his Boaſting excell'd the *Tragædians* in all other things? *Adimantus* then crediting him, return'd to the Fleet, when the Buſineſs was already done. *This Report,* ſays he, *is deliver'd by the* Athenians; *but the* Corinthians *deny it, and ſay, they were the firſt at the Sea-fight, for which they have the Teſtimony of all the other* Greeks. Such is this Man in many other Places: He ſpreads different Calumnies and Accuſations of different Men, that he may not fail of making ſome one appear altogether Wicked; as it has ſucceeded well with him in this place: for if the Calumny is believ'd, the *Corinthians*; if it is not, the *Athenians* are rendred infamous; or elſe the *Athenians* did not bely the *Corinthians*, but he has bely'd them both. Certainly *Thucydides*, bringing in an *Athenian* Ambaſſador, conteſting with a *Corinthian* at *Sparta*, and gloriouſly boaſting of many things about the *Median* War, and the Sea-Fight at *Salamis*, charges not the *Corinthians* with any Crime of Treachery, or leaving their Station. Nor was it likely the *Athenians* ſhould object any ſuch thing againſt *Corinth*, when they ſaw it engraven in the third place after the *Lacedæmonians* and themſelves on thoſe Spoils, which, being taken from the *Barbarians*, were conſecrated to the Gods. And in *Salamis* they had permitted them to bury their Dead near the City, as being Men, who had behav'd themſelves gallantly, and to write over them this Elegy.

Well-water'd Corinth *us, when living, gave*
Abode; now dead, dry Salamis *a Grave.*
We, ſacred Greece *defending, put to flight*
Phoenicia's *Ships, did* Medes *and* Perſians *fight.*

And their Honorary Sepulchre in *Iſthmus* has on it thi Epitaph.

We, who all Greece, *neer brought to Slavery,*
Did with our Lives ſet free, here bury'd lye.

Moreover, on the Offerings of *Diodorus*, one of the Corinthian Sea-Captains, reſerv'd in the Temple of *Lato* there is this Inſcription.

Theſe, of their Fight with th' Medes *a Monument,*
Diodores's *Sea-men to* Latona *ſent.*

And as for *Adimantus* himſelf, againſt whom *Herodo* frequently inveighs, ſaying, that he was the only Captain, who went about to fly from *Artemiſium*, and woul not ſtay the Fight: behold in how great Honour he is.

Brave Adimantus, *who ſet free, when doom'd*
To Slavery, all Greece, *lies here entomb'd.*

For neither is it probable, that ſuch Honour would ha been ſhewn to a Coward and a Traytor after his De ceaſe; nor would he have dar'd to have give Daughters the Names of *Nauſinica*, *Acrothinia*, and *lexibia*, and his Son, that of *Ariſteas*, if he had not form'd ſome illuſtrious and memorable Action in Fight. Nor is it credible, that *Herodotus* was ig of that, which could not be unknown even to the meaneſt *Carian*, that the *Corinthian* Women alone made that glorious and Divine Prayer, by which they beſought the Goddeſs *Venus* to inſpire their Husbands with a Love of Fighting againſt the *Barbarians*. For it was a thing divulg'd abroad, concerning which, *Simonides* made an Epigram to be inſcrib'd on the Braſen Images, ſet up in that Temple of *Venus*, which is ſaid to have been founded by *Medea*, deſiring the Goddeſs, as ſome affirm, to deliver her from loving her Husband *Jaſon*; or, as others, to free him from loving *Thetis*. The Tenor of the Epigram follows.

Theſe Statues theſe fair Ladies repreſent,
Whoſe Vows, for Grecia *to* Venus *ſent,*
Obtain'd, ſhe would not leave them as a Prey,
Nor to the Medes *the Citadel betray.*

Theſe things he ſhould rather have written, and recorded, than have inſerted *Aminocles*'s Killing of his Son. After he had abundantly ſatisfy'd himſelf with the Accuſations brought againſt *Themiſtocles*, of whom he ſays, that unknown to the other Captains, he inceſſantly robb'd and ſpoil'd the Iſlands, he at length openly takes away the Crown of Victory from the *Athenians*, and ſets it on the Head of the *Æginetæ*, writing thus: *The* Greeks *having ſent the Firſt Fruits of their Spoils to* Delphos, *ask'd in general of the* GOD, *whether he had a ſufficient part of the Booty, and were contented with it.* He anſwer'd, *That he had enough of all the other* Greeks, *but not of the Æginetæ; for he expected a Donary of them, as having won the greateſt Honour in the Battle at* Salamis. See here, how he attributes not his Fictions to the *Scythians*, to the *Perſians*, or to the *Ægyptians*, as *Æſop* did his to the Ravens and Apes; but uſing the very Perſon of the *Pythian Apollo*, takes from *Athens* the chief Honour of the Battle at *Salamis*.

Salamis. And the ſecond Place in Honour being given to *Themiſtocles* at *Iſthmus* by all the other Captains, every one of which, attributing to himſelf the firſt Degree of Valor, gave the next to *Themiſtocles*, and the Judgment not coming to a Determination, when he ſhould have reprehended the Ambition of the Captains, he ſaid, that all the *Greeks* weigh'd Anchor from thence, not being willing to give the chief Honour of the Victory to *Themiſtocles.*

In his ninth and laſt Book, having nothing left, to vent his Malice on but the *Lacedemonians*, and their glorious Action againſt the *Barbarians* at *Platææ*, he writes, that the *Spartans* at firſt fear'd, leſt the *Athenians* ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be perſwaded by *Mardonius*, to forſake the other *Greeks*; but that now, the *Iſthmus* being fortify'd, they, ſuppoſing all to be ſafe at *Peloponneſus*, eaſily ſlighted the reſt, Feaſting and making merry at home, and deluding and delaying the *Athenian* Ambaſſadors. How then did there go forth from *Sparta* to *Platææ* a thouſand and five Men, having every one of them with him ſeven *Heilots*? or how came it, that expoſing themſelves to ſo many Dangers, they vanquiſht and overthrew ſo many thouſand *Barbarians*? Hear now his probable Cauſe of it. *It happen'd*, ſays he, *that there was then at* Sparta *a certain Stranger of* Tegea, *nam'd* Chileus, *who had ſome Friends amongſt the* Ephori, *between whom and him there was mutual Hoſpitality: He then perſwaded them to ſend forth the Army, telling them, that the Fortification on the* Iſthmus, *by which they had fenc'd in* Peloponneſus, *would be of no avail, if the* Athenians *joyn'd themſelves with* Mardonius. *This Counſel then drew* Pauſanias *with his Army to* Platææ. Now if any private Buſineſs had kept that *Chileus* at *Tegea*, *Greece* had never been victorious. Again, not knowing what to do with the *Athenians*, he toſſes to and fro that City, ſometimes extolling it, and ſometimes debaſing it. He ſays, that concerning for the ſecond Place with the *Tegeates*, they made mention of the *Heraclidæ*, alledg'd their Acts againſt the *Amazons*, and the Sepulchres of the *Peloponneſians*, that dy'd under the Walls of *Cadmea*, and at laſt brought down their Diſcourſe to the Battel of *Marathon*, ambitiouſly deſiring the Command of the left Wing. A little after he ſays, that *Pauſanias* and the *Spartans* yielded them the firſt Place, deſiring them to fight in the right Wing againſt the *Perſians*, and give them the Left, who excus'd themſelves as not skill'd in fighting againſt the *Barbarians*. Now 'tis a ridiculous thing to be willing to fight againſt no Enemy, unleſs one has been us'd to him. But he ſays farther, that the other *Greeks* being led by their Captains to encamp in another Place, as ſoon as they were mov'd, the Horſe fled, not without Joy, towards *Platæa*, and in their Flight came as far as *Juno's* Temple. In which place indeed he charges them all in general with Diſobedience, Cowardize and Treaſon. At laſt he ſays, that only the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Tegeates* fought with the *Barbarians*, and the *Athenians* with the *Thebans*; equally defrauding all the other Cities of their Part in the Honour of the Victory; whilſt he affirms, that none of them joyn'd in the Fight, but all of them, ſitting ſtill hard by in their Arms, betray'd and forſook thoſe, who fought for them. That the *Phliaſians* and *Megarians* indeed; when they heard, *Pauſanias* had got the better, came in, and falling raſhly on the *Theban* Horſe, were cut off: that the *Corinthians* were not at the Battel; but, after the Victory was got, making haſt through the Hills, they eſcap'd the *Theban* Cavalry. For the *Thebans*, after the *Barbarians* were overthrown, going before with their Horſe, affectionately aſſiſted them in their Flight, to return them Thanks (forſooth) for the Marks, they had ſtigmatiz'd them with at *Thermopylæ*. Now what Rank the *Corinthians* had in the Fight at *Platææ* againſt the *Barbarians*, and how they perform'd their Duty, you may hear from *Simonides* in these Verses.

I' th' midst were Men, in warlike Feats excelling,
Who Ephyre, *full of Springs, inhabited,*
And who in Corinth, Glaucus *City, dwelling,*
Great Praiſe by their great Valour merited;
Of which, they, to perpetuate the Fame,
To th' Gods of well wrought Gold did Offrings frame.

For he wrote not theſe things, as one that taught at *Corinth*, or that made Verſes in Honour of the City, but as recording theſe Actions in *Elegiack* Verſes. But *Herodotus*, whilſt he deſires to prevent that Objection, by which thoſe might convince him of Lying, who ſhould ask, whence then are ſo many Mounts, Tombs and Monuments of the Dead, at which the *Plataeans*, even to this Day, celebrate Funeral Solemnities in the Preſence of the *Greeks*? has charg'd, unleſs I am miſtaken, a fouler Crime, than that of Treaſon on their Poſterity. For theſe are his Words. *As for the other Sepulchres that are ſeen* in Plateæ, *I have heard, that their Succeſſors, being aſhamed of their Progenitors Abſence from this Battel, erected every Man a Monument for Poſterities Sake.* Of this treacherous Deſerting the Battel, *Herodotus* was the only Man that ever heard. For the *Greeks*, who withdrew themſelves from the Battel, deceiv'd *Pauſanias*, *Ariſtides*, the *Lacedæmonians*, and the *Athenians*. Neither yet did the *Athenians* exclude the *Æginetæ*, who were their Adverſaries, from the inſcription, nor convince the *Corinthians* of having fled from *Salamis* before the Victory, *Greece* bearing Witneſs to the contrary. Indeed *Cleades* a *Platæan*, ten years after the *Median* War, to gratifie, as *Herodotus* ſays, the *Æginetæ*, erected a Mount bearing their Name. How came it then to paſs, that the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, who were ſo jealous of each other, that they were preſently after the War ready to go together by the Ears about the ſetting up a Trophy, did not yet repel thoſe *Greeks*, who fled in a Fear from the Battel, from having a Share in the Honour of thoſe, that behav'd themſelves valiantly, but inſcrib'd their Names on the Trophees and *Coloſſes*, and granted them part of the Spoils? Laſtly, they ſet up an Altar, on which was engraven this Epigram.

The Greeks, *by Valor having put to flight*
The Perſians, *and preſerv'd their Countrys Right,*
Erected here this Altar, which you ſee,
To Jove, *Preſerver of their Liberty.*

Did *Cleadas* alſo, O *Herodotus*, or ſome other, write this, to oblige the Cities by Flattery? What need had they then to employ fruitleſs Labor in digging up the Earth, to make Tombs, and erect Monuments for Poſterities Sake, when they ſaw their Glory conſecrated in the moſt illuſtrious and greateſt Donaries? *Pauſanias* indeed, when he was now aſpiring to the Tyranny, ſet up this Inſcription in *Delphos*.

Pauſanias, *of* Greeks *the General,*
When he the Medes *in Fight had overthrown,*
Offer'd to Phœbus *a Memorial*
Of's Victory, this Monumental Stone.

In which he gave the Glory to the *Greeks*, whoſe General he profeſs'd himſelf. Yet the *Greeks* not enduring, but utterly miſliking it, the *Lacedæmonians*, ſending to *Delphos*, caus'd this to be cut out, and the Names of the Cities, as it was fit, to be engraven inſtead of it. Now how is it probable, that the *Greeks* ſhould have been offended, that there was no mention made of them in the Inſcription, if they had been conſcious to themſelves of deſerting the Fight? or that the *Lacedæmonians* would have eraſ'd the Name of their Leader and General, to inſert Deſerters, and ſuch as withdrew themſelves from the common Danger? For it would have been a great Indignity, that *Sochares, Deipniſtus*, and all the reſt, who ſhew'd their Valor in that Fight, ſhould calmly ſuffer the *Cythnians* and *Melians* to be inſcrib'd on the Trophees; and that *Herodotus*, attributing that Fight only to three Cities, ſhould eraſe all the reſt out of thoſe and other Sacred Monuments and Donaries. For there having been then four Fights with the *Barbarians*; he ſays, that the *Greeks* fled from *Artemiſium*; that, whilſt their King and General expos'd himſelf to Danger at *Thermopylæ*, the *Lacedæmonians* ſat negligent at Home, celebrating the *Olympian* and *Carnean* Feaſts. And diſcourſing of the Action at *Salamis*, he uſes more Words about *Artemiſia*, than he does in his whole Narrative of the Naval Battel. Laſtly, he ſays, that the *Greeks* ſate ſtill at *Plataæ*, knowing no more of the Fight, till it was over, than if it had been a Skirmiſh between Mice and Frogs, in which, as *Pigres*, *Artemiſias*'s Brother, merrily and ſcoffingly ſaid, it had been agreed to fight ſilently, leſt they ſhould be heard by others; and that the *Lacedæmonians* excell'd not the *Barbarians* in Valor, but only got the better, as fighting againſt naked and unarm'd Men. To wit, when *Xerxes* himſelf was preſent, the *Barbarians* were with much difficulty compell'd by Scourges to fight with the *Greeks*; but at *Plataæ*, having taken other Reſolutions, they were no way inferior in Courage and Strength; but their Garments being without Armour, was prejudicial to them, ſince being naked, they fought againſt a compleatly arm'd Enemy. What then is there left great and memorable to the *Grecians* of thoſe Fights, if the *Lacedæmonians* fought with unarm'd Men, the other *Greeks*, though preſent, were ignorant of the Battel, empty Monuments are up every where, and *Tripuſes* and Altars, full of lying Inſcriptions, plac'd before the Gods: if laſtly, *Herodotus* only knows the Truth, all others, that give any Account of the *Greeks*, being deceiv'd by the Fame of thoſe Actions, as the Effects of an admirable Proweſs?

What then is to be ſaid? But that he is an acute Writer, his Stile is pleaſant, there is a certain Grace, Force, and Elegancy in his Narrations; and as he has, like a Muſician, propos'd his Diſcourſe, though not knowingly, however ſweetly, theſe things delight, pleaſe, and affect all Men. But as in Roſes we muſt beware of [the venemous Flies, call'd] Cantharides; ſo muſt we take heed of his Calumnies and Envy, lying hid under ſmooth and well-couch'd Phraſes and Expreſſions, that we imprudently entertain abſurd and falſe Opinions of the moſt excellent and greateſt Cities and Men of *Greece*.

Plutarch's Morals:

Vol. IV.

Of common Conception against the Stoicks.

Translated out of the Greek, by Samuel White, M. D.

Lamprias. YOU, O *Diadumenus*, ſeem not much to care, if any one thinks, that you philoſophize againſt the common Notions; ſince you confeſs, that you contemn alſo the Senſes, from whence the moſt part of theſe Notions in a manner proceed, having for their Seat and Foundation the Belief of ſuch things as appear to us. But I beſeech you, with what ſpeed you can, either by Reaſons, Incantations, or ſome other manner of Diſcourſe, to cure me, who come to you, full as I ſeem to my ſelf, of great and ſtrange Perturbation; ſo much have I been ſhaken, and into ſuch a Perplexity of Mind have I been brought by certain *Stoicks*, in other things indeed very good Men, and my familiar Friends, but moſt bitterly and hoſtilely bent againſt the Academy. Theſe for ſome few Words, modeſtly ſpoken by me, have (for I will tell you no Ly) rudely and unkindly reprehended me; angrily calling and reputing the Ancients Sophiſters, Corrupters and Subverters

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thoſe that walk in the way of Doctrines, and ſaying yet things more abſurd than theſe, they fell at laſt upon the Conceptions, as into which the *Academicks* had brought a certain Confuſion and Diſturbance. At length one of them ſaid, that he thought, it was not by Fortune, but by the Providence of the Gods, that *Chryſippus* came into the World after *Arceſilaus*, and before *Carneades*; of which the one was the Author of the Contumelies and Injuries done to Cuſtom; and the other flouriſht moſt of all in the *Academick*. *Chryſippus* then, coming between them, by his Writings againſt *Arceſilaus*, ſtopp'd alſo the way againſt the Eloquence of *Carneades*, leaving indeed many things to the Senſes, as Proviſions againſt a Siege; but wholly taking away the Trouble about Anticipations and Conceptions, directing every one of them, and putting it in its proper Place: that they, who will again embroil and diſquiet Matters, cannot but be convinc'd of being Malicious and Deceitful Sophiſters. I having been this Morning ſet on Fire by theſe Diſcourſes, want ſome cooling Remedies to extinguiſh and take away this Doubting, as an Inflammation, out of my Mind.

Diadumenus. You perhaps have ſuffer'd the ſame things with ſome of the Vulgar. But if you believe the Poets, who ſay, that the ancient [City] *Sipylus* was overthrown by the Providence of the Gods, when they puniſht *Tantalus*; believe alſo the Companions of the *Stoa*, [ſaying] that Nature, not by Chance, but by Divine Providence, brought forth *Chryſippus*, when ſhe had a mind to turn things upſide down, and alter the Courſe of Life; for which purpoſe, never any Man was fitter than he. But as *Cato* ſaid of *Cæſar*, that never any [but he] came to the [Management of] Publick Affairs, ſober and conſiderately reſolv'd on the Ruine of the State; ſo does this Man ſeem to me, with the greateſt Diligence and Eloquence, to overturn and demoliſh Cuſtom;

and that do they, who magnifie the Man, teſtifie, when they diſpute againſt him concerning [the Sophiſm] call'd *Pſeudomenos* [or the *Liar.*] For to ſay, my beſt Friend, that a Concluſion, drawn from contrary Poſitions, is not manifeſtly falſe; and again to ſay, that ſome Arguments, having true Premiſes, and true Inductions, may yet moreover have the contrary to their Concluſions true; what Conception of Demonſtration, or what Anticipation of Faith does it not overthrow? They ſay, that the *Polypus* in the Winter gnaws his own Claws and pendant hairy Feet: But the Logick of *Chryſippus*, taking away and cutting off its own chiefeſt Parts and Principles; What other Notion has it left unſuſpected of Falſhood? For the Superſtructures cannot be ſteady and ſure, if the Foundations remain not firm, but are ſhaken with ſo many Doubts and Troubles. But as thoſe, who have Duſt or Dirt upon their Bodies, if they touch or rub the Filth, that is upon them, ſeem rather to increaſe than remove it: ſo ſome Men blame the *Academicks*, and think them guilty of the Faults, with which they ſhew themſelves to be burden'd. For which of theſe do at length more pervert the common Conception? But if you pleaſe, let us leave accuſing them, and defend our ſelves from the things, with which they charge us.

Lamprias. Methinks, *Diadumenus*, I am this Day become a certain various and unconſtant Man. For erſt while I came dejected and trembling, as one, that wanted an Apology; and now I am chang'd to an Accuſer, and deſire to enjoy the Pleaſure of Revenge, in ſeeing them all convict together, of what they philoſophize againſt the common Conceptions and Anticipations, whence they think chiefly [to magnifie] their Sect, in ** and ſay, that it alone agrees with Nature.

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Diadumenus. Shall we then firſt attack thoſe common and celebrated [Doctrines of theirs] which themſelves, gently admitting their Abſurdity, call Paradoxes; as that only wiſe Men are Kings, that they only are rich and fair, they only Citizens and Judges? or ſhall we ſend all this to the Brokers, as old decay'd Frippery, and make our Enquiry into ſuch things as are moſt practical, and with the greateſt Earneſtneſs deliver'd by them?

Lamprias. I indeed like this better: For who is there that is not already full of the Arguments brought againſt thoſe [Paradoxes?]

Diadumenus. Firſt then conſider this, whether, according to the common Conceptions, they [can be ſaid to] agree with Nature, who deem [all] natural things indifferent, and eſteem neither Health, Vigour of Body, Complexion, Beauty, nor Strength deſirable, commodious, profitable, or any way contributary to the compleating of natural Perfection? Nor their Contraries, as Maims, Pains, Diſgraces and Diſeaſes, are hurtful, or to be ſhunn'd. To the latter of which they themſelves ſay, that Nature gives us an Abhorrency, and an Inclination to the former. Which very thing is not a little repugnant to common Underſtanding; that Nature ſhould incline us to ſuch things, as are neither good nor available, and avert us from ſuch, as are neither ill nor hurtful; and which is more, that ſhe ſhould render this Inclination and this Averſion ſo violent, that they, who either poſſeſs not the one, or fall into the other, with good Reaſon deteſt their Life, and withdraw themſelves out of it. I think alſo, that this is ſaid by them againſt common Senſe, that Nature her ſelf is indifferent, and yet deem 'tis good to agree with Nature. For 'tis not our Duty either to follow the Law, or be perſuaded by Argument, unleſs the Law and Argument itſelf be good and honeſt. And this indeed is the leaſt

of

[of their Senſes.] But if, as *Chryſippus* has written in his fifth Book concerning *Exhortations*, to live happily conſiſts only in living according to Virtue, other things, as he ſays, being nothing to us, nor cooperating any way towards it, Nature is not only indifferent, but fooliſh alſo and ſtupid, in inclining us unto ſuch things as belong nothing to us; and we alſo are fools in thinking Felicity to be an agreeing with Nature, which draws us after ſuch things, as contribute nothing to Happineſs. For what can be more agreeable to common ſenſe, than that, as deſirable things are requiſite to live commodiouſly, ſo natural things are neceſſary, that we may live according to Nature. Now theſe Men ſay not ſo; but having fixed the Living according to Nature for their End, do nevertheleſs hold thoſe things, which are according to Nature, to be indifferent. Nor is this leſs repugnant to common ſenſe, that an intelligent and prudent Man ſhould not be equally affected to equal good things; but ſhould put no value on ſome, and be ready to undergo and ſuffer any thing for others, though the things themſelves are neither greater nor leſs one than another. For they ſay, 'tis the ſame thing to abſtain from the Enjoyment of an old Woman, that has one foot in the Grave, [and to venture ones Life in the ſervice of ones Country;] ſince both do, what their Duty requires. And yet for this, as a great and glorious thing, they ſhould be ready to dye; whereas to boaſt of the other, would be ſhameful and ridiculous. And even *Chryſippus* himſelf in his Commentary concerning *Jupiter*, and third Book of the Gods, ſays, that 'twere a poor, abſurd, and impertinent thing to glory in ſuch Actions proceeding from Virtue, as are to bear valiantly the Stinging of a Waſp, or to abſtain chaſtly from an old Woman, that lies a dying. Do not they then philoſophize againſt the common Conceptions, who profeſs nothing to be more commendable than thoſe things, which ye themſelves are aſham'd to praiſe? For between that be deſirable, or to be approv'd, which is worthy neither of Praiſe nor Admiration; but the Poſſeſſors and Maſters of which, they eſteem abſurd and ridiculous? And yet this will (I ſuppoſe) appear to you more againſt common Senſe, that a wiſe Man ſhould take no care, whether he enjoys, or not enjoys the greateſt good things, but ſhould carry himſelf after the ſame manner in theſe things, as in thoſe, that are indifferent, and the management and Adminiſtration of them. For all of us, whoever we are, *that are the Fruits of the Earth*, judge that deſirable, good, and profitable, which, being preſent, we uſe, and abſent, we want and deſire. But that which no Man thinks worth his Concern, either for his Profit, or Delight, is indifferent. For we by no other means diſtinguiſh a laborious Man from a Trifler, who is for the moſt part alſo employ'd in Action, but that the one buſies himſelf in uſeleſs Matters and indifferently, and the other in things commodious and profitable. But theſe Men act quite contrary: for with them, a wiſe and prudent Man, being converſant in many Comprehenſions and Memories of Comprehenſions, accounts few of them to belong to him, and not caring for the reſt, thinks he has neither more or leſs by remembring, that he lately had the Comprehenſion [or certain Knowledge] of *Dion* ſneezing, or *Theon* playing at Ball, although every Comprehenſion in a wiſe Man, and every Memory, having Aſſurance and Firmneſs, is a great, yea, a very great Good. When therefore his Health fails, when ſome Organ of his Senſes is diſorder'd, or when his Wealth is loſt, is a wiſe Man ſo careleſs as to think, that none of theſe things concern him? Or does he, when ſick, give Fees to the Phyſicians? for the gaining of Riches ſail to *Leucon*, Governour in the *Boſphorus*, or travel to *Idanthyrſus*, King of the *Scythians*, as *Chryſippus* ſays? and being deprived of ſome

E e 2 Se-of his Senſes, grow weary even of Life? How then are they not acknowledge, that they philoſophize againſt the common Notions, employing ſo much Care and Diligence on things indifferent, and carrying themſelves indifferently, when they either have, or have not great good things?

But this alſo is yet againſt the common Conceptions, that he, who is a Man, ſhould not rejoyce, when coming from the greateſt Evils to the greateſt Goods. Now their wiſe Man ſuffers this. For being chang'd from extream Vitiouſneſs to the higheſt Vertue, and at the ſame time eſcaping a moſt miſerable Life, and attaining to a moſt happy one, he ſhews no ſign of Joy, nor does this ſo great Change lift him up, or yet move him, being deliver'd from all Infelicity and Vice, and coming to a certain ſure and firm Perfection of Vertue. This alſo is repugnant to common Senſe, that the being Immutable in ones Judgments and Reſolutions, is the greateſt of Goods, and yet, that he, who has attain'd to this height, wants not this, nor cares for it, when he has it; nay, many times will not ſo much as ſtretch forth a Finger for this Security and Conſtancy, which nevertheleſs themſelves eſteem the Sovereign and perfect Good. Nor do the *Stoicks* only ſay theſe things, but [add] alſo this to them, that the continuance of Time encreaſes not any good thing; but that, if a Man ſhall be wiſe but a minute of an hour, he will not be any way inferior in Happineſs to him, who has all his time practis'd Vertue, and led his Life happily in it. Yet, whilſt they thus boldly affirm theſe things, they on the contrary alſo ſay, that a ſhort-liv'd Vertue is nothing worth: for what Advantage would the Attainment of Wiſdom be to him, who is immediately to be ſwallow'd up by the Waves, or tumbled down headlong from a Precipice? What would it have benefited Li-*chas*, if, being thrown by *Hercules*, as from a Sling, in-the Sea, he had been on a ſudden chang'd from Vice to Vertue? Theſe therefore are the Poſitions of Men, who not only philoſophize againſt the common Conceptions, but alſo confound their own; if the having been but a little while endu'd with Vertue is no way ſhort of the higheſt Felicity, and at the ſame time nothing worth. Nor is this the ſtrangeſt thing, you will find in their Doctrine, but their being of Opinion, that Vertue and Happineſs, when preſent, are frequently not perceiv'd by him, who enjoys them; nor does he diſcern, that having but a little before been moſt miſerable and fooliſh, he is of a ſudden become wiſe and happy. For 'tis not only childiſh to ſay, that he, who is poſſeſs'd of Wiſdom, is ignorant of this thing alone, that he is wiſe, and knows not that he is deliver'd from Folly; but, to ſpeak in general, they make Goodneſs to have very little Weight or Strength, if it does not give ſo much as a Feeling of it, when 'tis preſent: for, according even to them, 'tis not by Nature imperceptible; nay, even Chryſippus in his [Books] *Of the End*, expreſly ſays, that Good is ſenſible, as he thinks, and demonſtrates. It remains then, that by its weakneſs and littleneſs it flies the Senſe, when being preſent, 'tis unknown and conceal'd from the Poſſeſſors. 'Twere moreover abſurd [to imagin] that the Sight, perceiving thoſe things, which are but a little whitiſh, or inclining to white, ſhould not diſcern ſuch as are white in perfection, or that the Touch, feeling thoſe things, which are but warm, or moderately hot, ſhould be inſenſible of thoſe, that are hot in the higheſt degree. And yet more abſurd is it, that a Man, who perceives, what is commonly according to Nature, as are Health and good Conſtitution of Body, ſhould yet be ignorant of Vertue, when it is preſent, which themſelves hold to be moſt of all, and in the higheſt degree according to Nature. For how can it but be againſt Senſe, to conceive the difference between Health and Sickneſs, [and ſo little to compariſon that between Wiſdom] and Folly, as to think, the one to be preſent, when it is gone, and poſſeſſing the other, to be ignorant, that one has it? Now becauſe there is from the higheſt Progreſs a Change made to Felicity and Vertue, one of theſe two things muſt of neceſſity follow; either that this Progreſs is not Vice and Infelicity; or that Vertue is not far diſtant from Vice, nor Happineſs from Miſery; but that the Difference between Good and Evil is very ſmall, and not to be perceiv'd by Senſe: for otherwiſe they, who have the one for the other, could not be ignorant of it. Since then they will not depart from any of theſe Contrarieties, but confeſs, and hold them all. That thoſe, who are proceeding towards Vertue, are Fools and vicious; and thoſe, who are become Good and Wiſe, perceive not the Change in themſelves; and that there is a great difference between Folly and Wiſdom, do they not ſeem to you wonderfully to preſerve an Agreement in their Doctrines?

[Now if in their Doctrines they are repugnant to Common Senſe, and contradictory to themſelves] they are yet more ſo in their [Negotiations and] Affairs; when affirming all Men, who are not wiſe, to be equally wicked, unjuſt, faithleſs and Fools, they on the other ſide abhor and deteſt ſome of them, nay, ſometimes to ſuch a Degree, that they refuſe even to ſpeak to them when they meet them; and others of them they truſt with their Money, chooſe to Offices, and take for Husbands to their Daughters. Now if they ſay theſe things in jeſt, let them ſmooth their Brows; but if in earneſt, and as Philoſophers, 'tis againſt the common Notions, to reprove and blame all Men alike in W and yet to deal with ſome of them, as moderate P and with others, as very wicked; and exceedingly to admire *Chryſippus*, to deride *Alexinus*, and yet to

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neither of them more or less cold than the other. So, say they; but as he, who is not above a Cubit under the Superficies of the Sea, is no less drown'd, than he, who is five hundred Fathom deep; so they, that are coming towards Vertue, are no less in Vice, than those that are further off; and as blind Men are still blind, though they shall perhaps a little after recover their Sight; so those, that have proceeded towards Vertue, till such time as they have attain'd to it, continue foolish and wicked. But that they, who are in the way towards Vertue, resemble not the Blind, but such, as see less clearly, nor are like to those, who are drown'd, but to those, which swim, and that near the Harbour, they themselves testifie by their Actions. For they would not use Counsellors, and Generals, and Law-givers, as blind Men do Guides; nor would imitate the Works and Actions, and Words, and Lives of some, if they saw them all equally drown'd in Folly and Wickedness.

But leaving this, wonder at the Men in this behalf, that they are not taught by their own Examples, to let alone these wise Men, who are ignorant of themselves, and neither know, nor are sensible, that they are recover'd from being drown'd, and see the Light, and being gotten above Vice, fetch Breath again. This also is against common Sense, that it should be convenient for a Man, who has all good things, and wants nothing [requisite] to Felicity and Happiness, to make away himself; and much more this, that for him, who neither has, nor ever shall have any good thing, but who is, and ever shall be accompanied with all Adversities, Difficulties and Mishaps, it should not be fitting to quit this Life, unless some of the indifferent things befal him. These Laws are enacted in the Stoa, and by these they excite many wise Men to kill themselves, as if they were thereby more happy. Although the wise Man is fortunate, blessed, every way happy, secure, and free

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from Danger; but the vicious and fooliſh Men,
as I may ſay, of Wickedneſs, ſo that there is no
to put them in; and yet they think, that continuing
Life is fit for the latter, and departing out of it
for the former. And not without cauſe, ſays *Chry*
for we are not to meaſure Life by good things or
but by thoſe, that are according to Nature. In this
ner do they maintain Cuſtom, and philoſophize accord-
ing to the common Conceptions. What do you
Ought not he, who enters upon a Deliberation of
and Death, to conſider,

What Good or Ill in his own Houſe there is?

Should he not weigh, as in a Ballance, what
have the greateſt Sign of ſerving to Felicity or Infeli-
ty? But argue, whether he ſhould live or dye,
thoſe things, which are neither profitable nor preju
and follow ſuch Principles and Sentences, as comm
the chooſing of a Life full of all things, to be avoid
and the ſhunning of one, which wants nothing
thoſe things, that are deſirable? For though 'tis
ſurd thing, Friend *Lamprias*, to ſhun a Life, in
there is no Evil; 'tis yet more abſurd,
ſhould leave what is good, becauſe he is not poſſeſſ
what is indifferent, as theſe Men do, who leave
Felicity and Vertue for want of Riches and
which they have not.

Saturnian Jove *from* Glaucus *took his Wits*,

When he went about to change his Suit of golden
mor for a brazen one, and to give, what was w
hundred Oxen, for that, which was worth but
and yet the brazen Armor was no leſs uſeful for
than the golden: Whereas Beauty and Health of
as the *Stoicks* ſay, contribute not the leaſt Advan
Help towards Felicity; and yet they are willing

Health in exchange for Wiſdom. For they ſay, it would well enough have become Heracleitus and Pherecydes to have parted with their Vertue and Wiſdom, if the one of them could have thereby been freed from his louſie Diſeaſe, and the other from his Dropſie. And if Circe had uſ'd two ſorts of Magical Drinks, one to make wiſe Men Fools, and the other to make Fools wiſe *** Ulyſſes [would have done well] rather to have drank that of Folly, than to have chang'd his [human] Shape for the Form of a Beaſt, though having with it Wiſdom, and conſequentially alſo Happineſs. And they ſay, that Wiſdom it ſelf dictates to them theſe things, exhorting them thus: *Let me quit and [illegible] [illegible] not my being loſt. If I muſt be carry'd about in the Shape of an Aſs.* But this, will ſome ſay, is an Aſs-like Wiſdom, which teaches thus: ſince to be wiſe and enjoy Felicity is good, and to wear the Shape [of an Aſs] indifferent. They ſay, there is a Nation of the Æthiopians, where a Dog reigns, is call'd King, and has all regal Honours and Services done to him; but Men execute the Offices of Magiſtrates and Governours. Do not the Stoicks act in the very ſame manner? They give the Name and Appearance of Good to Vertue, ſaying, that it alone is deſirable, profitable, and available; but in the mean time they act theſe things, they philoſophize, they live and die, at the Command of things indifferent. And yet none of the Æthiopians kills the Dog; but he ſits in State, and is reverenc'd by all. But theſe Men deſtroy and corrupt their Vertue, that they may obtain Health and Riches. [illegible]

But the Corollary, which Chryſippus himſelf has given for a Concluſion to his Doctrines, ſeems to free us from the Trouble of ſaying any thing more about it. *For there being, ſays he, in Nature, ſome things good, ſome things bad, and ſome things between them both,* [illegible] *and indifferent,* [illegible] *Man, but would rather have the*

Good than the indifferent; and the indifferent than the bad. And of this we call the Gods to witness, begging of them by our Prayers, principally the Possession of good things; and, if that may not be, Deliverance from Evil; not desiring that, which is neither good nor bad, instead of Good; but willing to have it instead of Evil. But this Man, changing Nature, and inverting its Order, removes the middle out of its own place into the last, and brings back the last into the middle; not unlike to those Tyrants, who give the first Place to the Wicked; and giving us a Law, first to seek for the Good, and secondly, the Evil; and lastly, to judge that worst, which is neither Good nor Evil; as if any one should place Infernal things next to Celestial, thrusting the Earth and earthly things into Tartarus,

Where very far from thence, deep under Ground,
Lies a vast Gulf——

Having therefore said in his third Book of Nature, that it is more expedient for a Fool to live, than not, though he should never attain to Wisdom, he adds these Words: *For such are the good things of Men, that even evil things do in some manner precede the other middle things. Not that these things themselves truly precede, but Reason, with which it is more expedient for us to live, though we are to be Fools: therefore also, though unjust, wicked, hateful to the Gods, and unhappy; for none of these things are absent from those that live unhappily. Is it then convenient rather to live miserably, than not to live miserably, and better to be hurt, than not to be hurt; to be unjust, than not to be [illegible]? This is, is it convenient to do things that are not convenient, and a Duty to live against Duty? Yes, indeed, for it is worse to want Sense and Reason, than to be a Fool.* What then ails them, that they will not confess that to be Evil which is worse than Evil?

why doth he say, that Folly alone [illegible] if
[illegible] left, but neither [illegible] conveniency, and there [illegible]
Dispensation, which is not capable of Folly? [illegible]
him who can complain of this, then shall consider
what he has written in his Second Book of Nature, de-
claring, that Vice was not unprofitably made for the
Universe. But 'tis meet, I should set down his Doctrine
in his own Words, that you may understand, in what
place those rank Vice, and what Discourses they hold
of it, who accuse Xenocrates and Speusippus for not rec-
koning Health indifferent, and Riches useless. Vice,
saith he, has its limit in reference to other Accidents. For
it is also in some sort according to the Reason of Nature, and
that I may so say, it is not wholly useless in respect of the Uni-
verse; for otherwise there would not be any Good. Is
there then no Good among the Gods, because there is
no Evil? And when Jupiter, having resolved all Matter
into himself, shall be alone, other Differences be-
ing taken away, will there then be no Good, because
there will be no Evil? But [is it true, that] there is
Melody in a Quire, though none in it sings false, and
Health in the Body, though no Member is sick; and
cannot Vertue have its Existence without Vice? But
as the Poyson of a Serpent, or the Gall of an Hyena,
is to be mixt with some Medicines, was it also of ne-
cessity, that there must have been some Conjunction of
the Wickedness of Melitus with the Justice of Socrates,
and the Dissoluteness of Cleon, with the Probity of Pe-
ricles? And could not Jupiter have found a means to
bring into the World Hercules and Lycurgus, if he had
not also made for us Sardanapalus and Phalaris? It is
now time for them to say, that the Consumption was
made for the sound Constitution of Mens Bodies, and
the Gout for the Swiftness of their Feet; and that A-
chilles would not have had a good Head of Hair, if
Thersites had not been bald. [illegible]
[illegible]

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there between ſuch Triflers and Ravers, and thoſe, who ſay, that Intemperance was not brought forth unprofitably for Continence, nor Injuſtice for Juſtice? that ſo we may pray to the Gods, there may always be Wickedneſs,

Lies, fawning Speeches, and deceitful Manners:

If theſe being taken away, Vertue will alſo vaniſh and be loſt.

Or do you deſire to underſtand the greateſt Sweetneſs of his Eloquence and Perſwaſion? For, ſays he, *As Comedies have in them ſometimes ridiculous Epigrams, which, though bad in themſelves, give nevertheleſs a certain Grace to the whole Poem; ſo, though you may blame Vice in it ſelf, yet is it not uſeleſs to other things.* Firſt then [to ſay] that Vice was made by the Providence of God, as a wanton Epigram by the will of the Poet, tranſcends in Abſurdity all Imagination. For this being granted, how will the Gods be rather Givers of Good than Evil? How will Wickedneſs be diſpleaſing to them, and hated by them? And what ſhall we have to oppoſe againſt theſe ill-ſounding Sentences of the Poets?

——A Cauſe to Men God ſends,
When to chaſtiſe ſome Houſe his Wrath intends;

And again,

What God theſe Seeds of Strife 'twixt them did ſow.

Moreover, a lewd Epigram adorns the Comedy, and contributes to its End, which is to delight the Spectators, and make them laugh? But *Jupiter*, who is ſurnam'd *Fatherly, Supreme, Juſt*, and, as *Pindarus* has it, *the moſt perfect Artiſt*, framing the World, not as a great Enterlude, full of Variety, and great Learning; but is a common City of Gods and Men, living together in Concord and Happineſs with Juſtice and Virtue; What need had he, for the attaining to this excellent End, of Thieves, Murderers, Parricides and Tyrants? For Vice entred not as a Morisk-dance, pleaſing and delightful to the Divinity; nor was brought in amongſt the Affairs of Men, for to cauſe Mirth and Laughter by its Railery and Facetiouſneſs, ſince there is not to be ſeen in it ſo much as a Dream of that celebrated Agreement [with Nature.] Beſides, that fooliſh Epigram is a very ſmall part of the Poem, and takes up but a very little Place in the Comedy; neither do ſuch things abound in it, nor do they corrupt any of thoſe things, which ſeem to have been well done, or ſpoil their Grace. But all [Human] Affairs are repleat with Vice, and the whole Life from the very Prologue and Beginning to the End, being diſorder'd, deprav'd, and diſturb'd, and having no part of it pure, or irreprehenſible, as theſe Men ſay, is the moſt filthy and moſt unpleaſant of all Farces. Wherefore I would willingly ask, in what Vice is profitable to the Univerſe. Not ſurely in reſpect of heavenly things, and ſuch, as are Divine by Nature: for 'twould be ridiculous [to ſay] that, if there had not ariſen, or were not amongſt Men, Malice, and Covetouſneſs, and Lying, or that, if we did not Rob, Plunder, Slander, and Murther one another, the Sun would not run his appointed Courſe, the World enjoy its Seaſons and Periods of Time, or the Earth, which is ſeated in the midſt of the Univerſe, afford the Principles of Wind and Rain. It remains then, that the Exiſtence of Vice muſt be profitable for us and our Affairs; and that perhaps theſe Men mean. Are we then more healthy for being vicious, or do we more abound with Neceſſaries? or does Vice contribute any thing to our Beauty or Strength? They ſay, No. Is it then only a Name of Silence, and a viſionary Opini-

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an all-blighting [illegible], nor any where [illegible] things, and confpicuous to all, as Vice, fo that it is not partaker of any thing, as unprofitable; but that, O ye Gods! of Virtue, for which we were created? Is it not then abfurd, that the Veffels of the Husbandman, Mariner, and Carter, fhould be ferviceable and aiding towards his intended End, whilft that, which was by God made for Virtue, deftroys and corrupts Virtue? But perhaps 'tis time now to leave this Point, and pafs to another.

Lamprias. Not for my fake, my dear Friend, I befeech you; for I defire to underftand, in what manner thefe Men bring in evil things before the good, and Vice before Virtue.

Diadumenus. It is indeed, Sir, a thing worth knowing. They babble indeed much; but in conclufion they fay, that Prudence, being the Knowledge of Good and Evil ** muft be wholly taken away. For, as, if there are Truths, 'tis impoffible, but there muft be alfo Lies alfo near to them: fo it ftands with Reafon, that if there are good things, there muft alfo be evil things.

Lamprias. One of thefe things indeed is not faid amifs. And I think alfo, that the other is not unapprehended by me. For I fee a Difference [fhewing] why that, which is not true, muft immediately be falfe; but that is not of neceffity prefently Evil, which is not Good: becaufe that between True and Falfe there is no Medium; but between Good and Evil there is the indifferent. Nor is it of neceffity, that the one muft fubfift with the other: for Nature may have Good without having any need of Evil, but only of that which is neither Good nor Evil. But if there is any thing faid by you to the former Reafon, let us hear it.

Diadumenus. Many things indeed are faid; but at prefent we fhall make ufe only of what is moft [illegible]

2. In the firſt place, 'tis a Folly to imagine, that Good and Evil have their Exiſtence for the ſake of Prudence: for, Good and Evil being already extant, Prudence came afterwards: as the Art of Phyſick was invented, there being already things wholſome and unwholſome. For Good and Evil are not therefore extant, that there may be Prudence: But the Faculty, by which we judge between Good and Evil, that are already in being, is named Prudence. As Sight is a Senſe, diſtinguiſhing White from Black: which Colours were not therefore made, that we might have Sight; but we rather wanted Sight, to diſcern theſe things. Secondly, When the World ſhall, as they hold, be ſet on Fire, there will then no Evil be left; but all will then be prudent and wiſe. There is therefore Prudence, though there is no Evil: nor is it of neceſſity for Evil to exiſt, that Prudence may have a Being. But ſuppoſing, that Prudence muſt always be a Knowledge of Good and Evil, what Inconvenience would it be, if, Evil being taken away, Prudence ſhould no longer ſubſiſt; but inſtead of this we ſhould have another Vertue, not being the Knowledge of Good and Evil, but of Good only? So, if Black ſhould be wholly loſt from among the Colors, and any one ſhould therefore contend, that Sight alſo is loſt, for that 'tis not the Senſe of [diſcerning] Black and White; what ſhould hinder us from anſwering him? 'Tis no Prejudice to us, if we have not, what you call Sight, but in lieu of that have another Senſe and Faculty, by which we apprehend Colours, that are White and not White. For I indeed think, that neither our Taſte would be loſt, if bitter things were wanting, nor our Feeling, if Pain were taken away, nor Prudence, if Evil had no Being; but that theſe Senſes would remain, to apprehend things ſweet and grateful, and thoſe that are not ſo, and Prudence to be the Science of things Good and not Good.

But let thoſe, who think otherwiſe, take the Name to themſelves, leaving us the Thing. Beſides all this, what ſhould hinder, but there may be an Underſtanding of Evil, and an Exiſtence of Good? As the Gods, I believe, enjoy Health, but underſtand the Feaver and Pleuriſie. Since even we, who, as they ſay, have abundance of Evils, but no Good, are not yet deſtitute of the Knowledge, what Prudence, what Goodneſs, and what Happineſs is. And this alſo is to be admir'd, that, Vertue being abſent, there ſhould be thoſe, who can teach us, what it is, and give us a Comprehenſion of it; but [Vice] not being extant, it ſhould be impoſſible to have any Underſtanding of it.

For ſee, what theſe Men perſwade us, who Philoſophize againſt the Conceptions, that by Folly indeed we comprehend Prudence; but Prudence without Folly cannot ſo much as comprehend Folly it ſelf. And if Nature had abſolutely ſtood in need of the Generation of Evil, yet might one or two Examples of Vice have been ſufficient; or if you will, it might have been requiſite, that ten, a thouſand, or ten thouſand vicious Men ſhould be brought forth, and not, that the Multitude of Vices ſhould be ſo great, as to exceed in Number the Sands of the Sea, the Duſt of the Earth, and the Feathers of all the various kinds of Birds in the World; and yet, that there ſhould not be ſo much all this while, as a Dream of Vertue. Thoſe, who in *Sparta* had the Charge of the [publick Halls or Eating-places, call'd] *Phiditia*, were wont to bring forth two or three *Helotes*, drunken and full of Wine, that the young Men, ſeeing what Drunkenneſs was, might learn to keep Sobriety. But in Human Life there are many ſuch Examples of Vice. For there is not any one ſober to Vertue; but we all ſtagger up and down, acting ſhamefully, and living miſerably. Thus does Reaſon inebriate us, and fill ſo much Trouble and Madneſs does it fill us, that we fall in nothing ſhort of thoſe Dogs, of whom *Æſop* ſays, that ſeeing certain Skins ſwim on the Sea, they endeavour'd to drink it up; but burſt, before they could get at them. For Reaſon alſo, by which we hope to gain Reputation, and attain to Vertue, does, e're we can reach to it, corrupt and deſtroy us, being before fill'd with abundance of heady and bitter Vice. If indeed, as theſe Men ſay, they who are got even to the uppermoſt Step, have no Eaſe, Ceſſation, or Breathing from Folly and Infelicity.

But let us ſee, what manner of thing he ſhews Vice to be, who ſays, that 'twas not brought forth unprofitably, and of what uſe he makes it to be to thoſe, who have it; writing in his Book, *Of perfect Offices*, that a wicked Man wants Nothing, has need of Nothing: Nothing is uſeful to him, Nothing proper, Nothing fit for him. How then is Vice uſeful, with which, neither Health, nor abundance of Riches, nor Advancement [in Vertue] is profitable? Does then none want theſe things, of which ſome are precedent and preferrable, and therefore uſeful, and others according to Nature, as themſelves term them? Has none need of them, unleſs he become Wiſe? Does neither the vitious Man ſtand in need of being made Wiſe? Nor are Men hungry and thirſty, before they become Wiſe? The Thirſty then have no need of Water, nor the Hungry of Bread: like thoſe courteous Gueſts, who requeſted only Shelter and Fire. So he had no need either of Entertainment, or a Cloak, who ſaid:

Give Hipponax *a Cloak: I'm ſtiff with Cold.*

But will you ſpeak a Paradox indeed, both extravagant, and ſingular? Say, that a wiſe Man has need of Nothing, that he wants Nothing. He is fortunate, he is free from Want, he is ſelf-ſufficient, bleſſed, perfect. Now what [illegible]

Beſt is this that he,to whom nothing is wanting, has need of the Goods he has; but that the Vitious indeed wants many things, but ſtands in need of Nothing. For this indeed ſays *Chryſippus*, that the Vicious wants, but ſtands not in need: removing the common Notions, like Cheſs-men, backwards and forwards. For all Men think, that having Need precedes Wanting, eſteeming him, who ſtands in need of things, that are not at hand, or eaſie to be got, to want them. For no Man wants Horns or Wings, becauſe he has no need of them. But we ſay, that thoſe want Arms, and Money, and Cloaths, who are deſtitute of them, when they have occaſion for them. But theſe Men are ſo deſirous of ſeeming always to ſay ſomething againſt the common Notions, that for the Love of Novelty they often depart from their own Opinions, as they do here: [which that you may the better perceive] recall your ſelf to the Conſideration of what has been ſaid a little above.

This is one of their Aſſertions againſt the common Conceptions, that no vitious Man receives any Utility: And yet many, being inſtructed, profit; many, being Slaves, are made free; many, being Beſieg'd, are deliver'd; being Lame, are led by the Hand; and being Sick are cur'd: But poſſeſſing all theſe things, they are never the better, neither do receive Benefits, nor have they any Benefactors, nor do they ſlight them. Vitious Men then are not ungrateful, no more than are wiſe Men. Ingratitude therefore has no Being: becauſe the Good, receiving a Benefit, fail not to acknowledge it, and the Bad are not capable of receiving any. Behold now, what they ſay to this: [to wit] that Benefit is rank'd amongſt [mean, or] middle things, and that to give and receive Utility, belongs only to the Wiſe; but the Bad alſo receive a Benefit. Then they who partake of a Benefit, partake not alſo of its Utility;

and whether a Benefit received, there is nothing uſeful or commodious. Now what elſe is there, that makes a kind Office a Benefit, but that the Beſtower of it is in ſome reſpect uſeful to the needy Receiver?

Lamprias. But let theſe things paſs. What [I beſeech you] is this ſo highly venerated Utility, which preſerving as ſome great and excellent thing for the Wiſe, they permit not ſo much as the Name of it to the Vicious?

Diadumenus. If, [ſay they] one wiſe Man does but any way prudently ſtretch out his Finger, all the wiſe Men all the World over receive Utility by it. This is the Work of their Amity, in this do the Vertues of the wiſe Men terminate by their common Utilities. *Ariſtotle* then and *Xenocrates* doated, ſaying, that Men receive Utility from the Gods, from their Parents, from their Maſters, being ignorant of that wonderful Utility, which wiſe Men receive from one another, being mov'd according to Vertue, though they neither are together nor yet know it. Yet all Men eſteem, that laying up, keeping, and beſtowing are then uſeful and profitable, when ſome Benefit or Profit is recover'd by it. The thriving Man buys Keys, and diligently keeps his Stores,

With's Hand unlocking Wealth's ſweet Treaſury.

But to ſtore up, and to keep with diligence and Labour ſuch things as are for no uſe, is not ſeemly or honourable, but ridiculous. If *Ulyſſes* indeed had ty'd up with the Knot, which *Circe* taught him, not the Gifts he had receiv'd from *Alcinous*, Tripodes, Caldrons, Cloths, and Gold; but heaping up Traſh, Stones and Bricks like Trumpery, ſhould have thought his Employment about ſuch things and the Poſſeſſion, Keeping and Cuſtody of them, a happy and bleſſed Work, would any one have imitated this foolish Providence, and empty Care? Yet this is the Beauty, Gravity, and Happiness of the *Stoical* Consent, being nothing else but a gathering together, and keeping of useleſs and indifferent things. For ſuch are things according to Nature, and more exterior things: If they compare the greateſt Riches to Fringes and golden Chamber-pots, and ſometimes alſo, as it happens to Oil Cruets. Then, as thoſe, who ſeem proudly to have affronted and rail'd at ſome Gods or Demi-Gods, preſently changing their Note, fall proſtrate, and ſit humbly on the Ground, praiſing and magnifying the Divinity: ſo theſe Men, through a certain Puniſhment of this Arrogancy and Vanity, again exerciſe themſelves in theſe indifferent things, and ſuch as pertain nothing to them, crying out with a loud Voice, how good, how ſpecious, and how honourable a thing, the ſtoring up of theſe things, and the Communication in them is, and that 'tis not meet for thoſe, who have them not, to live, but to diſpatch out of the way, and famiſh themſelves, bidding a long Farewel to Vertue.

They eſteem indeed *Theognis* to have been a Man altogether of a baſe and abject Spirit, for ſaying, as one over-fearful, [in Verſe:]

From Poverty to fly, into the Deep
Throw thy ſelf, Cyrnus, *or from Rocks ſo ſteep.*

Yet they themſelves exhort the ſame thing, and affirm that a Man, to free himſelf from ſome great Diſeaſe or exceedingly acute Pain, if he have not at hand Sword or Poyſon, ought to leap into the Sea, or throw himſelf headlong from a Precipice. Neither of which is hurtful, or evil, or incommodious, or makes them, who fall into it, miſerable. *With what then, ſays he, ſhall I begin? and what ſhall I take for the Principle of Duty, and*

Matter of Vertue, leaving Nature, and that, which is according to Nature? With what, O good Sir, do *Ariſtotle* and *Theophraſtus* begin? What Beginnings do *Xenocrates* and *Polemon* take? Does not alſo *Zeno* follow theſe, ſuppoſing Nature, and that, which is according to Nature, to be the Elements of Happineſs? But they indeed perſiſted in theſe things, as deſirable, good, and profitable, and joyning to them Vertue, which employs them, and uſes every one of them according to its Property, thought to compleat and conſummate a perfect Life, and one every way abſolute, producing that Concord, which is truly ſuitable and conformable to Nature: Not like thoſe, who, leaping up from the Ground, and preſently falling down again upon it, were diſturb'd, terming the ſame things acceptable, and not deſirable; proper, and not good; unprofitable, and yet uſeful; nothing to us, and yet the Principles of Duties. But the Life of thoſe Men was ſuch, as their Speech, exhibiting their *Actions* ſuitable and conformable to their Sayings. But they, who are of the Stoick Sect, not unlike to that Woman in *Archilochus*, who deceitfully carry'd in one Hand Water, in the other Fire, by ſome Doctrines draw Nature to them, and by others drive her from them. Or rather by their Deeds and Actions they embrace thoſe things, which are according to Nature, as good and deſirable; but in Words and Speeches they reject and contemn them, as indifferent and of no uſe to Vertue, for the acquiring Felicity.

Now, foraſmuch as all Men eſteem the Sovereign Good to be joyous, deſirable, happy, of the greateſt Dignity, ſelf-ſufficient, and wanting nothing; compare their Good, and ſee, [how it agrees with this common Conception.] Does the ſtretching out a Finger prudently produce this Joy? Is a prudent Torture a thing deſirable? Is he happy, who with reaſon breaks his Neck? Is that of the greateſt Dignity, which Reaſon often chooſes to let go for that, which is not Good?) Is that perfect, and ſelf ſufficient, which though they enjoy, yet if they have not alſo indifferent things, they neither can nor will endure to live? Was there ever any other Diſcourſe, by which Cuſtom was more injuriouſly treated, taking and plucking from her her genuine Notions, being as her Legitimate Children, and ſuppoſing other baſtardly, wild, and illegitimate ones in their room, and neceſſitating her to nouriſh and cheriſh the one inſtead of the other? and that in thoſe which concern things good and bad, deſirable and avoidable, proper and ſtrange, the Energy of which ought to be more clearly diſtinguiſhed, than that of Hot and Cold, Black and White. For the Imaginations of theſe things are brought in by the Senſes from without; but thoſe have their Original bred from the good things, which we have within us. But theſe Men entring with their Logick upon the Topick of Felicity, as on the Sophiſm called *Pſeudomenos*, or that nam'd *Kyrieuon*, have remov'd no Ambiguity, but brought in very many.

Indeed of two good things, of which the one is the End, the other belongs to the End, none is ignorant, that the End is the greater and perfecter Good. *Chryſippus* alſo acknowledges this Difference, as is manifeſt from his third Book, *of good Things*. For he diſſents from thoſe, who make Science the End, and ſets it down in his Treatiſe *of Juſtice*. And if any one ſuppoſes Pleaſure to be the End, he does not think, that Juſtice can be ſafe; but grants, it may, if Pleaſure is not ſaid to be the End, but ſimply a Good. Nor do I think that you would now hear me repeating his Words, ſince his third Book of *Juſtice* is every where to be had. When therefore, O my Friend, they elſewhere ſay, that no one Good is greater or leſs than another, and that what is not the End, is equal to the End, they contradict not only the common Conceptions, but even their own Words. Again, if of two Evils, the one, when it is preſent, renders us worſe, and the other hurts us indeed, but renders us not worſe, that in my Opinion is the greater, which renders us worſe. Now *Chryſippus* indeed confeſſes, that there are ſome Fears, and Sorrows, and Errors, which hurt us, but render us not worſe. Read his firſt Book *of Juſtice* againſt *Plato*; for in reſpect of other things, 'tis worth the while to note the Babling of the Man in that Place, delivering indifferently all Matters and Doctrines, as well proper to his own Sect, as forreign, againſt common Senſe: as when he ſays, that there may be two Ends or Scopes propos'd of Life, and that all the things we do, are not to be referr'd to one. And yet this is more againſt common Senſe, that there is an End, and yet that every Action is to be referr'd to another, and nevertheleſs they muſt of neceſſity endure one of theſe. For if thoſe things, that are firſt according to Nature, are not eligible for themſelves and the laſt End, but the Choice and taking of them is agreeable to Reaſon, and that every one therefore does all his Actions for the acquiring the firſt things according to Nature, and thus all things which are done, have their Reference to this, that the principal things, according to Nature may be obtain'd. For if they think, that they who neither aim nor deſire to get theſe things, have an end, there muſt be ſomething elſe, to which the Choice of theſe things muſt be referr'd, and not the things themſelves. For the end indeed is to chooſe and receive theſe things prudently. But the things themſelves, and the enjoying of them, is not the End, but is ſubjected as a certain Matter, having a Worthineſs to be choſen. For this is my Opinion, that they both uſe and write this very Expreſſion, to ſhew the Difference.

Lamprias. You have exactly related, both what they ſay, and in what manner they deliver it.

Diadumenus. But obſerve, how it fares with them, as with thoſe, that endeavor to leap over their own Shadow: for they do not leave behind, but [always] carry along with them in their Speech ſome Abſurdity, moſt remote from common Senſe. For as, if any one ſhould ſay, that he, who ſhoots, does all he can, not that he may hit the Mark, but that he may do all he can, ſuch an one would rightly be eſteem'd to ſpeak enigmatically and prodigiouſly: ſo theſe doating Dreamers, who contend, that the obtaining of natural things is not the End of aiming after natural things, but only the taking and chooſing them; and that the Deſire and Endeavor after Health is not in every one terminated in the Enjoyment of Health; but that on the contrary, the Enjoyment of Health is referr'd to the Deſire and Endeavor after it, and that certain Walkings, and Contentions of Speech, and ſuffering Inciſions, and taking of Medicines, ſo they are done by Reaſon, are the End of Health, and not Health of them: [they, *I ſay*] trifle like to thoſe, who ſay, *Let us Sup, that we may Kill, that we may Bath.* But this rather changes Order and Cuſtom, and all things, which theſe Men ſay, carry with them the total Subverſion and Confuſion of Affairs. Thus we do not deſire to take a Walk in fit time, that we may digeſt our Meat; but [we digeſt our Meat] that we may take a Walk in fit time. Has Nature alſo made Health for the Sake of Hellebore, inſtead of producing Hellebore for the Sake of Health? For what is wanting to bring them to the higheſt Degree of ſpeaking Paradoxes, but the ſaying of ſuch things? What difference is there between him, who ſays that Health was made for the Sake of Medicines, and not Medicines for the Sake of Health; and him, who makes the Choice of Medicines, and their Compoſition, and Uſe, more deſirable than Health it ſelf? or rather, who eſteems Health not at all deſirable, but placing the End in the Negotiation about theſe things, prefers Deſire to Enjoyment, and not Enjoyment to Deſire: For to Deſire, forſooth, is joyn'd the Proceeding wiſely and diſcreetly. 'Tis true indeed, we will ſay, if Reſpect be had to the End, [that is] the Enjoyment and Poſſeſſion of the Things, it purſues; but otherwiſe 'tis wholly void of Reaſon, if it does all things for the obtaining of that, the Enjoyment of which is neither Honorable nor Happy.

Lamprias. Now ſince we are fallen upon this Diſcourſe, any thing may rather be ſaid to agree with common Senſe, than that thoſe, who have neither perceiv'd nor have any Conception of Good, do nevertheleſs deſire and purſue it: For you ſee, how *Chryſippus* drives *Ariſton* into this Difficulty, that he ſhould underſtand an Indifference in things, inclining neither to Good nor Bad, before either Good or Bad are themſelves underſtood: for ſo its Indifference will appear to have ſubſiſted before, if the underſtanding of it cannot be perceiv'd, unleſs Good be underſtood: now this is no other thing, but only Good.

Diadumenus. Underſtand now, and conſider this Indifference taken out of the *Stoa*, and call'd Concord, whence, and in what manner it gives us the Knowledge of Good: for if without Good the Indifference to that, which is not Good, cannot be underſtood; much leſs does the Prudence of good things give any knowledge to thoſe, who had not before ſome Notion of the Good. But as there can be no Knowledge of the Art of things wholſome and unwholſome in thoſe, who have not firſt ſome Knowledge of the things themſelves; ſo they cannot conceive any Notion of the Science of Good and Evil, who have not ſome Fore-knowledge of Good and Evil. What then is Good? Nothing but Prudence. And what is Prudence? Nothing but the Science of Good. There is much then of [illegible] ciple, [that is, much Begging of the Queſtion] admitted into their Reaſoning. For I would have you let alone the Turning of the Peſtle, leſt you ſhould ſeem to mock them: Although an Accident, like to that, has inſinuated it ſelf into their Diſcourſe. For it ſeems, that to the Underſtanding of Good one has need to underſtand Prudence, and to ſeek for Prudence in the Underſtanding of Good, being forc'd always to purſue the one by the other, and thus failing of both: ſince to the Underſtanding of each, we have need of that, which cannot be known, without the other be firſt underſtood. But there is yet another way, by which you may perceive not only the Perverſion, but the Everſion of their Diſcourſe, and the reduction of it entirely to nothing.

They hold the Eſſence of Good to be the reaſonable Election of things according to Nature. Now the Election is not reaſonable, which is directed to ſome End, as has been ſaid before. What then is this? Nothing elſe, ſay they, but to reaſon rightly in the Election of things according to Nature. Firſt then, the Conception of Good is loſt and gone: For to reaſon rightly in Elections is an Operation, proceeding from an Habit of right Reaſoning: and therefore being conſtrain'd to take this from the End, and the End not without this, we fail of underſtanding either of them. Beſides which is more, this reaſonable Election muſt be a Choice of things good, and profitable, and cooperating to the End; for how can it be reaſonable to chooſe things, which are neither convenient, nor honourable, nor at all eligible? For be it, as they ſay, a reaſonable Election of things having a Fitneſs for the cauſing Felicity: ſee then to what a beautiful and venerable Concluſion their Diſcourſe brings them. For the End is (it ſeems) according to them, to reaſon rightly in the Choice of things, which have a Fitneſs for the procuring of Happineſs.

Now when you hear these Words, does not, my Friend, what is said, seem to you strangely extravagant?

Lamprias. [Yes indeed;] but I farther want to know, how this Happens.

Diadumenus. You must then be more attentive: for 'tis not for every one to understand this Riddle. Hear therefore and answer. Is not the End, according to them, to reason rightly in the Elections of things according to Nature?

Lamprias. So they say.

Diadumenus. And these things according to Nature, are they chosen, as good, or as having some Fitness or Preferences [conducing to Happiness?

Lamprias. For this last.]

Diadumenus. And is this for the End, or for something else?

Lamprias. I think not [for any thing else;] but for the End.

Diadumenus. Now then, having discover'd the Matter, see, what befalls them. They say, that the End is to reason rightly, and that Men neither have nor understand any thing of Felicity, but this precious Rectitude of Reasoning in the Elections of things that are of worth. But there are some, who think, that this is spoken against *Antipater*, and not against the whole Sect; for that he, being pressed by *Carneades*, fell into these Fooleries.

But as for those things that are against the common Conceptions taught in the *Stoa* concerning Love, they are all of them concern'd in the Absurdity. They say, that those Youths are deform'd, who are vicious and foolish; and that the Wise are fair: and yet that none of these beautiful ones is either belov'd, or worthy of being belov'd. Nor yet is this the worst; but they add, that those deform'd ones, who are belov'd, cease to be so, when they are become fair. Now, whoever knew ſuch a Love, which is kindled, and has its Being at the Sight of the Bodies Deformity, joyn'd with that of the Soul; and is quench'd and decays at the Acceſſion of Beauty, joyn'd with Prudence, Juſtice and Temperance? Theſe Men are not unlike to thoſe Gnats, which love to ſettle on the Dregs of Wine, or on Vinegar, but ſhun and fly away from potable and pleaſant Wine. As for that, which they call and term an Appearance of Beauty, ſaying, that it is the Inducement of *Love*; firſt it has no Probability: for in thoſe, who are very foul, and highly wicked, there cannot be an Appearance of Beauty, if indeed the Wickedneſs of the Diſpoſition fills the Face with Deformity. And what is this at laſt, which ſome of them ſay, that the Deformed is worthy of Love, becauſe he one Day will be fair, and expects to have Beauty; but that, when he has obtain'd it, and is become fair and good, he is belov'd of none? For Love, they ſay, is a certain Hunting after a young Perſon, as yet indeed unperfect, but naturally well-diſpos'd towards Vertue.

Lamprias. And what do we now elſe, O my beſt Friend, but demonſtrate, that their Sect perverts and deſtroys all our common Conceptions with improbable things, and unuſual *Expreſſions*? *For none would* hinder the Sollicitude of theſe wiſe *Men* towards young Perſons, if it were free from that paſſionate *Affection*, which all think and ſay [to be ſuch, as *Penelope*'s Suitors in *Homer* ſeem to acknowledge,]

Who all deſir'd to lye with her in Bed.

Or as *Jupiter* in another place ſays to *Juno*.

For neither Goddeſs yet, nor mortal Dame,
E'er kindled in my Heart ſo great a Flame.

Diadum.

Thus casting moral Philosophy into these Perplexities, in which there is nothing found, they contemn and deride all about them, as if they were the only Men, who, regulating Nature and Custom, as it ought to be, do accordingly frame their Speech. And yet Nature by its Desires, Pursuits, and Inquietudes, diverts and induces every one to what is fit. But the Custom of Logick being rendred contentious, has received no Benefit or Good, but, like the Ear, disturb'd by vain Sounds, is fill'd with Difficulty and Obscurity. Of which, if you think good, we will elsewhere begin a new Discourse. But now we will run through the chief and principal Heads of their Natural Philosophy, which no less confounds the common Conceptions, than that other concerning Ends. First, this is altogether absurd, and against Sense, [to say] that is, which is not, and that things, which are not, are. But above all, that is most absurd, which they say of the Universe. For putting round about the Circumference of the World an infinite *Vacuum*, they say, that the Universe neither is a Body, nor bodiless. It follows then from this, that the Universe has no Being; since with them, Body only has a Being. Since therefore the Universe is Part of that, which has a Being, both acting and suffering, and the Universe has no being, it follows, that the Universe will neither do nor suffer, neither will it be in a Place. For that which takes up Place, is a Body, and the Universe is not a Body. And since that only rests, which continues in one and the same Place, the Universe rests not, because it takes not up Place. Neither yet is it mov'd, for what is mov'd must have a Place and Space subjected. Moreover, what is mov'd, either moves it self, or suffers Motion from another. Now that, which is mov'd by it self, has some Bents and Inclinations, proceeding from its Gravity or Levity; Now Gravity and Levity are either Habits, or Faculties, or Differences of every Body. But the Univerſe is not a Body: it follows then of Neceſſity, that the Univerſe is neither heavy nor light, and conſequently that it has not in it ſelf any Principle of Motion. Nor yet will the Univerſe be mov'd by any other: for there is nothing elſe, beſides the Univerſe. Thus are they neceſſitated to ſay, as they do, that the Univerſe neither reſts, nor is mov'd. Laſtly, ſince, according to their Opinion, it muſt not be ſaid, that the Univerſe is a Body; and yet the Heaven, the Earth, Animals, Plants, Men, and Stones, are Bodies: that, which is no Body, will have Bodies for its Parts, and things, which have Exiſtence, will be parts of that, which has no Exiſtence; and that, which is not heavy, will have parts, that are heavy, and what is not light, Parts, that are light; than which there cannot be any Dreams imagin'd more repugnant to the common Conceptions. Moreover, there is nothing ſo evident, or ſo agreeing to common Senſe, as that what is not animate, is inanimate; and what is not inanimate, is animate. And yet they overthrow alſo this Evidence, confeſſing the Univerſe to be neither animate nor inanimate. Beſides this, none thinks the Univerſe, of which there is no part wanting, to be imperfect: But they deny the Univerſe to be perfect, ſaying, that what is perfect, may be defin'd; but the Univerſe, becauſe of its Infiniteneſs, cannot be defin'd. Therefore, according to them, there is ſomething, which is neither perfect, nor imperfect. Moreover, the Univerſe is neither a Part, ſince there is nothing greater than it; nor the Whole, for the Whole, they ſay, is predicated only of that, which is digeſted into Order: but the Univerſe is through its Infiniteneſs undetermin'd and unorder'd. Moreover, there is not any Cauſe of the Univerſe, there being nothing beſides the Univerſe; nor is the Univerſe the Cauſe either of other things, or of it ſelf; for its Nature ſuffers it not to act; and a Cauſe is understood by Acting. Suppose now, one should ask all Men, what they imagine *Nothing* to be, and what Notion they have of it; would they not answer, that it is neither a Cause, nor has a Cause, that 'tis neither the Whole, nor a Part, that 'tis neither perfect, nor imperfect, that 'tis neither animate nor inanimate, that that it is neither mov'd, nor rests, nor subsists, that 'tis neither corporeal, nor incorporeal; and that this, and no other thing, is meant by *Nothing*? Since then they alone predicate that of the *Universe*, which all others do of *Nothing*, it seems plain, that they make the *Universe* and *Nothing* to be the same. Time must then be said to be *Nothing*, [the same also must be said of] Predicate, Axiom, Connex, Complex: which [Terms though] they use more than any of the other Philosophers, [yet] they say, that they are *Non-entia*, [or things, that have no Being.] But farther to say, that what is true, has no Being, or Subsistence, but is comprehended; and that that is comprehensible and credible, which no way partakes of the Essence of Being; does not this exceed all Absurdity?

But least these things should seem to have too much of Logical Difficulty, let us proceed to such as pertain more to Natural Philosophy. Since then, as themselves say,

> Jove *is of all Beginning, Midst and End:*

They ought chiefly to have apply'd themselves to Remedy, redress, and reduce to the best [Order] the Conceptions concerning the Gods, if there were in them any thing confus'd or erroneous; or if not, to have left every one in those Sentiments, which they had from the Laws and Custom concerning the Divinity:

Since neither now nor yeſterday began
Theſe Thoughts; but have been ever; nor yet can
A Man be found, who their firſt Entrance knew.

But theſe Men, having begun as it were from *Veſta* to diſturb the Opinions ſetled, and receiv'd in every Country concerning the Gods, have not (to ſpeak ſincerely) left any thing entire and uncorrupted. For what Man is there, or ever was, except theſe, who does not believe the Divinity to be immortal, and eternal? Or what is in the common Anticipations more unanimouſly chanted forth concerning the Gods, than ſuch things, as theſe:

There the bleſt Gods eternally enjoy
Their ſweet Delights——

And again,

Both Gods immortal, and Earth-dwelling Men.

And again,

Exempt from Sickneſs, and Old Age, are they
And free from Toil, and have eſcap'd the Bay
Of roaring Acheron——

One may perhaps light upon ſome Nations ſo barbar
and ſavage, as not to think, there is a God; but th
was never found any Man, who, believing a God, d
not at the ſame time believe him immortal, and eter
Certainly, thoſe who were call'd Atheiſts, the *Theod*
Diagoras, and *Hippon*, durſt not ſay, that the Div
ty is corruptible; but they did not believe, that the
[illegible]

any thing incorruptible: not indeed admitting the Subſiſtence of an Incorruptibility, but keeping the Anticipation of a God. But *Chryſippus* and *Cleanthes*, having fill'd, as one may ſay, Heaven, Earth, Air, and Sea, with Gods, have not yet made any one of all theſe Gods immortal, or eternal, except *Jupiter* alone, in whom they conſume all the reſt: ſo that in him to conſume, is nothing better than to be conſum'd. For 'tis an Infirmity both to periſh by being reſolv'd into another, and to be ſav'd by being nouriſh'd by the Reſolution of others into himſelf. Now theſe are not like other of their Abſurdities, gather'd by Argument from their Suppoſitions, or drawn by Conſequence from their Doctrines; but they themſelves, proclaiming it aloud in their Writings concerning the Gods, providence, Fate and Nature, expreſly ſay, that all the Gods were born, and ſhall dye by the Fire, melting away, in their Opinion, as if they were of Wax or Tin. 'Tis indeed as much againſt common Senſe, that God ſhould be mortal, as that Man ſhould be immortal; nay, indeed I do not ſee, what the Difference between God and Man will be, if God alſo is a reaſonable and corruptible Animal. For if they oppoſe this fine and ſubtle Diſtinction, that Man is mortal, and God not mortal, but corruptible, ſee, what they get by it. For they will either ſay, that God is at the ſame time both immortal and corruptible, or elſe that he is neither mortal nor immortal: the Abſurdity of which even thoſe cannot exceed, who ſet themſelves induſtriouſly to deviſe Poſitions, repugnant to common Senſe. I ſpeak of others; for theſe Men have left no one of the abſurdeſt things unſpoken or unattempted.

To theſe things *Cleanthes*, contending for the Conflagration of the World, ſays, that the Sun will make the Moon, and all the other Stars, like to himſelf, and will change them into himſelf. Indeed if the

Stars, being Gods, ſhould contribute any thing to the Sun towards their own Deſtruction, 'twould be very ridiculous for us to make Prayers to them for our Salvation, and to think them the Saviours of Men, whoſe Nature it is to accelerate their own Corruption and Diſſolution. And yet theſe Men leave nothing unſaid againſt *Epicurus*, crying, Out, *out*, *fy*, *fy upon him*, as confounding their Preſumption concerning God, by taking away Providence; for God is not only preſum'd and underſtood to be immortal and happy, but alſo a Lover of Men, and careful of them, and beneficial to them; and herein they ſay true. Now if they, who aboliſh Providence, take away the Pre-conception concerning God: what do they, who ſay, that the Gods indeed have care of us, but deny them to be helpful to us, and make them not Beſtowers of good things, but of indifferent ones; giving to wit, not Vertue, but Wealth, Health, Children, and ſuch like things, none of which is helpful, profitable, deſirable or available? Or do not thoſe indeed take away the Conceptions concerning the Gods, but theſe alſo ſcoff at them, and deride them, ſaying, that one God is a Fruiterer, another a Marriage-Broker, another a Phyſician, and another a Diviner? And yet neither Health, nor Iſſue, nor plenty of Fruits, are good, but unprofitable to thoſe, who have them.

The third Point of the Conception concerning the Gods is, that the Gods do in nothing ſo much differ from Men, as in Happineſs and Vertue. But, according to *Chryſippus*, they have not ſo much as this Difference: for [he ſays] that *Jupiter* does not exceed *Dion* in Vertue, but that *Jupiter* and *Dion*, being both wiſe, are equally aided by one another, when the one attains the Motion of the other. For this, and none other, is the Good, which the Gods do to Men, and Men likewiſe to the Gods, when they are Wiſe. For they that a Man, who falls not short in Vertue, comes not behind them alſo in Felicity; and that he, who, being tormented with Diſeaſes and violent Pains of the Body, makes himſelf away, is equally happy with *Jupiter* the Savior, provided he be but Wiſe. But this Man neither is, nor ever was upon the Earth; but there are infinite millions of Men, unhappy to the higheſt degree, in the State and Government of *Jupiter*, which is moſt excellently adminiſtred. Now, what can be more againſt Senſe, than that, *Jupiter* governing exceedingly well, we ſhould be exceedingly miſerable? But if, which 'tis unlawful even to ſay, he would no longer be a Saviour, nor a Deliverer, nor a Protector, but the contrary to all theſe glorious Appellations, there can no Goodneſs be added to the things, that are, neither as to their Multitude, nor Magnitude, as theſe Men ſay, all Men living to the height miſerably and wickedly, and Vice neither receiving Addition, nor Unhappineſs Increaſe.

Nor is this the worſt; but they are angry with *Menander* for ſaying upon the Stage;

The chief Beginning of Mens Miſeries
Are things exceeding good.——

For that this is againſt Senſe. And yet they make God, who is good, the Beginning of Evils. For *Matter* produced not any Evil of it ſelf; for it is without Quality, and whatever Differences it has, it has receiv'd them all from that, which moves and forms it. If indeed Reaſon, which is within, does alſo form it, not being made to move and form it ſelf. So that of neceſſity, Evil, if [it came] by Nothing, muſt have been produced from that, which has no Being; but if by ſome moving Principle, from God. But if they think, that *Jupiter* has not the Command of his Parts, nor uſes every one of them according to his Reaſon, they ſpeak againſt common Senſe, and imagine an Animal, many of whoſe Parts are not ſubſervient to his Will, [illegible] their own Operations and Actions, to which the whole gives no Incitation, nor begins their Motion. For there is nothing, which has Life, ſo ill compacted, as that againſt its Will, its Feet ſhould go, its Tongue ſpeak, its Honrs puſh, or its Teeth bite. The moſt of which things God muſt of neceſſity ſuffer, if the Wicked, being Parts of him, do againſt his Will ly, cheat, rob, and murther one another. But if, as *Chryſippus* ſays, the very leaſt part cannot poſſibly behave it ſelf otherwiſe, than according to *Jupiters* Pleaſure, and if every living thing is ſo fram'd by Nature, as to reſt, and move according as he inclines it, and as he turns, ſtays, and diſpoſes it:

This Saying is more impious than the former.

For 'twere more tolerable to ſay, that many Parts of *Jupiter* are through his Weakneſs and Want of Power, hurry'd on to do many abſurd things againſt his Nature and Will, than that there is not any Intemperance or Wickedneſs, of which *Jupiter* is not the Cauſe.

Moreover [ſince they affirm] the World to be a City, and the Stars Citizens, if this [be ſo, there muſt be alſo] Tribes and Magiſtrates, the Sun [muſt be ſome] Conſul, and the Evening Star a Prætor or Mayor of a City. Now I know not, whether any one, that ſhall go about to confute them for aſſerting and affirming ſuch things, can ſhew any greater Abſurdities than theſe things, which, they ſay, are moſt natural.

Is it not therefore againſt Senſe [to ſay,] that the ſeed is more and greater than that, which is produc'd of it? For we ſee, that Nature in all Animals and Plants, even thoſe, that are wild, has taken ſmall, ſlender, and [illegible] viſible things for Principles of Generation to the greateſt. For it does not only from a Grain of Wheat produce an Ear-bearing Stalk, or a Vine from the Stone of a Grape, but from a ſmall Berry, or Acorn, which has eſcap'd being eaten by the Bird, kindling and ſetting a fire Generation, as it were from a little Spark, it ſends forth the Stock of a Buſh, or the tall Body of an Oak, Palm, or Pine-Tree. Whence alſo they ſay, that Seed is in *Greek* call'd *Σπέρμα*, as it were *Σπείραμα*, or the wrapping up of a great Maſs in a little Compaſs, and that Nature has the Name of *Φύσις*, as if it were *Ἐμφύσησις*, the Inflation and Diffuſion of Reaſons and Numbers, open'd and looſen'd by it. And again, the Fire of the World, which, they ſay, is its Seed, ſhall after the Conflagration change into its own Seed the World, having a copious Nature from a ſmaller Body and Bulk, and poſſeſſing an infinite ſpace of *Vacuum*, fill'd by its Increaſe, and the World being made, the Weakneſs again recedes and ſettles, the Matter being after the Generation gather'd and contracted into it ſelf. You may hear them, and read many of their Writings, in which they jangle with the *Academicks*, and cry out againſt them, as confounding all things with their *Aparallaxes*, [that is,] in diſtinguiſhable Identities, vehemently contending, that there is but one qualify'd in two Subſtances. And yet there is no Man, who underſtands not this, and would not on the contrary think it wonderful and extreamly ſtrange, if there ſhould not at all times be found a Stock-Dove to a Stock-Dove, a Bee to a Bee, a Grain of Wheat to a Grain of Wheat, nor, as the Proverb has it, one Fig to another, exactly, and in all reſpects, alike.

But theſe things are plainly againſt common Sence, which the *Stoicks* ſay, and feign, that there are in one Subſtance two particularly qualify'd, and that the ſame Subſtance, which has particularly one qualify'd, receives and equally conſerves them both. For if there may be two, there may be alſo three, four and five, and even as many, as you can name, in one and the ſame Subſtance; I ſay not, in its different Parts, but all equally, though even infinite in the whole. *Chryſippus* then ſays, that *Jupiter* is like to Man, as is alſo the World, and Providence to the Soul. When therefore the Conflagration ſhall be, *Jupiter*, who alone of all the Gods is incorruptible, will retire into Providence, and they being together, will both perpetually remain in one Subſtance of the Æther.

But leaving now the Gods, and beſeeching them to give [theſe *Stoicks*] common Senſe, and a common Underſtanding, let us look into their Doctrines concerning the Elements. 'Tis againſt the common Conceptions, that one Body ſhould be the Place of another, or that a Body ſhould penetrate through a Body, neither of them containing any Vacuity; but the Full paſſing into the Full, and that, which has no diſtance, being full, and not having any Place by reaſon of its Continuity, receiving the Mixture. But theſe Men, not thruſting one thing into one, nor yet two, or three, or ten together; but jumbling all the Parts of the World, being cut piece-meal, in any one thing, which they ſhall firſt light on, and ſaying, that the very leaſt, which is perceiv'd by Senſe, will contain the greateſt, that ſhall come unto it, boldly frame a new Doctrine, as in many other things, of that, which convinces them, taking for their Suppoſitions things repugnant to common Senſe. And preſently upon this [they are forc'd] to admit into their Diſcourſe many monſtrous and ſtrange Poſitions, mixing whole Bodies with whole; of which this alſo is one, that three are four: for this others put as an Example of thoſe things, which cannot be conceiv'd even in thought. But to the *Stoicks* it is a Matter of Truth, that one Cup of Wine, being mixt with two of Water, it will not fail but equal them, according the whole, and confounding it, to make that, which is one, two, by the Equality of the Mixture with two: For that one remains, and is extended as much as two, and makes that, which is equal to the Double. Now if it happens in the Mixture with two to take the Meaſure of two in the Diffuſion, this is together the Meaſure both of three and four; of three, because one is mixt with two; and of four, becauſe being mixt with two, it has an equal Quantity with thoſe, with which it is mixt. Now this fine Subtilty is a Conſequence of their putting Bodies into a Body, and the unintelligibleneſs of the Manner, how one is contain'd in the Other. For 'tis of neceſſity, that of Bodies paſſing one into another by Mixture, the one ſhould not contain, and the other be contain'd, nor the one receive, and the other be receiv'd within; for this would not be a Mixture, but a Contiguity and Touching of the Superficies, the one entring in, and the other encloſing it without, and the reſt of the Parts remaining unmixt and pure, and ſo it would be one of many different things. But there being a Neceſſity, according to their Axiom of Mixture, that the things, which are mixt, ſhould be mingled one within the other, and that the ſame thing ſhould together be contain'd by being within, and by receiving, contain the other, and that neither of them can poſſibly be again [what it was before,] it comes to paſs, that both the Subjects of the Mixture mutually penetrate each other, and that there is not any part of either remaining ſeparate; but that they are neceſſarily all fill'd with each other. Here now that Leg of Arceſilaus comes in, with much Laughter inſulting over their Abſurdities; for if theſe Mixtures are through the whole, what ſhould hinder but that, this Leg being cut off, and putrefy'd, and caſt into the Sea, and diluted, not only Antigonus's Fleet (as Arceſilaus ſaid,) might ſail through it, but Xerxes's twelve hundred Ships, together with the thouſand two hundred Gallies, might fight in it? For the Progreſs will not thenceforth fail, nor the leſſer ceaſe to be in the greater, or elſe the Mixture will be at an end, and the Extremity of it, touching, where it ſhall end, will not paſs through the whole, but will give over being mingled. But if the Mixture is through the whole, will not the Leg indeed afford the *Greeks* room for a Sea-fight; but to this there is need of Putrefaction and Change? But if one Glaſs, or but one Drop of Wine ſhall fall from hence into the *Ægean* or *Cretian* Sea, it will paſs into the *Ocean* or main *Atlantick* Sea, not lightly touching its Superficies, but being ſpread quite through it in Depth, Breadth and Length. And this *Chryſippus* admits, ſaying immediately in his firſt Book of Natural Queſtions, that there is nothing to hinder one Drop of Wine from being mixt with the whole Sea. And that we may not wonder at this, he ſays, that this one Drop will by Mixtion extend through the whole World. Than which, I know not any thing, that can appear more abſurd.

And this alſo is againſt Senſe, that there is not in the Nature of Bodies any thing either Supream, or firſt, or laſt, in which the Magnitude of the Body may terminate; but that the *Phænomenon* of it, ſtill going on, carries the Subject to Infinity and Undeterminateneſs. For one Body cannot be imagin'd greater or leſs than another, if both of them may by their Parts proceed *in infinitum*; but the Nature of Inequality is taken away: For of things, that are eſteem'd unequal, the one falls ſhort in its laſt Parts, and the other goes on, and exceeds. Now if there is no *Inequality*, it follows, that there is no Unevenneſs, nor Roughneſs of Bodies; for Unevenneſs is the Inequality of the ſame Superficies with it ſelf, and Roughneſs is an Unevenneſs, joyn'd with Hardneſs: neither of which is left us by thoſe, who

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contains no Body in its laſt part, but extend them all by the Multitude of their Parts unto an Infinity. And yet is it not evident, that a Man conſiſts of more Parts than a Finger, and the World of more than a Man? This indeed all Men know and underſtand, unleſs they become *Stoicks*; but if they are once *Stoicks*, they on the contrary ſay and think, that a Man has no more Parts than a Finger, nor the World than a Man. For Diviſion reduces Bodies to an Infinity; and of Infinites neither is more, or leſs, or exceeds in Multitude, nor will the Parts of the Remainder ceaſe to be divided, and to afford a Multitude of themſelves. How then do they extricate themſelves out of theſe Difficulties? Surely with very great Cunning and Courage. For *Chryſippus* ſays, that being askt, if we have any Parts, and how many, and of what, and how many other Parts, they conſiſt, we are to uſe a Diſtinction, making it a Poſition, that the whole Body is compacted of the Head, Trunk, and Legs, as if that were all, which is enquir'd and doubted of. But if they extend their Interrogation to the laſt Parts, no ſuch thing is to be undertaken, but we are to ſay, that they conſiſt not of any certain Parts, nor yet of ſo many, nor of infinite, nor of finite. And I ſeem to my ſelf to have us'd his very Words, that you may perceive, how he maintains the common Notions, forbidding us to think, of what, or how many Parts every Body is compacted, and whether of infinite or finite. For if there were any *Medium* between Finite and Infinite, as *Indifferent* is between Good and Evil, he ſhould by telling us, what that is, have ſolv'd the Difficulty. But if, as that, which is not equal, is preſently underſtood to be unequal, and that, which is not mortal, to be immortal, we alſo underſtand, that, which is not finite, to be immediately infinite; to ſay, that a Body conſiſts of Parts neither finite, nor infinite, is in my Opinion, the ſame thing, as to affirm, that an Argument is composed of Portions, neither even, nor less, [and Number neither of Even, nor Odd.] Truly, he with a certain youthful Rashness adds, that a Pyramis consisting of Triangles, the Sides, inclining according to the Junctures, are unequal, and yet do not exceed one another, in that they are greater.

Thus does he keep the common Notions. For if there is any thing greater, and not exceeding, there will be also something less, and not deficient; and so also something unequal, which neither exceeds, nor is deficient: that is, there will be an equal thing unequal, a greater not greater, and a less not less. See yet farther, in what manner he answer'd *Democritus*, enquiring philosophically and earnestly, if a Cone is divided by a Level to the Basis, what is to be thought of the Superficies of the Segments, whether they are equal or unequal: *for if they are unequal, they will render the Cone uneven, receiving many Step-like Incisions and Roughnesses; but if they are equal, the Sections also will be equal, and the Cone will seem to be affected in the same manner, as the Cylinder, to wit, to be compos'd not of unequal, but of equal Circles; which is most absurd.* Here, that he may convince *Democritus* of Ignorance, he says, that the Superficies are neither equal or unequal; but that the Bodies are unequal, because the Superficies are neither equal nor unequal. Indeed to assert this for a *Law*, that Bodies happen to be unequal, the Superficies not being unequal, is the part of a Man, who takes to himself a wonderful Liberty of Writing, whatever comes into his Head. For Reason and manifest Evidence on the contrary gives us to understand, that the Superficies of unequal Bodies are unequal, and that the bigger the Body is, the greater also is the Superficies, unless the Excess, by which it is the greater, is void of a Superficies. For if the Superficies of the greater Bodies do not exceed those of the less, but sometimes fall, the Part of that Body, which ving End, will be without an End, and infinite. And if he says, that he is compell'd to this [lest the Inequality of the Superficies might make unequal Incisions, there is no Reason for it.] For those misdoubted Inequalities, which he suspects in a Cone, are made by the Inequality of the Body, and not of the Superficies. 'Twere ridiculous therefore, that the taking away the Superficies should leave a manifest Unevenness in the Bodies.

But to persist still in this Matter, what is more repugnant to Sense, than the imagining of such things? For if we admit, that one Superficies is neither equal nor unequal to another, we may say also of Magnitude, and of Number, that one is neither equal nor unequal to another, and this, not having any thing that we can call or think to be a Neuter, or Medium between Equal and Unequal. Besides, if there are Superficies, neither equal nor unequal, what hinders, but there may be also Circles, neither equal nor unequal? For indeed these Superficies of Conick Sections are Circles. And if Circles, why may not also their Diameters be neither equal nor unequal? And if so, why not also Angles, Triangles, Parallelograms, [illegible] and Bodies? For if Longitudes are neither equal nor unequal to one another, neither will Weight, [illegible] on, or Bodies be equal or unequal. How then dare these Men inveigh against those, who introduce Vacuums, and suppose, that there are some [illegible], and [illegible] combating each other, which neither move, nor are at [illegible] when themselves affirm such Axioms as these, to be false: *If any things are not equal to one another, they are unequal to one another; and these things are not equal to one another: therefore they are unequal to one another.* But when he says, that there is something greater, and yet not exceeding, it were worth the while to ask, whether these things quadrate with one another. For if they quadrate, how is either the greater? and if they do not quadrate, how can it be, but the one muſt exceed, and the other fall ſhort? For if neither of theſe be, it will not quadrate with the greater, or it will alſo quadrate, that the other is the greater. For thoſe, who keep not the common Conceptions, muſt of neceſſity fall into ſuch Perplexities.

'Tis moreover againſt Senſe to ſay, that nothing touches another; nor is this leſs, that Bodies touch one another, but touch by nothing. For they are neceſſitated to admit theſe things, who leave not the leaſt Part of a Body, but receive any thing, which is before that, which ſeems to touch, and never ceaſe to paſs ſtill on farther. What therefore theſe Men principally object to the Patrons of [thoſe] indiviſible [Bodies, call'd Atoms] is this, that there is neither a touching of the whole, nor of the Parts by the Parts: For that this makes not a Touching, but a Mixture, and that this is not poſſible, theſe Individuals having no Parts. How then do not they themſelves fall into the ſame Inconvenience, leaving no firſt or laſt Part, whilſt they ſay, that whole Bodies mutually touch one another by a Term [or Extremity] and not by a Part? but this Term is not a Body. Therefore one Body ſhall touch another by that, which is incorporeal, and again ſhall not touch, that, which is incorporeal, coming between them. And if it ſhall touch, the Body ſhall both do, and ſuffer ſomething by that, which is incorporeal. For 'tis the Nature of Bodies mutually to do and ſuffer, and to touch. But if the Body has a Touching by that, which is incorporeal, it will have alſo a Contact, and a Mixture, and a Coalition. Again, in theſe Contacts and Mixtures, the Extremities of the Bodies muſt either remain, or not remain, but be corrupted. Now both of theſe are againſt Senſe. For neither do they themſelves admit Corruptions and Generations of incorporeal dies; nor can there be a Mixture and Confuſion of Bodies, retaining their own Extremities. For the Extremity determines and conſtitutes the Nature of the Body; and Mixtions, unleſs the mutual laying of Particulars to Particulars are thereby underſtood, wholly confound all the things that are mixt. And, as theſe Men ſay, we muſt admit the Corruptions of Extremities in Mixtures, and their Generation again in the Separations of them. But this none can eaſily underſtand; for by what Bodies mutually touch each other, by the ſame they preſs, thruſt, and cruſh each other. Now to do or ſuffer this by things that are incorporeal, is impoſſible, and not ſo much as to be imagin'd. But by this they [would] conſtrain us to underſtand it. For if a Sphere [or round Body] touch a Plain [or flat Body] by a Point, 'tis manifeſt, that it may be alſo roll'd upon the Plain by a Point; and if the Superficies of it is painted with Vermilion, it will imprint a red Line on the Plain; and if it is fiery hot, it will burn [or ſcorch] the Plain. Now for an incorporeal thing to color, or a Body to be burnt by that, which is incorporeal, is againſt Senſe. But if we ſhould imagine an earthen or glaſſy Sphere to fall from on high on a Plain of Stone, 'twere againſt Reaſon to think, it would not be broken, being ſtruck againſt that which is hard and ſolid; but 'twould be more abſurd, that it ſhould be broken, falling by an Extremity, or Point, that is incorporeal. So that the Anticipations concerning things Incorporeal and Corporeal are wholly diſturb'd, or rather taken away, by their joyning to them many Impoſſibilities.

'Tis alſo againſt common Senſe, that there ſhould be a Time future, and paſt, but no time preſent, and that *Erewhile* and *Lately* ſubſiſt, but *Now* is nothing at all. Yet this often befalls the Stoicks, who admit not the leaſt time [between] nor will have the Preſent to be indiviſible; but whatſoever any one thinks to take and underſtand, ſently, or preſent, ſome part of that they ſay to be future, and the other part paſt; ſo that there is no Part remaining or left of the preſent Time; but of that, which is ſaid to be preſent, one part is diſtributed to the future, the other to the paſt. The plaineſt of theſe two things follows, either that holding there was a Time, and there will be a Time, we muſt deny, there is a Time; or we muſt hold, that there is a Time preſent, part of which has already been, and part will be; and ſay, that of that, which now is, one part is future, and the other paſt; and that of Now, one part is before, and the other behind; and that Now is that, which is neither yet Now, nor ſtill Now: for that, which is paſt, is no longer Now, and that, which is to come, is not yet Now. And dividing [thus the preſent] they muſt needs ſay of the [Year, and of the Day] that part of it was of the Year paſt, and part will be of the Year to come; and that of what is together, there is a firſt, and a laſt. For no leſs are they perplext, confounding together theſe Terms, Not yet, and Already, and No longer, and Now, and Not now. But all other Men ſuppoſe, eſteem, and think, Erewhile, and a While hence to be different parts of Time from Now, which is followed by the one, and preceded by the other. But Archedemus, ſaying, that Now is the Beginning and Juncture of that, which is paſt, and that, which is near at hand, perceiv'd not (as it ſeems) that he thereby took away all Time. For if Now is no Time, but only a Term [or Extremity] of Time, and every part of Time is ſuch, as Now, all Time ſeems to have no Parts, but to be wholly diſſolv'd into Terms, Joynts, and Beginnings. But Chryſippus, deſiring to ſhew more Artifice in his Diviſion, in his [Book] of Vacuity, and ſome others, ſays, that the paſt and future Time are not, but have ſubſiſted, or will ſubſiſt, and that the preſent only is; but in his third, fourth and fifth Books concerning Parts, he affirms, that of which one part is past, the other to come. 'Tis [illegible] to pass, that he divides [illegible] Time [illegible] not subsisting [Parts] of a subsisting [Time] or rather leave nothing at all of Time subsisting, if the present has no part, but what is either future, or past. This idle Conception therefore of Time is not unlike the Grasping of Water, which, the harder it is held, the more it slides and runs away. As to Actions and Motions, all Evidence is utterly confounded. For if the Now is divided into past and future, 'tis of necessity, that what is now mov'd, partly has been mov'd, and partly shall be mov'd; that the End and Beginning of Motion be taken away; that nothing of any Work has been done first, nor shall any thing be last, the Actions being distributed with Time. For as they say, that of Present Time, part is past, and part to come; so of that, which is doing, [it will be said] that part is done, and part shall be done. When therefore had to *Dine*, to *Write*, to *Walk*, a Beginning? when shall they have an End? if every one, who Dines, has Din'd, and shall Dine, and every one, who Walks, has Walk'd, and shall Walk? But this is, as 'tis said, of all Absurdities the most absurd, if he, who now Lives, has already liv'd, and shall live. [for then] to *Live*, neither had Beginning, nor shall have End; but every one of us, as it seems, was born without beginning, and shall dye without ceasing to live. For if there is no part [illegible] who lives, [illegible] of the present [illegible] remaining to the future, [to say] Socrates [illegible] will never be [illegible] so long as it shall be true [to say] [illegible]; [and so long as it shall be true to say, [illegible]] it [illegible] [to say] Socrates [illegible] [to say] [illegible] shall be, is true [illegible] part of Time, [illegible] present Time to be true [to say] [illegible] say [illegible] [to say] [illegible] ſay] *This is doing*, 'tis likewiſe true to ſay, *This ſhall be done*? For he will ly, who ſhall ſay, there will be an End of *Plato's* Writing and Diſputing; ſince *Plato* will never give over to [Write and] Diſpute, if 'tis never falſe [to ſay] of him, who diſputes, that he ſhall diſpute, and of him who writes, that he ſhall write. Moreover, there will be no part of that, which now is, but either has been, or is to be, and either paſt or future; but of what has been, and is to be, of paſt and future there is no Senſe: therefore is abſolutely no Senſe of any thing. For we neither ſee, what is paſt or future, nor do we hear, or have any other Senſe of what has been, or is to be. Nor is, what is preſent, to be perceiv'd by Senſe, if of the preſent part is always future, and part paſt; part has been, and part is to be.

Now they indeed ſay, that *Epicurus* does intolerable things, and violates the Conceptions in moving all Bodies with equal celerity, and admitting none of them to be ſwifter than another. And yet it is much more intolerable, and farther remote from Senſe, that nothing can be overtaken by another,

Not, though Adraſtus's *ſwift-footed Steed*
Should chaſe the Tortoiſe ſlow,———

As the Proverb has it. Now this muſt of neceſſity fall out, if things moving according to *Before* and *After*, the Intervals [or Spaces] through which they paſs, are, as theſe Mens Tenet is, diviſible *in infinitum*; for if the Tortoiſe [is] but a furlong [before] the Horſe, they who divide this [Furlong] *in infinitum*, and move them both according to *Prius* and *Poſterius*, will never bring the ſwifteſt to the ſloweſt; the ſlower always adding ſome Interval [or Space] diviſible into infinite Spaces. Now to affirm, that, Water being pour'd from a Bowl or Cup, it will never be all pour'd out, is it not both againſt common Senſe, and a Conſequence of what theſe Men ſay? For no Man can underſtand the Motion according to Before of things, diviſible in infinitum to be conſummated; but leaving always ſomewhat diviſible, it will make all the Effuſion, all the Running and Flux of a Liquid, Motion of a Solid, and Fall of an heavy thing imperfect. I paſs by many Abſurdities of theirs, touching only ſuch, as are againſt Senſe.

The Diſpute concerning Increaſe is indeed ancient: for the Queſtion, as *Chryſippus* ſays, was put by *Epicharmus*. Now, whereas thoſe of the Academy think, that the Doubt is not very eaſie, theſe Men have mightily exclaim'd againſt them, and accus'd them of taking away the Anticipations, and yet themſelves are ſo far from preſerving the common Notions, that they pervert even Senſe it ſelf. For the Diſcourſe is ſimple, and theſe Men grant the Suppoſitions, that all particular Subſtances flow, and are carry'd; ſome of them emitting forth ſomewhat from themſelves, and others receiving things coming from elſewhere: and that the things, to which there is made an Acceſſion, or from which there is a Deceſſion by Numbers and Multitudes, do not remain the ſame, but become others by the ſaid Acceſſions, the Subſtance receiving a Change: and that theſe Changes are not rightly call'd by Cuſtom Increaſings or Diminutions; when 'tis fitter, they ſhould be ſtil'd Generations and Corruptions: becauſe they drive by force from one State to another; whereas to increaſe and be diminiſh'd are Paſſions of a Body, that is ſubject and permanent. Theſe things being thus in a manner ſaid and deliver'd, what would theſe Defenders of Evidence, and Canonical Reformers of Conceptions have? Every one of us to be double, twin-like, and compos'd of a double Nature; not as the Poets feign'd of the *Molionidæ*, that they in ſome parts grow together, and in ſome parts are ſeparated; but every one of us to have two Bodies, having the ſame Colour, the ſame Figure, the ſame Weight and Place ** things never before ſeen by any Man; but theſe Men alone have diſcern'd this Compoſition, Doubleneſs, and Ambiguity, how every one of us is two Subjects, the one in Subſtance, the other *** and the one is in perpetual Flux and Motion, neither increaſing, nor being diminiſh'd, nor remaining altogether, the other remains, and increaſes, and is diminiſh'd, and ſuffers all things contrary to the former, with which it is concorporate, conjoyn'd and confounded, and exhibits not any difference, to be perceiv'd by Senſe. Indeed that *Lynceus* is ſaid to have penetrated Stones and Oaks with his Sight, and a certain Man, ſitting on a Watch-Tower in *Sicily*, beheld the Ships of the *Carthaginians* ſetting forth from their Harbor, which was a Days and a Nights Sail from thence. *Callicrates* and *Myrmecides* are ſaid to have made Chariots, that might be cover'd with the Wings of a Fly, and to have engrav'd *Homers* Verſes on a Seſam-ſeed. But none ever diſcern'd or diſcover'd this Diverſity and Motion in us; nor have we perceiv'd our ſelves to be double, in one part always flowing, and in the other remaining the ſame from our Birth, even to our Death. But I make the Diſcourſe more ſimple: ſince they make four Subjects in every one, or rather every one of us to be four. But two are ſufficient to ſhew their Abſurdity. For if, when we hear *Pentheus* in the Tragedy affirm, that he ſees two Suns, and two Cities of *Thebes*, we ſay, that he does not ſee, but that his Sight dazles, he being tranſported and troubled in his Diſcourſes: why do we not bid theſe Farewel, who aſſert not one City alone, but all Men, and Animals, and all Trees, Veſſels, Inſtruments, and Cloaths, to be double, and compos'd of two, as Men who conſtrain us to doat, rather than to underſtand. But this feigning other Natures of Subjects, must perhaps be pardon'd them: for there appears no other [illegible]

[illegible]

nation, by which they can maintain and uphold this Augmentations, of which they are ſo fond.

But by what Cauſe mov'd, or for the adorning of what other Suppoſitions, they frame in a manner innumerable Differences and Ideas of Bodies in the Soul, there is none can ſay, unleſs it be, that they would remove, or rather wholly abdicate and deſtroy the common and uſual Notions, for to introduce other forreign and ſtrange ones. For 'tis very abſurd, that making all Vertues, and Vices, and with them, all Arts, Memories, Fancies, Paſſions, Impulſes, and Aſſents to be Bodies, they ſhould affirm, that they neither lye nor ſubſiſt in any Subject, leaving them for a Place one only Hole, like a Prick, in the Heart, where they croud the principal part of the Soul, encloſ'd with ſo many Bodies, that a very great number of them lies hid, even from thoſe, who think, they can ſeparate and diſtinguiſh them one from another: Nay, that they ſhould not only make them Bodies, but alſo rational Creatures, and even a Swarm of ſuch Creatures, not friendly or gentle, but a Multitude, rebelling by their Malice againſt Evidence and Cuſtom. But they ſay, that not only Virtues and Vices, not only the Paſſions, as Anger, Envy, Grief, and Maliciouſneſs; not only Comprehenſions, Fancies, and Ignorances, nor only Arts, as Shoo-making, and working in Braſs are Animals; but beſides theſe, alſo they make even the Operations Bodies and Animals, [ſaying, that] Walking is an Animal, as alſo Dancing, Suppoſing, Saluting, and Railing. The Conſequence of this is, that Laughing and Weeping are alſo Animals; and if ſo, then alſo Coughing, Sneezing, Groaning, Spitting, Blowing the Nose, and other ſuch like things ſufficiently known. Neither have they any Cauſe to take it ill, that they are by [illegible] ſons, proceeding leiſurely, reduced to this, if they will call to mind, how Chryſippus, in his firſt Book of Natural [illegible] argues thus. *Is not Night a Body? And are not then the Evening, Dawning, and Midnight Bodies? Or is not a Day a Body? Is not then the firſt Day of the Month a Body? and the Tenth, the Fifteenth, and the Thirtieth,* [*are they not Bodies?*] *Is not a Month a Body? Summer, Autumn, and the Year,* [*are they not Bodies?*]

Theſe things, [which we have already mention'd] they hold againſt the common Conceptions; but theſe, which follow, alſo againſt their own, engendring that, which is moſt hot, by refrigeration, and that, which is moſt ſubtil, by Condenſation. For the Soul, to wit, is [a Subſtance] moſt hot, and moſt ſubtil. But this they make by the Refrigeration and Condenſation of the Body, changing, as it were by Induration, the Spirit, which of Vegetative is made Animal. Moreover, they ſay, that the Sun became animated, his Moiſture changing into intellectual Fire. Behold how the Sun is imagin'd to be engendred by Refrigeration. *Xenophanes* indeed, when one told him, that he had ſeen Eels living in hot Water, anſwer'd, *We will boil them then in cold.* But if theſe Men engender Heat by Refrigeration, and Lightneſs by Condenſation, it follows, they muſt alſo generate cold things by Heat, thick things by Dilatation, and heavy things by Rarefaction, that ſo they may keep ſome Proportion in their Abſurdity.

And do they not alſo determine the Subſtance and Generation of Conception it ſelf, even againſt the [common] Conceptions? For Conception is a certain Imagination, and Imagination an Impreſſion in the Soul. Now the Nature of the Soul is an Exhalation, in which it is difficult for an Impreſſion to be made, becauſe of its Tenuity, and for which to keep an Impreſſion it may have receiv'd, 'tis impoſſible. For its Nutrition and Genera[illegible]conſiſting of ſpoilt things, has continual Succeſſi[illegible]d Conſumption. And the Mixture of Reſpiration with the Air, always makes ſome new

Exhalation, alter'd and chang'd by the Flux of the Air, coming from abroad, and again going out. For one may more Eaſily imagine, that a Stream of running Water can retain Figures, Impreſſions, and Images, than a Spirit, which being carry'd in Vapers and Humors, is continually mingled with another idle and ſtrange Breath from without. But theſe Men ſo far forget themſelves, that having defin'd the Conceptions to be certain ſtor'd-up Intelligences and Memories, to be conſtant and habitual Impreſſions; and having wholly fix'd the Sciences, as having Stability and Firmneſs, they preſently place under them a Baſis and Seat of a ſlippery Subſtance, eaſie to be diſſipated, and in perpetual Flux and Motion.

Now the common Conception of an Element and Principle, naturally imprinted in almoſt all Men, is this, that it is ſimple, unmixt, and uncompounded. For that is not an Element or Principle, which is mixt; but thoſe things [are ſo,] of which it is mixt. But theſe Men, making God, who is the Principle [of all things] to be an intellectual Body, and a Mind ſeated in Matter, pronounce him to be neither ſimple, nor uncompounded, but [to be compos'd] of, and by another; Matter indeed, being of it ſelf without Reaſon, and void of Quality, has Simplicity, and the Property of a Principle. If then God is not incorporeal and immaterial, he participates of Matter, as a Principle. For if Matter and Reaſon are one and the ſame thing, they have not rightly defin'd Matter to be reaſonleſs; but if they are different things, then is God conſtituted of them both, and is not a ſimple, but compound thing, having to the Intellectual taken the Corporeal from Matter.

Moreover, calling theſe four Bodies, Earth, Water, Air and Fire, the firſt Elements, they do, I know not how, make ſome of them ſimple and pure, and others compound and mixt: for they hold, that Earth and Wa-

Water neither contain themſelves nor other things, but preſerve their Unity by the Participation of Air, and Force of Fire; but that Air and Fire do both fortifie themſelves by their own ſtrength, and being mixt with the other two, give them Force, Permanence, and Subſiſtence. How then is either Earth or Water, an Element, if neither of them is either ſimple, or firſt, or ſelf-ſufficient; but wanting ſomewhat from without, to contain and keep it in its Being? For they have not left ſo much as a Thought of their Subſtance; but this Diſcourſe concerniug the Earth has much Confuſion and Uncertainty, [when they ſay, that it ſubſiſts] of it ſelf; for if the Earth is of it ſelf, how has it need of the Air, to fix and contain it? But neither the Earth nor Water can any more be [ſaid to be] of it ſelf; but the Air, drawing together, and thickning the Matter, has made the Earth, and again, diſſolving and mollifying it, has produc'd the Water. Neither of theſe then is an Element, ſince ſomething elſe has contributed Being and Generation to them both. Moreover, they ſay, that Subſtance and Matter are ſubject to Qualities, and do ſo in a manner define them; and again, they make the Qualities to be alſo Bodies. But theſe things have much Perplexity; for, if Qualities have a peculiar Subſtance, for which they both are, and are call'd Bodies, they need no other Subſtance, for they have one of their own. But if they have only under them that, which is common, which they call Eſſence and Matter, 'tis manifeſt, they do but participate of the Body, for they are not Bodies. But the Subject and Recipient muſt of neceſſity differ from thoſe things, which it receives, and to which it is ſubject. But theſe Men ſee by halves, for they ſay indeed, that Matter is void of Quality; but they will not call Qualities immaterial. Now how can they make a Body without Quality, who underſtand not Quality without a Body? For the reaſon which joyns to all Quality a Body, ſuffers not the Underſtanding to comprehend any Body without ſome Quality. Either therefore he, who oppugns incorporeal Quality, ſeems alſo to oppugn unqualify'd Matter; or ſeparating the one from the other, he mutually parts them both. As for the Reaſon, which ſome pretend, that Matter is call'd unqualify'd, not becauſe it is void of all Quality, but becauſe it has all Qualities, is moſt of all againſt Senſe: for no Man calls that unqualify'd, which is uncapable of no Quality; nor that impaſſible, which is by Nature always apt to ſuffer all things; nor that immoveable, which is mov'd every way. And this Doubt is not ſolv'd, that, howſoever Matter is always underſtood with Quality, yet 'tis underſtood to be another thing, and differing from Quality;

Plutarch's Morals:

Vol. IV.

The Contradictions of the Stoicks.

Tranſlated out of the Greek, *by* B. Smith, *M.A.*

I Firſt lay down this for an Axiom, that there [ought to] be ſeen in Mens Lives an Agreement with their Doctrines. For 'tis not ſo neceſſary, that the Pleader (as *Æſchines* has it) and the Law ſpeak one and the ſame thing, as that the Life of a Philoſopher be conſonant to his Speech. For the Speech of a Philoſopher is a Law of his own, and voluntarily impoſ'd on himſelf, unleſs they eſteem Philoſophy to be a Game, or an Acuteneſs in Diſputing [invented] for the gaining of Applauſe, and not, what it really is, a thing deſerving [our] greateſt Study [and Induſtry.] Since then there are in their Diſcourſes many things written by *Zeno* himſelf, many by *Cleanthes*, and moſt of all by *Chryſippus*, concerning Policy, Governing, and being Governed, concerning Judging and Pleading; and yet there is not to be found in any of their Lives, either leading of Armies, making of Laws, going to Parliament, pleading before the Judges, fighting for their Country, travelling on Embaſſies, or beſtowing of Largeſſes on the People; but they have all, feeding [if I [illegible] may ſo ſay] on Reſt, as on the *Lotus*, led their whole Lives, and thoſe not ſhort, but very long ones, in foreign Countries, amongſt Diſputations, Books, and Walkings: 'tis manifeſt, that they have liv'd, rather according to the Writings and Sayings of others, than their own Profeſſions, having ſpent all their Days in that Repoſe, which *Epicurus* and *Hieronymus* [ſo much] commend.

Chryſippus indeed himſelf,* in his fourth Book *Of Lives*, thinks, there is [little or] no difference between a Scholaſtick Life, and a voluptuous one. I will ſet down here his very Words. *They* [ſays he] *who are of Opinion, that a Scholaſtick Life is from the very Beginning, moſt ſuitable to Philoſophers, ſeem to me to be in an Error, thinking that they ought to do this for the ſake of ſome Recreation, or ſome other thing like to it, and in that manner to ſpin out the whole* [*Courſe of their*] *Life; that is, if it may be explain'd, to live at eaſe. For this Opinion of theirs is not to be conceal'd, many of them delivering it clearly, and not a few more obſcurely.* Who therefore did more grow old in this ſcholaſtick [or idle] Life, than *Chryſippus*, *Cleanthes*, *Diogenes*, *Zeno*, and *Antipater*? who left their Countreys, not out of any Diſcontent, but that they might quietly enjoy their Delight, ſtudying and diſputing at their leiſure. [To verifie which] *Ariſtocreon*, the Diſciple, and intimate Friend of *Chryſippus*, having erected his Statue of Braſs upon a Pillar, engrav'd on it theſe Verſes.

This Braſen Statue Ariſtocreon
To's Friend Chryſippus *newly here has ſet,*
Whoſe ſharpen'd Wit, like Sword of Champion,
Did Academick *Knots in ſunder cut.*

Such an one then was *Chryſippus*, an old Man, a Philoſopher, one, who prais'd the Regal and Civil Life, and thought, there is no difference between a ſcholaſtick and a voluptuous one.

But thoſe others of them, who intermeddle in State Affairs, act yet more contradictorily to their own Doctrines; for they govern, judge, conſult, make Laws, puniſh, and honour, as if Thoſe were indeed Cities, in the Government of which they concern themſelves; Thoſe truly Counſellors and Judges, who are at any time allotted to ſuch Offices; Thoſe Generals, who are choſen by Suffrages; and Thoſe Laws, which were made by *Cliſthenes*, *Lycurgus*, and *Solon*, whom they affirm to have been vitious Men and Fools.

Indeed *Antipater*, in his Writings concerning the Difference between *Cleanthes* and *Chryſippus* has related, that *Zeno* and *Cleanthes* would not be made Citizens of *Athens*, leſt they might ſeem to injure their own Countreys. I ſhall not much inſiſt upon it, that, if they did well, *Chryſippus* acted amiſs, in ſuffering himſelf to be enroll'd, as a Member of that City. But this is very contradictory and abſurd, that removing their Perſons and their Lives ſo far off amongſt Strangers, they reſerv'd their Names for their Countreys: [which is the ſame thing] as if a Man, leaving his Wife, and cohabiting and bedding with another, and getting Children on her, ſhould yet refuſe to contract Marriage with the ſecond, leſt he might ſeem to wrong the former. Again, *Chryſippus*, writing in his Treatiſe *Of Rhetorick*, that a wiſe Man will ſo plead, and act in the Management of a Common-wealth, as if Riches, Glory, and Health were [really] good, confeſſes that his Speeches are inextricable and impolitick, and his Doctrines unſuitable for the Uſes and Actions [of human Life.]

'Tis moreover a Doctrine of *Zeno*'s, that Temples are not to be built to the Gods; for that a Temple is neither a thing of much value, nor holy: ſince no Work of Carpenters, and Handicrafts Men can be of much value.

And yet they, who praiſe theſe things, as well [and wiſely] ſaid, are initiated in the ſacred Myſteries, go up to the Caſtle, [where *Minerva*'s Temple ſtands,] adore the Shrines, and adorn with Garlands the Sacraries, being the Works of Carpenters, and mechanical Perſons. Again, they think, that the *Epicureans*, who ſacrifice to the Gods [and yet deny them to meddle with the Government of the World] do thereby refute themſelves; whereas they themſelves are more contrary to themſelves, ſacrificing on Altars and in Temples, whish they affirm ought not to ſtand, nor to have been built.

Moreover, *Zeno* admits, as *Plato* does, ſeveral Vertues according to their differences, to wit, Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance, and Juſtice, as being indeed inſeparable; but yet divers and different from one another. But again, defining every one of them, he ſays, that Fortitude is Prudence in executing, Juſtice Prudence in diſtributing, as being one and the ſame Vertue, but ſeeming to differ in its relations to Affairs, according [as they come] to Action. Nor does *Zeno* alone ſeem to contradict himſelf in theſe Matters; but *Chryſippus* alſo, who blames *Ariſton* for ſaying, that the other [Vertues] are [different] Habits of one and the ſame Vertue, and yet defends *Zeno*, who in this manner defines every one of the Vertues. And *Cleanthes*, having in his Commentaries concerning Nature ſaid, that the Vigor [of things] is the ſtriking of Fire, which, if it is ſufficient in the Soul to perform the [Duties] preſented to it, is call'd Force and Strength, ſubjoyns theſe very Words: *Now this Force and Strength, when it is in things apparent, and to be perſiſted in, is Continence; when in things to be endur'd, 'tis Fortitude; when about Worthineſs, 'tis Juſtice; and when about Chuſing or Refuſing, 'tis Temperance.*

Againſt him, who ſaid,

Give not thy Judgment, till both Sides are heard,

Zeno on the contrary made uſe of ſuch an Argument as this. If he, who ſpake firſt, has plainly prov'd [his Cauſe] the ſecond is not to be heard, for the Queſtion is at an end; and if he has not prov'd it, 'tis the ſame Caſe, as if being cited, he did not appear, or appearing, did [nothing but] wrangle: ſo that, whether he has prov'd or not prov'd his Cauſe, the ſecond is not to be heard. And yet he, who made this Dilemma, has written againſt *Plato*'s Common-weal, diſſolv'd Sophiſms, and exhorted his Scholars to learn Logick, as enabling them to do the ſame. Now *Plato* has either prov'd, or not prov'd thoſe things [which he writ] in his Common-weal; but in neither Caſe it was neceſſary to write againſt him, but wholly ſuperfluous and vain. The ſame may be ſaid concerning Sophiſms.

Chryſippus is of Opinion, that young [Students] ſhould firſt learn Logick, ſecondly Ethicks, and, after theſe, Phyſicks, and likewiſe in this, to meddle laſt of all with the Diſputes concerning the Gods. Now theſe things having been often ſaid by him, 'twill ſuffice to ſet down what is [to that purpoſe] found in his fourth Book of *Lives*, being thus word for word. *Firſt then, ſince it ſeems to me, according as it has been rightly ſaid by the Antients, that there are three Kinds of Philoſophical Speculations; Logical, Ethical, and Phyſical, and that of theſe, the Logical ought to be plac'd firſt, the Ethical ſecond, and the Phyſical third, and that of the Phyſical, the Diſcourſe concerning the Gods ought to be the laſt: wherefore alſo the Traditions concerning this have been ſtil'd* Τελεταί, [*or the Endings.*] But that very Diſcourſe concerning the Gods, which he ſays ought to be plac'd the laſt, he uſually places firſt, and ſets before every moral Queſtion; for he is ſeen not to ſay any thing, either concerning the

Ends, or concerning Juſtice, or concerning Good and Evil, or concerning Marriage and the Education of Children, or concerning the Law and the Commonwealth; but, as thoſe, who propoſe Decrees to States, ſet before them ſome Wiſh of good Fortune, ſo he alſo premiſes ſomething of *Jupiter*, Fate, Providence, the Worlds being one, and finite, and maintain'd by one Power: None of which any one can be perſwaded to believe, who has not penetrated deeply into the Diſcourſes of Natural Philoſophy. Hear what he ſays of this in his third Book *of the Gods*. *For there is not,* [ſays he] *to be found any other Beginning, or any other Generation of Juſtice, but what is from* Jupiter, *and common Nature. For thence muſt every ſuch thing have its Beginning, if we will ſay any thing concerning Good and Evil.* And again in his *Natural Poſitions* [he ſays;] *For one cannot otherwiſe, or more properly come to the Diſcourſe of Good and Evil, to the Vertues, or to Felicity, than from common Nature, and the Adminiſtration of the World.* And going farther on, [he adds] *For to theſe we muſt annex the Diſcourſe concerning Good and Evil, there being no other better Beginning or Relation thereof, and the Speculation of Nature being learnt for nothing elſe, but* [*to underſtand*] *the Difference between Good and Evil.* According to *Chryſippus*, therefore the Natural Science is both before and after the Moral; or rather, 'tis an Inverſion of Order altogether abſurd, if this muſt be put after thoſe things, none of which can be comprehended without this; and his contradicting himſelf is manifeſt, when he aſſerts the Diſcourſe of Nature to be the Beginning of that concerning Good and Evil, and yet commands it to be deliver'd, not before, but after it.

Now if any one ſhall ſay, that *Chryſippus*, in his Book concerning *the Uſe of Speech*, has written, that he, who applies himſelf to Logick firſt, ought not abſolutely to abſtain from the reſt, but ſhould take as much of them, as ſhall fall in his way, he will indeed ſay the truth, but will withal confirm the Fault. For he oppugns himſelf, one while commanding, that the Science concerning God ſhould be taken laſt, and for a Concluſion, as being therefore alſo call'd Τελετὴ; and again, another while ſaying, that this is to be learnt together with the very firſt. For Order is at an end, if all things muſt be us'd at all times. But this is more, that having made the Science concerning the Gods the Beginning of that concerning Good and Evil, he bids not thoſe, who apply themſelves to the Ethicks, to begin with that; but learning theſe, to take of that alſo, as it ſhall come in their way, and then to go from theſe to that, without which, he ſays there is no Beginning or Entrance upon theſe.

As for diſputing on both ſides, he ſays, that he does not univerſally reject it, but exhorts us to uſe it with caution, as is done in Pleadings, not with Approbation, but to diſſolve their Probability. *For to thoſe,* ſays he, *who endeavor a Suſpenſion of Aſſent concerning all things, 'tis convenient to do this, and it cooperates to what they deſire; but as for thoſe, who would work in us Science, according to which we ſhall profeſſedly live, they ought to found the contrary, and to direct thoſe, who are entred, from the Beginning to the End; and where there is occaſion to make mention of contrary Diſcourſes, to diſſolve their Probability, as is done in Pleadings.* For this he has ſaid in expreſs Words. Now that it is abſurd, for Philoſophers to think, that they ought to ſet down the contrary Opinion, not with all its Reaſons, but like Pleaders, diſabling it, as if they contended not for Truth, but Victory; we have elſewhere ſpoken againſt him. But that he himſelf has, not [only] in his Diſpntations, but frequently confirm'd the Diſcourſes, which are contrary to his own Opinions, [and that] ſtoutly, and with ſo much earneſtneſs and Contention, that 'twas not for every one to underſtand what he lik'd, they themſelves affirm, who admire the Mans Acuteneſs; and think, that *Carneades* ſaid nothing of his own, but catching hold of thoſe Arguments, which *Chryſippus* alledg'd for the contrary Opinion, aſſaulted with them his Poſitions, and often cry'd out;

Wretch, thy own Strength will thee undo——

As if he had given great Advantages againſt himſelf to thoſe, who would diſturb and calumniate his Doctrines.

But of thoſe things, he has ſet out againſt Cuſtom, they are ſo proud, and do ſo glory [in them,] that they fear not to affirm, that all the Sayings of all the *Academicks* together, if they were collected into one Body, are not comparable to what *Chryſippus* has writ in diſparagement of the Senſes. Which is an evident ſign of the Ignorance or Self-love of the Speakers; but this indeed is true, that being afterwards deſirous to defend Cuſtom and the Senſes, he was inferior to himſelf, and the latter Treatiſe was much weaker than the former. So that he contradicts himſelf: for having always directed the propoſing of an Adverſaries Opinions, not with Approbation, but with a Demonſtration of their Falſity, he has ſhew'd himſelf more acute in oppoſing, than defending his own Doctrines; and having admoniſh'd others to take heed of contrary Arguments, as withdrawing Comprehenſion, he has been more ſedulous in framing ſuch Proofs, as take away Comprehenſion, than ſuch, as confirm it. And yet he plainly ſhews, that he himſelf fear'd this, writing thus in his fourth Book *of Lives*, *Repugnant Arguments, and Probabilities on the contrary ſide, are not [eaſily] to be propos'd, but with caution, leſt [the Hearers,] diſtracted by them, ſhould let go their Comprehenſions, not being able ſufficiently to apprehend their Solutions, but ſo weakly,*

weakly, that their Comprehenſions may eaſily be ſhaken. For *even thoſe, who have, according to cuſtom, pronounc'd both ſenſible and other things, quickly forego them, being diſtracted by* Megarian *Interrogatories, and others more numerous and forcible.* I would willingly therefore ask the *Stoicks*, whether they think theſe *Megarian* Interrogatories to be more forcible than thoſe, which *Chryſippus* has written in ſix Books againſt Cuſtom, or [rather] this ſhould be askt of *Chryſippus* himſelf. For obſerve, what he has written about the *Megarian* Reaſon, in his Book *Concerning the Uſe of Speech,* [where he ſays] thus: *Some ſuch things fell out in the Diſcourſe of* Stilpon *and* Menedemus: *for, whereas they were renown'd for Wiſdom, their Diſputing has turn'd to their Reproach, [their Arguments] being part clumſie, and the reſt evidently ſophiſtical.* And yet, good Sir, you fear, leſt thoſe Arguments, which you deride, and term the Diſgrace of their Propoſers, as having a manifeſt Faultineſs, ſhould divert ſome from Comprehenſion. And did not you your ſelf, writing ſo many Books againſt Cuſtom, in which you have added, whatever you could invent, ambitiouſly ſtriving to exceed *Arceſilaus*, expect, that you ſhould perplex ſome of your Readers? For neither does he uſe ſlender Arguments againſt Cuſtom, but, as if he were Pleading, he with ſome Paſſion [in himſelf] ſtirs up the *Affections* [of others,] telling [his Opponent,] that he talks fooliſhly, and labours in vain. And that he may leave no room to deny his ſpeaking of Contradictions, he has in his *Natural Poſitions* written thus. *It may be lawful for thoſe, who comprehend a thing, to argue on the contrary ſide, applying it to the Defence, which is in the thing it ſelf; and ſometimes, when they comprehend neither, to diſcourſe, what is [alledg'd] for either.* And having ſaid in his Book *Concerning the Uſe of Speech,* that we ought no more to uſe the Force of Reaſon, than of *Arms*, for ſuch things as are not fitting, he ſubjoyns this: *For they are to be* *ploy'd for the finding out of Truth, and for the* [illegible] *of them, and not for the contrary, though many have do it.* By the *Many*, perhaps he means thoſe, who withhold [their Aſſent.] But they indeed, comprehending neither, argue on both ſides, as may be perceiv'd: for thus only, or chiefly, does Truth afford a Comprehenſion of it ſelf. But you, who accuſe them, and do your ſelf write contrary to thoſe things, which you comprehend concerning Cuſtom, and exhort others with Approbation to do the ſame in unprofitable and hurtful things, confeſs, that uſing the Faculty of Diſputing, you, through Ambition act like a young Scholar.

They ſay, that a good Deed is the Command, and Sin the Prohibition of the Law; and therefore that the Law forbids the Wicked many things, but commands them nothing, becauſe they cannot do a good Deed. But who is ignorant, that he, who cannot do a good Deed, cannot alſo ſin? Therefore they make the Law to contradict it ſelf, commanding Men thoſe things, which they cannot perform, and forbidding them thoſe things, from which they cannot abſtain. For a Man, who cannot be temperate, cannot but act intemperately; and he, who cannot be wiſe, cannot but act fooliſhly. And they themſelves affirm, that thoſe who forbid, ſay indeed one thing, forbid another, and command another. For he, who ſays, *Thou ſhalt not ſteal*, [at the ſame time, that] he ſays this Word, *Thou ſhalt not ſteal*, forbids alſo to ſteal. The Law therefore forbids the Wicked nothing, unleſs it alſo commands them ſome thing. And they ſay, that the Phyſician [or Chirurgion] bids his Diſciple [or Apprentice] to cut and cauterize, without adding theſe Words, *Seaſonably and moderately*; and the Muſician commands his Scholar to play on the Harp, and Sing, without adding, *Aptly*, and *keeping Time*. Wherefore alſo they puniſh thoſe, who do theſe things unſkilfully and faultily; ſo that they were

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were commanded to do them well, and they have done them ill. If therefore a wiſe Man commands his Servant to ſay, or do ſomething, and puniſhes him for doing it unſeaſonably, or not as he ought, is it not manifeſt, that he commanded him to do a good Action, and not an indifferent one? But if wiſe Men command wicked ones indifferent things, what hinders, but the Commands of the Law may be alſo ſuch? Moreover the Inſtinct, call'd *Ὁρμὴ*, is, according to him, the Reaſon of a Man, commanding him to do ſomething, as he has written in his Book *Of the Law*. Is not therefore alſo the Averſion, call'd *Ἀφορμὴ*, a prohibiting Reaſon, and an Inclination, and that Inclination agreeable to Reaſon? Caution therefore is alſo Reaſon, prohibiting a wiſe Man: for to be cautious, is proper only to the Wiſe, and not to the Wicked. If then the Reaſon of a wiſe Man is one thing, and the Reaſon of the Law another, wiſe Men have caution contrary to the Law; but if the Law is nothing elſe, but the Reaſon of a wiſe Man, the Law is found to forbid wiſe Men the doing of thoſe things, of which they are cautious.

Chryſippus ſays, that nothing is profitable to the Wicked, that the Wicked have neither uſe nor need of any thing. Having ſaid this in his firſt Book *Of good Deeds*, he ſays again, that both Commodiouſneſs and Grace pertain to mean [or indifferent] things, none of which, according to them, is profitable. In the ſame place he affirms, that there is nothing proper, nothing convenient for a vitious Man: and conſequently, that there is nothing ſtrange [or unfitting] for a good Man, nothing familiar or fitting for a bad one; ſince, as Goodneſs is the ones, ſo Badneſs is the others. Why then does he break our Heads, writing particularly in every one of his Books, as well Natural as Moral, that as ſoon as we are born, we are appropriated to our ſelves, our

Offspring? And why in his first Book of [illegible] does he say, that the very Brutes [illegible] to the Necessity of their Young, are appropriated [illegible] to them, except Fishes, for their Young are nourished by themselves? For neither have they Sense, who have nothing sensible, nor they Appropriation, who have nothing proper: for Appropriation seems to be the Sense and Perception of what is proper. And this Opinion is consequent to their principal ones.

'Tis moreover manifest, that *Chrysippus*, though he has also written many things to the contrary, lays this for a Position, that there is not any Vice greater, or any Sin more grievous than another; nor any Virtue more excellent, or any good Deed better than another; so that he says in his first Book Of *Nature*, *As it well becomes* Jupiter *to glory in himself and his Life, to* [illegible] *himself, and (if we may so [a]) to bear up his Head,* [illegible] *have an high Conceit of himself, and speak big,* [illegible] *leads a Life worthy of lofty Speech; so the same* [illegible] *self-beseem all good Men, who are in nothing exceeded by Jupiter.* And yet himself, in his third Book Of Justice, says, that they, who make Pleasure the End, destroy Justice; but they, who say, 'tis only a Good, do not destroy it. These are his very Words: *For perhaps, if we leave this to Pleasure, that 'tis a Good, but not the End, and that Honesty is [one] of those things, which are eligible for themselves, we may preserve Justice,* [illegible] *a greater Good than Pleasure.* [illegible]

[illegible] *Error,* [illegible]

[illegible] *to Goodness and Honesty.* Now I [illegible] that in his Book [illegible] increase and [illegible] though *Chrysippus* [illegible]

Plato and others. But when he forbids the praising of every thing, that is done according to Vertue, he shews that there is some difference between good Deeds. Now he says thus in his Book *Concerning* Jupiter: *For of Works that are according to Vertue, the principal only are to be prais'd; for he would shew himself to be very frigid, that should undertake to praise and extol any Man for holding out the Finger stoutly, for abstaining continently from an old Woman, ready to drop into the Grave, and patiently bearing* [it *said,*] *that three are not exactly four.* What he says in his third Book *of the Gods*, is not unlike to this: *For I moreover think*, says he, *that the Praises of such things, though proceeding from Vertue, as are to abstain from an old Woman, who has one Foot in the Grave, and to endure the Stinging of a Wasp, would be very impertinent.* What other Reprehender of his Doctrines does this Man then expect? For if he, who praises such things, is frigid, he, who asserts every one of them to be a great, nay, a very great good Deed, is much more frigid. For if to bear the Stinging of a Wasp is equal to the being Valiant; and to abstain from an old Woman, who is near her End, to the being Temperate; there is, I think, no difference whether a vertuous Man is prais'd for these, or for those. Moreover, in his second Book of *Friendship*, teaching, that Friendships are not for every Fault to be dissolv'd, he has these very Expressions: *For 'tis meet that some* [*Faults*] *should be wholly pass'd by, others lightly reprehended, others more severely, and others deem'd worthy a total Dissolution* [*Of Friendship.*] And which is more, he says in the same Book, that we will converse with some more, and some less, so that some are more, and some less Friends; this Diversity extending very far; for some are worthy of such an Intimacy, others of a greater; and these will deserve to be so far trusted, those not so far, and the like. For what else has he done in these Places, but shewn, that there are

Diverſities, there are between theſe things? Moreover, in his Book Concerning *Honeſty*, to demonſtrate that only to be good, which is honeſt, he uſes theſe Words; *What is good, is eligible; what is eligible, is acceptable; what is acceptable, is laudable; and what is laudable, is honeſt.* And again, *What is good, is joyous; what is joyous, is venerable; what is venerable, is honeſt.* But theſe Speeches are repugnant to himſelf: for either all Good is commendable, and then the abſtaining chaſtly from an old Woman is alſo commendable; or all Good is neither venerable, nor joyous, but this Reaſon is at an end. Or may it perhaps be frigid in others, to praiſe any for ſuch things, and not ridiculous for him to rejoyce and glory in them?

Such indeed he frequently is; but in his Diſputations againſt others he takes not the leaſt care of ſpeaking things contrary and diſſonant to himſelf. For in his Books *Of Exhorting*, reprehending *Plato*, who ſaid, that to him, who has neither learnt, nor knows how to live, 'tis profitable not to live; he ſpeaks in this manner; *For this Speech is both repugnant to it ſelf, and not at all exhortatory: for firſt inſinuating, that 'tis beſt for us not to live, and in a ſort counſelling us to dye, he will excite us rather to any thing elſe, than to be Philoſophers: for neither can he, who does not live, philoſophize, nor he, who ſhall live long wickedly and ignorantly, become wiſe.* And going on, he ſays, that 'tis convenient for the Wicked alſo to continue in Life. And afterwards thus word for word; *For* [a] *Vertue, barely* [*taken*] *has nothing towards our living; ſo neither has Vice any thing to oblige us to depart.* Nor is it neceſſary to turn over other Books, that we may ſhew *Chryſippus's* Contradictions to himſelf; but in theſe ſame he ſometimes with Commendation brings forth this Saying of *Antiſthenes*, that either *Underſtanding*, or an *Halter*, *is to be provided*; as alſo that of *Tyrtæus*, [illegible]

Come nigh the Bounds of Virtue, or of Death.

Now what else will this ſhew, but that to wicked Men and Fools, not to live is more profitable than to live? And ſometimes correcting *Theognis*, he ſays, that the Poet ſhould not have written,

From Poverty to fly——————

But rather thus,

From Wickedneſs to fly, into the Deep
Throw thy ſelf, Cyrnus, *or from Rocks ſo ſteep.*

What therefore elſe does he ſeem to do, but to ſet down himſelf thoſe things and Doctrines, which, when others write them, he expunges; condemning indeed *Plato*, for ſhewing, that not to live, is better than to live vitiouſly and ignorantly; and yet with *Theognis* counſelling a Man to break his Neck, or throw himſelf into the Sea, that he may avoid Vice? For having prais'd *Antiſthenes* for directing Fools to an Halter, he again blames him, ſaying, that Vice has nothing that ſhould oblige us to depart out of *Life*.

Moreover, in his Books againſt the ſame *Plato*, concerning *Juſtice*, he immediately, at the very beginning, leaps into a Diſcourſe touching the Gods, and ſays, that *Cephalus* did not rightly avert Men from Injuſtice by the Fear of the Gods, and that he may eaſily be refuted, and that he affords to the contrary many Arguments and Probabilities, impugning the Diſcourſe concerning Divine Puniſhments, as nothing differing from the Tales of *Acco* and *Alphito*, [or *Raw-Head* and *Bloody-Bones*] with which Women are wont to frighten little Children from their unlucky Pranks. Having thus traduc'd *Plato*, he in other places again praiſes him, and often alledges this ſaying of *Euripides*,

Howe're you may deride it, there's a Jove,
With other Gods, who ſee Mens Faults, above.

And likewiſe in his firſt Book *of Juſtice* citing theſe Verſes of *Heſiod*,

Then Jove *from Heaven Puniſhments did ſend,*
And Plague and Famine brought them to their End.

He ſays, the Gods do theſe things, that, the Wicked being puniſht, others, admoniſht by theſe *Examples*, may leſs dare to attempt the doing of ſuch things.

Again, in his Book *of Juſtice*, ſubjoyning, that 'tis poſſible for thoſe, who make Pleaſure a Good, but not the End, to preſerve alſo Juſtice, he ſaid in expreſs Terms: *For perhaps if we leave this to Pleaſure, that 'tis a Good, but not the End, and that Honeſty is one of thoſe things which are eligible for themſelves, we may preſerve Juſtice, making Honeſt and Juſt a greater Good than Pleaſure.* So much [he ſays] in this Place concerning Pleaſure. But in his Book againſt *Plato*, accuſing him for ſeeming to make Health a Good, he ſays, that not only *Juſtice, but alſo Magnanimity, Temperance, and all the other Vertues will be taken away, if we make Pleaſure, Health, or any thing elſe which is not Honeſt, to be a Good.* What therefore is to be ſaid for *Plato*, we have elſewhere written againſt him. But here his contradicting himſelf is manifeſt, when he ſays in one place, that if a Man ſuppoſe with Honeſty, Pleaſure alſo to be a Good, Juſtice is preſerved; and in another, accuſes thoſe who make any thing beſides Honeſty to be a Good, of taking away all the Vertues. But that he may not leave [any means of making] an Apology for his Contradictions, writing against *Ariſtotle Concerning Juſtice*, he affirms him not to have ſpoken rightly, when he ſaid, that Pleaſure being [made] the End, Juſtice is taken away, and together with Juſtice, every one alſo of the other Vertues. For that Juſtice will indeed be taken away; but that there is nothing to hinder the other Vertues from remaining, and being, though not eligible for themſelves, yet good, and Vertues. Then he reckons up every one of them by Name. But ['twill be] better to lay down his own Words. *For Pleaſure*, ſays he, *appearing, according to this Diſcourſe* [*to be made*] *the End, yet all this ſeems not to me to be contain'd in it. Wherefore we muſt ſay, that neither any of the Vertues is eligible, nor any of the Vices to be avoided for it ſelf; but that all theſe things are to be refer'd to the propoſed Scope. Yet nothing, according to their Opinion, will hinder, but that Fortitude, Prudence, Continence, and Patience, may be good, and their Contraries to be avoided.* Has there ever then been any Man more peeviſh in his Diſputes than he, who has blam'd two of the principal Philoſophers; the one for taking away all Vertue, by not making that only to be good, which is honeſt; and the other, for not thinking all the Vertues, except Juſtice, to be preſerv'd, though Pleaſure is [made] the End. For 'tis a wonderful Licentiouſneſs, that diſcourſing of the ſame Matters, he ſhould, [when] accuſing *Plato*, take away again thoſe very things, which himſelf ſets down, [when] reprehending *Ariſtotle*. Moreover, in his *Demonſtrations concerning Juſtice*, he ſays expreſly, that every good *Deed* is both a lawful Action, and a juſt Operation; but every thing which is done according to Continence, Patience, Prudence, or Fortitude, is a good Deed, and therefore alſo a juſt Operation. Why then does he not alſo leave Juſtice to them, to whom he leaves Prudence, Fortitude, and Continence; ſince whatever they do well according to the ſaid Vertue, they do alſo juſtly?

Moreover, *Plato* having ſaid, that Injuſtice, as being the Corruption and Sedition of the Soul, loſes not its Power even in thoſe, who have it within them; but ſets the wicked Man againſt himſelf, and moleſts, and diſturbs him: *Chryſippus* blaming this affirms, that 'tis abſurdly ſaid, a Man injures himſelf: for that Injuſtice is to another, and not to ones ſelf. But forgetting this, he again ſays in his *Demonſtrations concerning Juſtice*, that the unjuſt Man is injur'd by himſelf, and injures himſelf, when he injures another, becoming to himſelf the Cauſe of Tranſgreſſing, and undeſervedly hurting himſelf. In his Books indeed againſt *Plato* concerning Juſtice, Injuſtice is not ſaid againſt ones ſelf, but againſt another, he has theſe Words. *For thoſe who are particularly unjuſt conſiſt of many ſuch, ſpeaking contrary things; Injuſtice alſo being beſides ſo taken, as to be in many, ſo affected to one towards another; and no ſuch thing extending to one alone, but inſomuch as he is affected towards his Neighbour.* But in his *Demonſtrations* he has ſuch Diſcourſes, as theſe, concerning the unjuſt Man's being injurious alſo to himſelf. *The Law forbids the being any way the Author* [*or Cauſe*] *of Tranſgreſſion; and to act unjuſtly will be a Tranſgreſſion. He therefore, who is to himſelf the Author* [*or Cauſe*] *of acting unjuſtly, tranſgreſſes againſt himſelf. Now he that tranſgreſſes againſt any one, alſo injures him; therefore he, who is injurious to any one whomſoever, is injurious alſo to himſelf. Again, Sin is an Hurt, and every one, who ſins, ſins againſt himſelf; every one therefore, who ſins, hurts himſelf undeſervedly, and if ſo, is alſo unjuſt to himſelf.* And farther thus: *He, who is hurt by another, hurts himſelf, and that undeſervedly. Now that is to be unjuſt. Every one therefore, that is injur'd, by whomſoever it is, is unjuſt alſo to himſelf.* He ſays, that the Doctrine concerning Good and Evil, which himſelf introduces and approves, is moſt agreeable to Life, and does moſt of all reach the inbred Prenotions; for this he has affirm'd in his third Book of *Exhortations*. But in his firſt Book, he ſays, that this

Doctrine takes a Man off from all other things, as being nothing to us, nor co-operating any thing towards Felicity. See now, how conſonant he is to himſelf, when he aſſerts [a Doctrine,] which takes us off from Life, Health, Indolence, and Integrity of the Senſes, and ſays, that thoſe things, we beg of the Gods, are nothing to us, to be moſt agreeable to Life, and to the common Anticipations. But that there may be no Denial of his ſpeaking Contradictions, in his third Book *Of Juſtice* he has ſaid thus: *Wherefore alſo for the Excellence of their Greatneſs and Beauty, we ſeem to ſpeak things like to Fictions, and not according to Man or Human Nature.* Is it then poſſible that any one can more plainly confeſs his ſpeaking things contrary to himſelf, than this Man does, who affirms thoſe things, which he ſays for their Excellency ſeem to be Fictions, and to be ſpoken above Man, and Human Nature, to be agreeable to Life, and moſt of all to reach the inbred Prenotions?

In every one of his Natural and Ethical Books, he aſſerts Vice to be the very Eſſence of Unhappineſs, writing and contending, that to live viciouſly is the ſame thing as to live unhappily. But in his third Book *Of Nature*, having ſaid, that 'tis profitable for a Fool to live, rather than to dy, though he is never to become Wiſe, he ſubjoyns: *For ſuch are good things to Men, that evil things do in ſome ſort precede indifferent ones.* I let paſs therefore, that having elſewhere ſaid, Nothing is profitable to Fools, he here ſays, that to live fooliſhly is profitable to them. Now thoſe things being by them called indifferent, which are neither bad nor good, when he ſays, that bad things precede them, he ſays nothing elſe, but that evil things precede thoſe, that are not evil; and that to be unhappy is more profitable than not to be Unhappy; and if ſo, he eſteems not to be unhappy to be more unprofitable; and if more unprofitable, more hurtful than to be unhappy. Deſiring therefore to mitigate this Abſurdity, he adds concerning Evils; But it are these *Evils* thus generally, [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] *continues to live, although yet shall be Fools.* Each therefore he says, that Vice, and things participating of Vice are Evil; and that nothing else [is so]. Now Vice is something pernicious, or rather depraved Reason. For those therefore, who are Fools, to live with Foolishness, is nothing else but to live with Vice; thence to live being Fools, is to live being unhappy. In what then doth this precede indifferent things? For for anyone [illegible] to be happy, does by Nature precede to be unhappy. But neither, *say they*, does *Chrysippus* altogether think that the remaining in Life is to be reckoned amongst good things, or the going out of it amongst bad; but both of them amongst indifferent ones according to Nature. Wherefore also it sometimes becomes fitting for the Happy to make themselves away, and again for the Unhappy to continue in Life. Now what greater Repugnance can there be than this, in the Choice and avoiding of Things, if it be fitting for those, who are in the highest degree happy, to abandon their good things that are present, for the want of one indifferent thing? And yet they esteem none of the indifferent things either desirable, or to be avoided, but only Good desirable, and Evil only to be avoided. So that it comes to pass according to them, that the Reasonings about Actions are placed neither upon things desirable, nor upon things avoidable; but that aiming at other things, which they neither shun nor choose, they live and dye according to them.

Chrysippus confesses, that good things are wholly different from bad, and it must of necessity be so, if these make them, with whom they are present, miserable to the very utmost Extent, and those [render them with whom they are] in the highest degree happy. Now he says, that good and evil things are sensible, writing thus in the first Book of his Ethics: That good and evil things are [illegible] *tible by Senſe, we are by theſe* [*Reaſons*] *forc'd to ſay: for not only the Paſſions with their Species, as Sorrow, Fear, and ſuch others, are ſenſible; but we may alſo have a Senſe of Theft, Adultery, and the like, and generally of Folly, Cowardiſe, and other Vices not a few,: And again, not only of Joy, Beneficences, and many other Dependencies on good Deeds, but alſo of Prudence, Fortitude, and the other Vertues.* Let us paſs by the other Abſurdities of theſe things; but that they are repugnant to thoſe [things, which are deliver'd by him] concerning a wiſe Man, that knows nothing of his being ſo, who does not confeſs? For Good, when preſent, being ſenſible, and having a great difference from Evil, is it not moſt abſurd, that he, who is of Bad become Good, ſhould be ignorant of it, and not perceive Vertue when preſent, but think, that Vice is ſtill within him? For either none, who has all Vertues, can be ignorant, and doubt [of his having them;] or the Difference of Vertue from Vice, of Happineſs from Miſery, and of a moſt honeſt Life from a moſt ſhameful one, is little, and altogether difficult to be diſcern'd, if he, who poſſeſſes the one for the other, does not perceive it.

[He has written] one Volume *of Lives,* [divided into] four Books: in the fourth of theſe, he ſays, that a wiſe Man meddles with no Buſineſs but his own, and is imploy'd about his own Affairs. His Words are theſe: *For I am of Opinion, that a prudent Man ſhuns Affairs, meddles little, and at the ſame time minds his own Occaſions, civil Perſons being both Minders of their own Affairs, and Medlers with little* [*elſe.*] He has ſaid almoſt the ſame in his Book *Of things eligible for themſelves,* in theſe very Words: *For indeed a quiet Life ſeems to have* [*in it*] *a certain Freedom from Danger and Security, though there are not very many, who can comprehend it.* 'Tis manifeſt, that he does not much diſſent from *Epicurus,* who takes away Providence, that he may leave God in Repoſe. For the ſame *Chryſippus* in his firſt Book *Of Lives* ſays, That a wiſe Man willingly takes upon him a Kingdom, making his Profit by it, and if he cannot reign himſelf, will dwell with a King, and go with him to the Wars, [though he be] ſuch an one as was *Idanthyrſus* the *Scythian*, or *Leucon* the *Pontick*. [But] I will [here] alſo ſet down his very Diſcourſe, that we may ſee, whether, as from the Treble and the Baſs Strings there ariſes a Symphony in Muſick, ſo the Life of a Man, who chooſes Quietneſs, and Medling with little, accords with him, who upon any neceſſity rides along with the *Scythians*, and manages the Affairs of the Tyrants in the *Boſphorus*: *For*, ſays he, *that* [*a wiſe Man*] *will both go to the Wars, and live with Potentates, we will again conſider this hereafter; ſome indeed upon the like Arguments, not ſo much as ſuſpecting theſe things, and we for juſtifiable Reaſons admitting them.* And a little after: *Not only with ſuch, who have proceeded well, and are become* [*Proficients*] *in diſcipline and* [*good*] *Manners, as with* Leucon *and* Idanthyrſus.

Some there are, who blame *Calliſthenes* for failing to *Alexander*, in hopes to obtain the Re-building of *Olynthus*, as *Ariſtotle* [had procur'd that] of *Stagira*; and commend *Ephorus*, *Xenocrates*, and *Menedemus*, who refuſed *Alexander*. But *Chryſippus* thruſts [his] wiſe Man Head forwards for the ſake of Gain, as far as *Panticapæum*, and the Deſert of the *Scythians*. And that he does this for the ſake of Profit and Gain, he has ſhew'd before, ſuppoſing three ways of gaining moſt ſuitable for a wiſe Man: the *firſt* by a Kingdom, the ſecond by his Friends, and the third, beſides theſe, by [teaching of] Literature. And yet he frequently, even tires us with his Praiſes of this Saying:

What need have Men of more, than theſe two things?

But in his Books *Of Nature*, he ſays, that a wiſe Man, if he has loſt the greateſt Wealth [imaginable, values it ſo little, that he] ſeems to have loſt [but] a ſingle Groat. But having there thus elevated and puft him up, he again here throws him down to Mercinarineſs, and [teaching of] Sophiſtry; nay, even to asking and receiving beforehand, ſometimes at the very entrance of his Scholar, and otherwhiles after ſome time paſt; which he ſays indeed to be the more civil, but to receive before hand the more ſure, Delay being ſubject to ſuſtain Injuries. Now he ſays thus: *All, who are well advis'd, do not require their Salary in the ſame manner, but differently: a Multitude of them, as Opportunity offers, not promiſing to make* [*their Scholars*] *good Men, and that within a Year; but to do this, as far as in them lies, within a time agreed on.* And again, going on, [he ſays:] *He will know his Opportunity, whether he ought to receive his Recompence preſently at the very Entrance, (as many have done) or to give them Time, this Manner being more liable to Injuries, but withal, ſeeming the more courteous.* And how is the wiſe Man a Contemner of Wealth, who upon a Contract delivers Vertue for Money, and if he has not deliver'd it, yet requires his Reward, as having done what is in him? Or how is he above being endamaged, when he is ſo cautious, leſt he be wrong'd of his Recompence? For no Man is wrong'd, who is not endamag'd. Therefore, though he has elſewhere aſſerted, that a wiſe Man cannot be injur'd, he here ſays, that this manner [of Dealing] is liable to Injury.

In his Book *Of a Common-weal* he ſays, that his Citizens will neither act, nor prepare any thing for the ſake of Pleaſure, and praiſes *Euripides* for having utter'd this Sentence:

What need have Men of more, than these two things,
The Fruits of Ceres, *and Thirst-quenching Springs?*

And yet a little after this, going on, he commends *Diogenes*, who forc'd his Nature to paſs from himſelf in publick, and ſaid to thoſe, that were preſent, *I wiſh I could in the ſame manner drive Hunger alſo out of my Belly.* What Reaſon then is there to praiſe in the ſame Books, him who rejects all Pleaſure, and withal him, who for the ſake of Pleaſure does ſuch things, and proceeds to ſuch a Degree of Filthineſs? Moreover, having in his Books of Nature written, that Nature has produced many Creatures for the Sake of Beauty, delighting in Pulchritude, and pleaſing her ſelf with Variety, and having added a moſt abſurd Expreſſion, that the Peacock was made for the ſake of his Tail, and for the Beauty of it: he has in his Treatiſe of a Commonweal ſharply reprehended thoſe, who breed Peacocks and Nightingales, as if he were making Laws contrary to the Law-giver of the World, and deriding Nature for pleaſing her ſelf in the Beauty [and Production] of ſuch Animals, to which a wiſe Man would not give a Place in his City. For how can it but be abſurd to blame thoſe, who nouriſh theſe Creatures, if he commends Providence, [which created them?] In his Fifth Book of Nature, having ſaid, that Bugs profitably waken us out of our Sleep, that Mice make us cautious not to lay up every thing negligently, and that 'tis probable, that Nature, rejoycing in Variety, takes delight in the Production of fair Creatures, he adds theſe Words: *The Evidence of this is chiefly ſhewn in the Peacock's Tail; for here ſhe manifeſts, that this Animal was made for the ſake of his Tail, and not the contrary: ſo the Male being made, the Female follow'd.* In his Book of a Commonweal, having ſaid, that we are ready to paint even Dunghills,

take

little after he adds, that ſome beautifie their Corn-fields with Vines, climbing up Trees, and Myrtles ſet in rows, and keep Peacocks, Doves, and Partridges, that they may [hear them] cry and cooe, and Nightingales [to hear them ſing.] Now I would gladly ask him, what he thinks of Bees and Honey. For 'twas of Conſequence, that he, who ſaid, Bugs were created profitably, ſhould alſo ſay, that Bees were created unprofitably. But if he allows theſe a Place in his City, why does he drive away his Citizens from things, that are pleaſing, and delight the Ear? To be brief, as he would be very abſurd, who ſhould blame the Gueſts for eating Sweetmeats, and other Delicacies, and drinking of Wine; and at the ſame time commend him, who invited them, and prepar'd ſuch things for them: ſo he, that praiſes Providence, which has afforded Fiſhes, Birds, Honey, and Wine, and at the ſame time finds fault with thoſe, who reject not theſe things, nor content themſelves with

> *The Fruits of* Ceres, *and thirſt-quenching Springs,*

Which are preſent, and ſufficient to nouriſh us, ſeems to make no Scruple of ſpeaking things contradictory to himſelf.

Moreover, having ſaid in his Book *of Exhortations*, that the having carnal Commerce with our Mothers, Daughters, or Siſters, the Eating any ſort of Food, and the Going from a [*Womans*] Bed, or a dead Carcaſe to the Temple, have been without reaſon blam'd, he affirms, that we ought for theſe things to have a Regard to the brute Beaſts, and from what is done by them conclude, that none of theſe is abſurd, or contrary to Nature. For that the Compariſons of other *Animals* are fitly made for this Purpoſe, [to ſhew,] that neither their Coupling, Bringing forth, nor dying in the T ties, pollutes the Divinity. Yet he again in his Fifth book *Of Nature* ſays, that *Heſiod* rightly forbids the Piſſing into Rivers and Fountains; and that we ſhould rather abſtain from making Water againſt any Altar, or Statue of the Gods; and that 'tis not to be admitted for an Argument, that Dogs, Aſſes, and young Children do it, who have no Diſcretion or Conſideration of ſuch things. 'Tis therefore abſurd to ſay in one place, that the Savage Example of irrational Animals is fit [to be conſider'd,] and in another, that 'tis unreaſonable [to alledge it.]

To give a Solution to the Inclinations, when a Man ſeems to be neceſſitated by exterior Cauſes, ſome Philoſophers place in the principal Faculty of the Soul, a certain adventitious Motion, which is chiefly manifeſt in dubious things, compar'd with one another. For when of two things, altogether alike, and of equal Importance, there is a Neceſſity to chooſe the one, there being no Cauſe inclining to either, for that neither of them differs from the other, this adventitious Power of the Soul, ſeizing on its Inclination, determines the Doubt. *Chryſippus* diſcourſing againſt theſe Men, as offering Violence to Nature by the contrary, in many [places] alledges the Dy and the Ballance, and ſeveral [other] things, which cannot fall, or bend, either one way or other, without ſome Cauſe or Difference, either wholly within them, or coming to them from without: For that what is cauſeleſs, is wholly inſubſiſtent, as alſo what is fortuitous; and that in thoſe Motions, deviſ'd by ſome, and call'd Adventitious, there occur [certain] obſcure Cauſes, which, being conceal'd from us, move our Inclinations to one ſide or other. Theſe are ſome of thoſe things which are moſt evidently known to have been frequently ſaid by him; but what he has ſaid contrary to this, not lying ſo expos'd to every one's ſight, I will ſet down in his own Words. For in his

Book *Of Judging*, having ſuppos'd two, running [*for a* Wager,] to have equally finiſh'd their Race together, he examines what is fit for the Judge [in this Caſe] to do. *Whether*, ſays he, *may the Judge give the Palm to which of them he will, although they both happen to be ſo familiar to him, that he would in ſome ſort rather beſtow on them ſomewhat of his own, [than deprive them of what is theirs:] ſo that, the Palm being common to both, may be, as if Lots had been caſt, give it to either, according to the Inclination, he chances to have? I ſay the Inclination, he chances to have, ſuch, as when, two Groats, every way elſe alike, being preſented to us, we incline to one of them, and take it.* And in his ſixth Book *Of Duties*, having ſaid, that there are ſome things not worthy of much Study or Attention, he thinks we ought, as if we had caſt Lots, to commit the Choice of thoſe things to the caſual Inclination of the Mind: *As if*, ſays he, *of thoſe, who try the ſame two Groats, ſome ſhould ſay this, and others that to be good, and there being no more Cauſe for the taking of one than the other, we ſhould leave off making any farther Enquiry into their Value, and take that, which chances [to come firſt to hand.]* In another place he ſays, that caſting Lots for this, we ſhall not [perhaps] take the worſt of them. For in theſe Paſſages, the Caſting of Lots, and the caſual Inclining of the Mind, which is without any Cauſe, introduces the [Choice, or] Taking of Indifferent things.

In his third Book *Of Logick*, having ſaid, that *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, and [thoſe, who came] after them, even to *Polemon* and *Strato*, but eſpecially *Socrates*, diligently ſtudy'd Logick, and having cry'd out, that one would even chooſe to err with theſe, ſuch and ſo great Men, he brings in theſe Words: *For if they had ſpoken of theſe things curſorily, one might perhaps have cavil'd at this place; but having treated of Logick, as one of the greateſt and moſt neceſſary Faculties, 'tis not probable, they ſhould have been ſo* *are miſtaken, having been ſuch as all* [*the Parts of Philoſophy*] *as we eſteem them.* Why then might ſome one ſay to him, do you never ceaſe to oppoſe and argue againſt ſuch and ſo great Men, as if you thought them to erre in the principal and greateſt Matters? For ['tis not probable] that they writ ſeriouſly of Logick, and [only] tranſitorily, and in ſport, of the Beginning, End, Gods and Juſtice; in which you affirm their Diſcourſe to be blind, and contradictory to it ſelf, and to have a thouſand other faults.

In one place he ſays, that [the Vice, call'd by the Greeks] 'Επιχαιρεκακία, or the rejoycing at other Mens Harms has no Being, ſince no good Man ever rejoyc'd at anothers Evils. But in his ſecond Book *Of Good*, having declar'd Envy to be a Sorrow at other Mens Good, to wit, in ſuch as deſire the Depreſſion of their Neighbours, that themſelves may excel, he joyns to it the Rejoycing at other Mens Harms, [ſaying thus:] *To this is contiguous the Rejoycing at other Mens Harms, in ſuch, as for like Cauſes deſire to have their Neighbours low; but in thoſe, that are turn'd according to other natural Motions, is engender'd Mercy.* For he manifeſtly admits the Joy at other Mens Harms to be ſubſiſtent, as well as Envy and Mercy, though in other places he affirms it to have no ſubſiſtence; as [he does] alſo the Hatred of Wickedneſs, and the Deſire of diſhoneſt Gain.

Having in many places ſaid, that thoſe, who have a long time been happy, are nothing more ſo, but equally, and in like manner with thoſe, who have but a moment been Partakers of Felicity, he has again in many other places affirm'd, that 'tis not fit to ſtretch out ſo much as a Finger for [the obtaining] momentary Prudence, which flies away like a Flaſh of Lightning. 'Twill be ſufficient to ſet down, what is to this purpoſe written by him in his ſixth Book *Of Moral Queſtions.* For having ſaid, that every good thing does neither equally cauſe Joy, nor every good Deed [the like] Glorying, he ſubjoyns theſe [Words:] *For if a Man ſhould be to have Wiſdom only for a Moment of Time, or the laſt Minute of Life, he ought not ſo much as to ſtretch out his Finger for ſuch a ſhort-liv'd Prudence, though Men are neither more happy for being longer ſo, nor is eternal Felicity more eligible than that, which laſts but a Moment.* If he had indeed held Prudence to be a Good, producing Felicity, as *Epicurus* thought, one ſhould have blam'd only the Abſurdity and the Paradoxicalneſs of this Opinion; but ſince Prudence of it ſelf is not another thing [differing] from Felicity, but Felicity it ſelf; how is it not a Contradiction to ſay, that momentary Happineſs is equally deſirable with eternal, and yet that momentary Happineſs is nothing worth?

Chryſippus alſo ſays, that the Vertues follow one another, and that not only he, who has one, has all, but alſo that he, who acts according to any one of them, acts according to them all; and he affirms, that there is not any Man perfect, who is not poſſeſs'd of all the Vertues, nor any Action perfect, to the doing of which all the Vertues do not concur. But yet in his ſixth Book *Of Moral Queſtions* he ſays, that a good Man does not always act valiantly, nor a vicious Man always fearfully; for certain Objects being preſented to the Fancies, the one muſt perſiſt in his Judgments, and the other depart from them: and he ſays, that 'tis not probable, a wicked Man ſhould be always indulging his Luſt. If then to act valiantly is the ſame thing as to uſe Fortitude, and to act timorouſly, as to yield to Fear, they [cannot but] ſpeak Contradictions, who ſay, that he, who is poſſeſs'd [of either Vertue or Vice] acts at the ſame time according to all the Vertues, or [all the] Vices, and yet that a valiant Man does not always act valiantly, nor a vicious Man timorouſly.

He defines Rhetorick to be an Art concerning the Ornament, and the ordering of a Diſcourſe, that is pronounced. And farther in his firſt Book he has written thus: *And I am of Opinion, that there ought not only Regard to be had to a liberal and ſimple adorning of Words; but alſo* [*that Care is to be taken*] *for proper Geſtures, according to the interjected Stops of the Voice, and the Compoſitions of the Countenance and Hands.* Yet he, who is in this place ſo curious and exact, again in the ſame Book, ſpeaking of the Colliſion of the Vowels, ſays: *We ought not only to let theſe things paſs, minding* [*ſomething, that is*] *better, but alſo* [*to neglect*] *certain Obſcurities and Defects, nay, Solœciſms alſo, of which others,* [*and thoſe*] *not a few, would be aſhamed.* Certainly in one place to allow thoſe, who would ſpeak eloquently, [ſo carefully] to diſpoſe their Speech, [as even] to [obſerve] a *Decorum* [in the very Compoſition] of their Mouth and Hands; and in another place [to forbid] the taking Care of Defects and Obſcurities, and the being aſham'd even of committing Solœciſms, is the Property of a Man, who [little cares what he ſays, but raſhly] utters, whatever comes [firſt] into [his Mouth.]

Moreover in his [*Natural Poſitions*] having warn'd us [not to trouble our ſelves, but] to be at quiet about ſuch things, as require Experience and Hiſtory, he ſays: *Let us not think after the ſame manner with* Plato, *that liquid Nouriſhment is convey'd to the Lungs, and dry to the Stomach, nor let us embrace other Errors, like to theſe.* Now 'tis my Opinion, that to reprehend others, and then not to keep ones ſelf from falling into thoſe things, which one has reprehended, is the greateſt of Contradictions, and [illegible] [illegible] of Hipparchus he ſays, that the Connexions [made] by the ten [principal] Axioms, amount to above a Million in Number, having neither ſearch'd diligently into it by himſelf, nor ſought out the Truth by Men experienced in it. [illegible] had as witneſſes for him, the moſt renowned of the Phyſicians, *Hippocrates*, *Philiſtion*, and *Dioxippus* the Diſciple of *Hippocrates*, and of the Poets, *Euripides*, *Alcæus*, *Eupolis*, and *Eratoſthenes*, who [all] ſay, that the Drink paſſes through the Lungs. But all the Arithmeticians refel *Chryſippus*, amongſt whom alſo is *Hipparchus*, demonſtrating, that the Error of his Computation is very great; if indeed the Affirmative makes of the connext Axioms one hundred and three thouſand forty and nine, and the Negative three hundred and ten thouſand, nine hundred fifty and two.

Some of the Ancients have ſaid, that the ſame befel *Zeno*, which befals him, who has *ſowre* Wine, which he can ſell neither for Vinegar nor Wine; for his *Precedency*, as he call'd it, cannot be diſpos'd of, either as good, or indifferent. But *Chryſippus* has made the Matter yet far more intricate, for he ſometimes ſays, that they are mad, who make no account of Riches, Health, Freedom from Pain, and Integrity of the Body, nor take any Care to attain them, and having cited that Sentence of *Heſiod*,

> *Work hard, O God-born* Perſes——

He crys out, that 'twould be a madneſs to adviſe the contrary, and ſay,

> *Work not, O God-born Perſes*——

And in his Book *Of Lives* he affirms, that a wiſe Man will for the ſake of Gain live with Kings, and teach for Money, receiving from ſome of his Scholars his Reward before hand, and making Contracts with others of them; and in his ſeventh Book *Of Duty* he ſays, that he will [not ſcruple to] turn his Heels thrice over his Head, if for ſo doing he may have a Talent. In his firſt Book *Of Good Things*, he yields and grants to thoſe that deſire it, to call theſe *Precedents* Good, and their Contraries Evil, in theſe very Words: *If any one will, according to theſe Permutations, call one thing good to himſelf, and another evil, having a regard to theſe things, and not wandring elſewhere, not failing in the Underſtanding of the things ſignify'd, let him in the reſt accommodate himſelf to Cuſtom for the Denominations.* Having thus in this place ſet his *Precedents* ſo near, and mixt it with Good, he again ſays, that none of theſe things belongs at all to us, but that Reaſon withdraws and averts us from all ſuch things: for he has written thus in his firſt Book *Of Exhortations*. And in his third Book *Of Nature* he ſays, that ſome eſteem thoſe happy who reign, and are rich: which is all one, as if thoſe ſhould be reputed happy, who make Water in golden Chamber-pots, and wear golden Fringes. But to a good Man the Loſing of his whole Eſtate is but as the loſing of one Groat, and the being ſick no more, than if he had ſtumbled. Wherefore he has not fill'd Virtue only, but Providence alſo, with theſe Contradictions. For Virtue would ſeem to the utmoſt degree ſordid and fooliſh, if it ſhould buſie it ſelf about ſuch Matters, and enjoyn a wiſe Man for their ſakes to ſail to *Boſphorus*, or tumble with his Heels over his Head. And *Jupiter* would be very ridiculous to be ſtil'd *Cteſius*, *Epicarpius* and *Charidotes*, becauſe forſooth he gives the Wicked golden Chamber-pots, and golden Fringes, and the Good ſuch things, as are hardly worth a Groat, when through *Jupiter's* Providence they become rich. And yet much more ridiculous is *Apollo*, if he ſits to give Oracles concerning golden Fringes and Chamber-pots, and the recovering of a Stumble. But they make this Repugnancy yet more evident by their Demonſtration: For they ſay, that what may be uſ'd both well and ill, the ſame is neither good nor bad; but Fools make an Ill uſe of Riches, Health, and Strength of Body: therefore none of theſe is good. If therefore God gives not Vertue to Men, but Honeſty is eligible of it ſelf, and yet beſtows on them Riches and Health without Vertue, he confers them not on thoſe, who will uſe them well, but ill, that is, hurtfully, ſhamefully, and perniciouſly. Now, if the Gods indeed can beſtow Vertue, and do not, they are not good; but if they cannot make Men good, neither can they help them. Now [to ſay] that the Gods judge thoſe, who are otherwiſe made good, according to Vertue and Strength, is nothing [to the purpoſe;] for good Men alſo judge evil ones according to Vertue and Strength; ſo that they do no more aid Men, than they are aided by them.

Now *Chryſippus* neither profeſſes himſelf to be vertuous, nor any one of his Diſciples and Teachers. What then do they think of others, but thoſe things which they ſay? That they are mad, Fools, impious, Tranſgreſſors of the Laws, and in the utmoſt degree of Miſery and Unhappineſs? And yet they ſay, that our Affairs, (though we act thus miſerably,) are govern'd by the Providence of the Gods. Now if the Gods, changing [their Mind,] ſhould deſire to hurt, afflict, overthrow, and quite cruſh us, they could not put us in a worſe Condition, than we already are; as *Chryſippus* demonſtrates, that Life can neither admit an Exceſs of Miſery, nor Unhappineſs; ſo that if it had a Voice, it would pronounce theſe Words of *Hercules*:

I am ſo full of Miſeries, there's
No Place to ſtow more in ——

Now who can imagine any *Aſſertions* more repugnant to one another, than that of *Chryſippus* concerning the Gods, and that concerning Men; when he ſays, the Gods do in the beſt manner poſſible provide for Men; and yet Men are in the worſt Condition imaginable?

Some of the *Pythagoreans* blame him for having in his Book *Of Juſtice* written concerning Cocks, that they are uſefully procreated, becauſe they awaken us from our Sleep, hunt out Scorpions, and animate us to Battle, breeding in us a certain Emulation to ſhew Courage; and yet that we muſt eat them, leſt the Number of Chickens ſhould be greater than were expedient. But he ſo derides thoſe, who blame him for this, that he has written thus concerning *Jupiter* the Saviour, Creator, and Father of Juſtice, Equity and Peace, in his third Book *Of the Gods*. *As Cities, overcharg'd* [*with too great a Number of Citizens,*] *ſend forth Colonies into other Places, and make war upon ſome; ſo does God give the Beginnings of Corruption.* And he brings in *Euripides* for a Witneſs with others, who ſay, that the *Trojan* War was caus'd by the Gods, to exhauſt the Multitude of Men.

But letting paſs their other Abſurdities, (for our Deſign is not to enquire, what they have ſaid amiſs, but only what they have ſaid differently to themſelves) conſider, how he always attributes to the Gods ſpecious and kind Appellations; but at the ſame time cruel, barbarous and *Galatian* Deeds. For thoſe ſo great Slaughters and Carnages, as were the Productions of the *Trojan* War, and again of the *Median* and *Peloponneſian* War, were no way like to Colonies, unleſs theſe Men know of ſome Cities, built in Hell, and under the Earth. But *Chryſippus* makes God like to *Deiotarus*, the *Galatian* King, who having many Sons, and being deſirous to leave his Kingdom and Houſe to one of them, killed all the reſt: as he that cuts and prunes away all the other Branches from the Vine, that one, which he leaves remaining, may grow ſtrong and great. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Puppies, while they are yet blind, [illegible]

[illegible]

piter, having not only suffer'd and seen Men to grow up, but having also both created and increas'd them, plagues them [afterwards,] deviſing Occaſions of their Deſtruction and Corruption ; [whereas] he ſhould [rather] not have given [them] any Cauſes and Beginnings of Generation.

However this is but a ſmall matter ; but that, [which follows,] is greater. For there is no War amongſt Men without Vice. But ſometimes [Luxury, or] the Love of Pleaſure, ſometimes [Avarice, or] or the Love of Money, and ſometimes [Ambition, or] the *Love* of Glory and Rule is the Cauſe of it. If therefore God is the Author of Wars, [he muſt be] alſo of Sins, provoking and perverting Men. And yet himſelf ſays in his Treatiſe *Of Judgment*, and his ſecond Book *Of the Gods*, that 'tis no way rational to ſay, that the Divinity is in any reſpect the Cauſe of Diſhoneſty. For as the Law can no way be the Cauſe of tranſgreſſing, ſo neither can the Gods of being impious ; therefore neither is it rational, that they ſhould be the Cauſes of any thing that is filthy. What therefore can be more filthy to Men, than the mutual Killing of one another ; to which *Chryſippus* ſays, that God gives Beginnings. But ſome one perhaps will ſay, that he elſewhere praiſes *Euripides* for ſaying,

If Gods do aught diſhoneſt, they're no Gods ;

And again ;

'Tis a moſt eaſie thing t'accuſe the Gods ;

As if we were now doing any thing elſe, than ſetting down ſuch Words and Sentences of his as are repugnant to one another. Yet that very thing which is now prais'd, may be objected, not once or twice, or thrice, but even ten thouſand times againſt *Chryſippus*:

'Tis a moſt eaſie thing t'accuſe the Gods.

For firſt having in his Book *Of Nature* compar'd the Eternity of Motion to a Drink, made of divers Species, confuſedly mixt together, turning and jumbling the things, that are made, ſome this way, others that way, he goes on thus: *Now the Adminiſtration of the Univerſe proceeding in this manner, 'tis of Neceſſity, we ſhould be in the Condition we are, whether contrary to our own Nature we are ſick, or maim'd, or whether we are Grammarians, or Muſicians.* And again a little after: *According to this Reaſon, we ſhall ſay the like of our Virtue and Vice, and generally of Arts, or the Ignorance of Arts, as I have ſaid.* And a little after, taking away all Ambiguity, [he ſays]: *For no particular thing, not even the leaſt, can be otherwiſe, than according to common Nature, and its Reaſon.* But that common Nature, and the common Reaſon of Nature is [with him] Fate, and Providence, and *Jupiter*, is not unknown even to the *Antipodes*. For theſe things are every where inculcated by them; and he affirms, that *Homer* ſaid very well,

——The Will of Jove *was done,*

Having Reſpect to Fate, and the Nature of the Univerſe. How then do theſe things agree, both that God is no way the Cauſe of any diſhoneſt thing, and again that not even the leaſt thing [imaginable] can be otherwiſe done, than according to common Nature and its Reaſon? For amongſt all things, that are done, there muſt of neceſſity be alſo diſhoneſt things. [illegible] *Epicurus* indeed turns himſelf every way, and [illegible] Artifices, deviſing how to deliver, and [illegible]

liberty

luntary Free Will from this eternal Motion, that he may not leave Vice irreprehenſible; [yet *Chryſippus*] gives it [to wit Vice,] a moſt abſolute Liberty, as being done, not only of Neceſſity, or according to Fate, but alſo according to the Reaſon of God, and beſt Nature. And theſe things are yet farther ſeen, being thus Word for Word: *For common Nature extending to all things, it will be of neceſſity, that every thing howſoever done in the Univerſe, and in whatſoever of its Parts, muſt be done according to the* [*common Nature,*] *and the Reaſon of this, proceeding on without any Impediment. For there is nothing without, that can hinder the Adminiſtration, nor is there any of the Parts, that can be mov'd, or habituated otherwiſe, than according to common Nature.* What then are theſe Habits and Motions of the Parts? 'Tis Manifeſt, that the Habits are Vices and Diſeaſes, Covetouſneſs, Luxury, Ambition, Cowardiſe, Injuſtice; and that the Motions are Adulteries, Thefts, Treaſons, Murders, Parricides. Of theſe *Chryſippus* thinks, that no one, either little or great, is contrary to the Reaſon of *Jupiter*, the Law, Juſtice and Providence: ſo that neither the tranſgreſſing of the Law is done againſt the Law, nor the acting unjuſtly againſt Juſtice, nor the committing of Sin againſt Providence. And yet he ſays, that God puniſhes Vice, and does many things for the chaſtizing of the Wicked. As in his ſecond Book of the Gods he ſays, that many Adverſities ſometimes befal the Good, not, as they do the Wicked, for Puniſhment, but according to another Diſpenſation, as it is in Cities. And again in theſe Words: *Firſt we are to underſtand of Evils in like manner, as has been ſaid before; then, that theſe things are diſtributed according to the Reaſon of Jupiter, either for Puniſhment, or according to ſome other Diſpenſation, having as ſome ſort* [illegible] *to the Univerſe.* This therefore is granted here, that Wickedneſs is both done and puniſh'd according to the Reaſon of *Jupiter*. But he

again;

aggravates this Contradiction in his ſecond Book *Of Nature*, writing thus: *Vice, in reference to grievous Accidents has a certain Reaſon of its own. For 'tis alſo in ſome ſort according to the Reaſon of Nature, and, as I may ſo ſay, is not wholly uſeleſs in reſpect of the Univerſe; for otherwiſe alſo there would not be any Good.* Thus does he reprehend thoſe, that diſpute indifferently on both ſides, who out of a Deſire to ſay ſomething wholly ſingular, and more exquiſite concerning every thing, affirm, that [Men] do not unprofitably cut Purſes, calumniate, and play the Madmen, and that 'tis not unprofitable, there ſhould be unprofitable, hurtful, and unhappy [Perſons.] What manner [of God] then is *Jupiter*, I mean *Chryſippus's* [*Jupiter*,] who puniſhes an Act, neither done willingly, nor unprofitably. For Vice is indeed according to *Chryſippus's* Diſcourſe, wholly irreprehenſible; but *Jupiter* is to be blam'd, whether he has made Vice, being an unprofitable thing, or having made it not unprofitably, puniſhes it. Again in his firſt Book *Of Juſtice*, having ſpoken of the Gods, as reſiſting the Injuſtices of ſome, he ſays, *But wholly to take away Vice, is neither poſſible nor expedient.* [Whether it were not better,] that Law-breaking, Injuſtice, and Folly, ſhould be taken away, 'tis not the Deſign of this preſent Diſcourſe to enquire. But he himſelf, as much as in him lies, by his Philoſophy taking away Vice, which 'tis not expedient to take away, does ſomething repugnant both to Reaſon, and God. Beſides this, ſaying, that God reſiſts ſome Injuſtices, he again intimates the Inequality of Sins.

Having often written, that there is nothing reprehenſible, nothing to be complain'd of in the World, all things being finiſh'd according to a moſt excellent Nature; he again elſewhere leaves certain Negligences to be reprehended, and thoſe not concerning ſmall or baſe Matters. For having in his third Book *Of Sub-*

ſtance related, that ſome ſuch things befal honeſt and good Men, he ſays: *Whether it be, that ſome things are not regarded, as in great Families ſome Bran, ſ[illegible], and ſome Grains of Corn alſo are ſcatter'd, the Generality being [nevertheleſs] well order'd; or whether there are [any] evil* Genii *ſet over ſuch things, in which indeed there are faulty Negligences*: and he alſo affirms, that there is much Neceſſity intermixt. I let paſs, how inconſiderate it is, to compare ſuch Accidents, befalling honeſt and good Men, as were the Condemnation of *Socrates*, the Burning of *Pythagoras*, whilſt he was yet living, by the *Cylonians*, the putting to Death, and that with Torture, of *Zeno* by the Tyrant *Demulus*; and of *Antiphon* by *Dionyſius*, with the letting fall of Bran. But that there ſhould be evil *Genii* plac'd by Providence over ſuch Charges; how can it but be a Reproach to God, as [it would] to a King to commit the [Adminiſtration of his] Provinces to evil and raſh Governours and Captains, and ſuffer the beſt [of his Subjects] to be deſpis'd and ill treated by them? And furthermore, if there is much Neceſſity mixt amongſt Affairs, then God has not Power over them all, nor are they all adminiſtred according to his Reaſon.

He contends much againſt *Epicurus*, and thoſe, that take away Providence from the Conceptions, we have of the Gods, whom we eſteem beneficial and gracious to Men. And theſe things being frequently ſaid by them, there is no neceſſity of ſetting down the Words. Yet all of us conceive the Gods to be good [and favourable] to us. For ſee what the *Jews* and *Syrians* think of the Gods; look alſo into the Poems, with how much *Superſtition* they are fill'd. But there is not any one in a manner, to ſpeak of, that imagins God to be corruptible, or to have been born. And to omit all others, *Antipater* the *Tarſian*, in his Book *of the Gods*, writes thus word for word: *[illegible] to ponder all the [illegible]*

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as we will briefly repeat the Opinion, we have concerning God: We understand therefore God to be an Animal, blessed, and incorruptible, and beneficial to Men. And then expounding every one of these [Terms,] he says: *And indeed all esteem the Gods to be incorruptible. Chrysippus* therefore is, according to *Antipater*, none of all; for he thinks none of the Gods, except *Jupiter*, to be incorruptible; but that they all were equally born, and shall dy. These things are in a manner every where said by him. But I will set down his Words out of his third Book *Of the Gods*, according to another Discourse. *For some of them are born and corruptible; but others not born. And to demonstrate these things from the beginning, will be more fit for a Treatise of Nature. For the Sun, the Moon, and other Gods, who are of like Nature, were begotten; but* Jupiter *is eternal.* And again going on: *But the like will be said concerning dying and being born, both concerning the other Gods, and* Jupiter. *For they indeed are corruptible, but his Parts incorruptible.* With these I will compare a few of the things said by *Antipater*. *Whosoever they are, that take away from the Gods Beneficence, they touch but in part the Pronotion of them, and according to the same Reason, they also, who think, they participate of Generation and Corruption.* If then he, who esteems the Gods corruptible, is equally absurd with him, who thinks them not to be provident and gracious to Men, *Chrysippus* is no less in an Error than *Epicurus*. For one of them deprives the Gods of Beneficence, the other of Incorruptibility.

And moreover, *Chrysippus* in his third [illegible] *Of the Gods*, [treating] of the other Gods being [illegible] says thus: *The other Gods indeed use [illegible] being equally sustain'd by it; but* Jupiter *and the* [illegible] *other manner than those, who are consum'd, and are [illegible] by Fire.* Here indeed he declares, that all the other Gods are nourish'd, except the World and [illegible]; but in his first Book *Of Providence* he says, *Jupiter* increaſes, till he has conſum'd all things into himſelf. *For ſince Death is the Separation of the Soul from the Body, and the Soul of the World is not indeed ſeparated, but increaſes continually, till it has conſum'd all Matter into it ſelf, 'tis not to be ſaid, that the World dies.* Who therefore can appear to ſpeak things more contradictory to himſelf, than he, who ſays, that the ſame God [is nouriſh'd, and not nouriſh'd?] Nor is there any need of gathering this by Argument: for himſelf has plainly written in the ſame place: *But the World alone is ſaid to be ſelf-ſufficient, becauſe it alone has in it ſelf all things, it ſtands in need of, and is nouriſh'd, and augmented of it ſelf, the other Parts being mutually chang'd into one another.* He is then repugnant to himſelf, not only by declaring in one Place, that all the Gods are nouriſh'd, except the World, and *Jupiter*, and ſaying in another, that the World alſo is nouriſh'd; but much more, when he affirms, that the World increaſes by nouriſhing it ſelf. Now the contrary had been [much more] probable, [to wit,] that the World alone does not increaſe, having its own Deſtruction for its Food; but that Addition and Increaſe are Incident to the other Gods, who are nouriſh'd from without, and that the World is rather conſum'd into them, if ſo it is, that the World feeds on it ſelf, and they always receive ſomething, and are nouriſh'd from that.

Secondly, The Conception of the Gods contains in it Felicity, Bleſſedneſs, and Self-perfection. Wherefore alſo *Euripides* is commended for ſaying:

For God, if truly God, does nothing want
Of aught: and all their Speeches are but Cant.

But *Chryſippus*, in the Places, I have alledg'd, ſays that the World only is ſelf-ſufficient, becauſe this alone has in it ſelf all things, it needs. What then follows from this, that the World alone is ſelf-ſufficient? Thus nei-ther the Sun, Moon, nor any other of the Gods, is ſelf-ſufficient, and not being ſelf-ſufficient, they are not happy, or bleſſed.

He ſays, that the Infant in the Womb is nouriſh'd by Nature, like a Plant; but when it is brought forth, being cool'd and harden'd by the Air, it changes its Spi-rit, and becomes an Animal: whence the Soul is not unfitly nam'd *Pſyche*, becauſe of this Refrigeration. But again, he eſteems the Soul the more ſubtil and fine Spi-rit of Nature, therein contradicting himſelf: for how can a ſubtil thing be made of a groſs one, and be rari-fy'd by Refrigeration and Condenſation? And what is more, how does he, declaring an Animal to be made by Refrigeration, think the Sun to be animated, which is of Fire, and made of an Exhalation, chang'd into Fire? For he ſays in his third Book *Of Nature*: *Now the Change of Fire is ſuch: It is turn'd by the Air into Water; and the Earth ſubſiding out of this, the Air exhales: the Air being ſubtiliz'd, the Æther [or Fire] is produc'd round about it; and the Stars are with the Sun kindled from the Sea.* Now what is more contrary to Kindling than Refrige-ration, or to Rarefaction than Condenſation? [of which] the one makes Water and Earth of Fire and Air, and the other changes that, which is moiſt and earthy, into Fire and Air. But yet in one place he makes Kindling, in another Cooling to be the Begin-ning of Animation. And he moreover ſays, that, when the Inflammation is throughout, it lives and is an Ani-mal; but being again extinct and thickned, it is turn'd into Water, and Earth, and Corporeity. Now in his firſt Book *Of Providence*, he ſays: *For the World indeed, being wholly ſet on fire, is preſently alſo the Soul and Guide of its ſelf: but when being chang'd into Moiſture, and the Soul re-maining within it, it in ſome ſort paſſes with it as into a Body and Soul, ſo as to conſiſt of them, it then after* [illegible]

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Here forſooth he plainly ſays, that the inanimate parts of the World are by Inflammation turn'd into an animated thing; and that again by Extinction the Soul is relax'd and moiſtned, being chang'd into Corporeity. He ſeems therefore very abſurd, one while by Refrigeration making Animals of ſenſeleſs things; and again, by the ſame changing the greateſt part of the Worlds Soul into ſenſeleſs and inanimate things.

But beſides this, his Diſcourſe concerning the Generation of the Soul, has a Demonſtration contrary to his own Opinion: for he ſays, that the Soul is generated, when the Infant is already brought forth, the Spirit being chang'd by Refrigeration, as by Hardning. Now for the Souls being engendred, and that after the Birth, he chiefly uſes this Demonſtration, that the Children are for the moſt part in manners and Inclination like to their Parents. Now the Repugnancy of theſe things is evident. For 'tis not poſſible, that the Soul, which is [not] generated [till] after the Birth, ſhould have its Inclination before the Birth; or it will fall out, that the Soul is like, before it is generated; that is, it will both be in likeneſs, and yet not be, becauſe it is not yet generated. But if any one ſays, that, the Likeneſs being bred in the Tempers of the Bodies, the Souls are chang'd, when they are generated, he deſtroys the Argument of the Souls being generated. For thus it may come to paſs, that the Soul, though not generated, may at its Entrance [into the Body] be chang'd by the Mixture of Likeneſs.

He ſays ſometimes, that the Air is light, and mounts upwards, and ſometimes, that 'tis neither heavy nor light. For in his ſecond Book *Of Motion*, he ſays, that the Fire, being without Gravity, aſcends upwards, and the Air like to that; the Water approaching more to the Earth, and the Air to the Fire. But in his *Phyſical Arts*, he inclines to the other Opinion, that the Air of

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itſelf has neither Gravity nor Levity. He ſays, that the Air is by Nature Dark, and uſes this as an Argument of its being alſo the firſt Cold: for that its Darkneſs is oppoſite to the Brightneſs, and its Coldneſs to the Heat of Fire. Moving this in his Book *Of Natural Queſtions*, he again in his Treatiſe *Of Habits* ſays, that Habits are nothing elſe but Airs. For Bodies are contain'd by theſe, and the Cauſe, that every one of the Bodies, contain'd in [any] Habit, is ſuch [as it is,] is the containing Air, which they call in Iron Hardneſs, in Stone Solidneſs, in Silver Whiteneſs: theſe [Words] having [in them] much Abſurdity and Contradiction. For if the Air remains ſuch, as it is of its own Nature, how comes Black in that, which is not White, to be made Whiteneſs, and Soft in that, which is not Hard, to be made Hardneſs; and Rare in that, which is not thick, to be made Thickneſs? But if being mixt with theſe, it is alter'd and made like to them, how is it an Habit or Cauſe of theſe things, by which it is ſubdu'd? For ſuch a Change, by which it loſes its own Qualities, is [the Property] of a Patient, not of an Agent, and not of a thing containing, but languiſhing. Yet they every where affirm, that Matter, being of its own Nature idle and motionleſs, is ſubjected to Qualities, and that the Qualities are Spirits; which, being alſo aereal Tenſions, give a Form and Figure to every Part of Matter, to which they adhere. Theſe things they cannot [rationally] ſay, ſuppoſing the Air to be ſuch, as they affirm it. For if it is an Habit and Tenſion, it will aſſimilate every Body to it ſelf, ſo that it ſhall be black and ſoft: But if by the Mixture with theſe things it receives Forms contrary to thoſe, it has, it will be in ſome ſort the Matter, and not the Cauſe or Power of the Matter.

It is often ſaid by *Chryſippus*, that there is without the World an infinite *Vacuum*, and that this Infinity has neither Beginning, Middle, nor End. And by this the *Stoicks* chiefly refute that ſpontaneous Motion of the Atoms downward, which is taught by *Epicurus*, there not being in Infinity any Difference, according to which, one thing is thought to be above, another below. But in his fourth Book *Of things poſſible*, having ſuppos'd a certain middle Place, and middle Region, he ſays, that the World is ſituated there. The Words are theſe: *Wherefore 'tis to be ſaid of the World, that it is incorruptible; which though it ſeems to want Proof, yet nevertheleſs it rather appears to me to be ſo. However the Comprehenſion of Place cooperates very much towards its Incorruptibility, becauſe it is* [*ſeated*] *in the Midſt: ſince if it were thought to be any where elſe, Corruption would abſolutely take hold of it.* And again a little after: *For ſo alſo in a manner has Eſſence happen'd eternally to have poſſeſs'd the middle Place, being immediately* [*from the Beginning*] *ſuch* [*as it is*] *ſo that both by another manner, and through this Chance, it admits not any Corruption,* [*and*] *is therefore eternal.* Theſe Words have one apparent and viſible Contradiction, [to wit] his admitting a certain middle Place and middle Region in Infinity: [They have alſo] a ſecond, more obſcure indeed, but [withal] more abſurd than this. For thinking that the World would not have remain'd incorruptible, if its Situation had happen'd to have been in any other part of the *Vacuum*, he manifeſtly appears to have fear'd, leſt, the Parts of Eſſence moving towards the Middle, there ſhould be a Diſſolution and Corruption of the World. Now this he would not have fear'd, had he not thought, that Bodies [illegible] by Nature carried from every Place towards the Middle, not of Eſſence, but of the Region containing Eſſence: Of which alſo he has frequently ſpoken, as of a thing impoſſible, and that is contrary to Nature: for that there is not in the *Vacuum* any Difference, by which Bodies are drawn rather this way than that way; but that the Conſtruction of the World is the Cause of Motion, [Bodies] inclining and being carry'd from every Side to the Center and Middle of it. 'Tis ſufficient for this Purpoſe, to ſet down the Text out of his ſecond Book *of Motion*: For having diſcours'd, that the World indeed is a perfect Body, but that the Parts of the World are not perfect, becauſe they have in ſome ſort reſpect to the whole, and are not of themſelves; and going forward concerning its Motion, as having been fram'd by Nature to be mov'd by all its Parts to its Compaction and Cohesion, and not to its Diſſipation and Breaking, he ſays thus: *But the Univerſe thus tending and being mov'd to the ſame Point, and the Parts having the ſame Motion from the Nature of the Body, 'tis probable, that all Bodies have this firſt Motion according to Nature, towards the Middle of the World, the World being thus mov'd towards it ſelf, and the Parts, as being Parts.* What then ail'd you, good Sir, (might ſome one ſay to him) that you have ſo far forgotten theſe Words, as to affirm, that the World, if it had not caſually poſſeſs'd the middle Place, would have been diſſoluble and corruptible? For if it is by Nature ſo fram'd, as always to incline towards the Middle, and its Parts from every ſide tend to the ſame, then what Place ſoever of the *Vacuum* it ſhould have been tranſpos'd, thus containing, and [as it were] embracing it ſelf, it would have remain'd incorruptible, and without danger of breaking. For things, that are broken and diſſipated, ſuffer this by the Separation and Diſſolution of their Parts, every one [of them] haſting to its own Place from that, which it had contrary to Nature. But you, being of Opinion, that, if the World ſhould have been ſeated in any other Place of the *Vacuum*, it would have been wholly liable to Corruption, and affirming the ſame, and therefore [ſeeking] a Middle in that which naturally can have no Middle, to wit, in that which is infinite, have indeed diſmiſs'd thoſe Tenſions, Coherences and Inclinations, as having nothing available to its Preſervation, and attributed all the Cauſe of its Permanency to the Poſſeſſion of Place, and, as if you were ambitious to confute your ſelf, to the things you have ſaid before, you joyn this alſo. *In whatſoever manner every one of the Parts moves, being coherent to the reſt, 'tis agreeable to Reaſon, that in the ſame alſo it ſhould move by it ſelf; yea, though we ſhould, for Arguments ſake, imagine and ſuppoſe it to be in ſome Vacuity of this World: for, as being kept in on every ſide, it mov'd towards the Middle, ſo it would continue in the ſame Motion, though by way of Diſputation [we ſhould admit, that] there were on a ſudden a* Vacuum *round about it.* No Part then whatſoever, tho encompaſs'd by a *Vacuum*, loſes its Inclination, moving it towards the middle of the World; but the World it ſelf, if Chance had not prepar'd it a Place in the Middle, would have loſt its containing Vigour, the Parts of its Eſſence being carry'd ſome one way, ſome another. And theſe things indeed contain great Contradictions to Natural Reaſon; but this is alſo repugnant to the Doctrine concerning God, and Providence, that aſſigning to them the leaſt Cauſes, he takes from them the moſt principal and greateſt. For what is more principal than the Permanency of the World, or that its Eſſence, united in its Parts, is contained in it ſelf? But this, as *Chryſippus* ſays, fell out caſually. For if the Poſſeſſion of Place is the Cauſe of Incorruptibility, and this was the Production of Chance, 'tis manifeſt, that the Preſervation of the Univerſe is a Work of Chance, and not of Fate and Providence.

Now as for his Doctrine of Poſſibles, how can it but be repugnant to his Doctrine of Fate? For if that is not poſſible, which either is true, or ſhall be true, as *Diodorus* has it; but every thing which is capable of being, though it never ſhall be, is poſſible; there will be many of thoſe things poſſible, which will never be according to invincible, inviolable, and all-conquering Fate. [And] either Fate will loſe its Power, or if that, as *Chryſippus* thinks, has Exiſtence, that, which is ſuſceptible of Being, will often fall out to be impoſſible. And every thing, indeed which is true, will be neceſſary, being comprehended by the Principal of all Neceſſities; and every thing that is falſe, will be impoſſible, having the greateſt Cauſe to oppoſe its ever being true. For how is it poſſible, that he ſhould be ſuſceptible of dying on the Land, who is deſtinated to dye at Sea? and how is it poſſible for him, who is at *Megara*, to come to *Athens*, being prohibited by Fate?

But moreover, the things that are boldly aſſerted by him concerning Fantaſies [or Imaginations] are very oppoſite to Fate. For deſiring to ſhew, that Fantaſie is not of it ſelf a perfect cauſe of Conſent, he ſaid, that the Sages [or wiſe Men] will prejudice us by imprinting falſe Imaginations [in our Minds,] if Fantaſies do of themſelves abſolutely cauſe Conſent; for wiſe Men often make uſe of Falſity againſt the Wicked, repreſenting a probable Imagination, yet not the Cauſe of Conſent: for then it would be alſo a Cauſe of falſe Apprehenſion and Error. Any one therefore, transferring theſe things from the wiſe Man to Fate, may ſay, that Conſents are not caus'd by Fate: for [if they were] falſe Conſents, and Opinions, and Deceptions would alſo be [by Fate,] and Men would be endammag'd by Fate. Thus the Reaſon, which exempts the wiſe Man from doing hurt, at the ſame time alſo demonſtrates, that Fate is not the Cauſe of all things. For if Men neither opine, nor are prejudic'd by Fate, 'tis manifeſt [alſo,] that they neither act rightly, nor are wiſe, nor remain firm in their Sentiments, nor have Utility by Fate; but that there is an End of Fate's being the Cauſe of all things. Now if any one ſhall ſay, that *Chryſippus* makes not Fate the abſolute Cauſe of all things, but only a Procatarcatarctical [or antecedent] one, he will again ſhew, that he is contradictory to himſelf, ſince he exceſſively praiſes *Homer* for ſaying of *Jupiter*;

Receive, whatever Good or Evil He
Shall ſend to each of you—— ——

As alſo *Euripides* [for theſe Words:]

O Jove, *how can I ſay, that wretched we*
Poor Mortals underſtand aught? For on thee
We all depend, and nothing can tranſact,
But as thy ſacred Wiſdom ſhall enact.

And himſelf writes many things agreeable to theſe. In fine, he ſays, that nothing, be it never ſo little, either reſts, or is mov'd, otherwiſe than according to the Reaſon of *Jupiter*, which is the ſame thing with Fate. Moreover, the Catarctick [antecedent, or principiating] Cauſe is weaker than the abſolute one, and attains not [to its effect,] being ſubdu'd by others, that riſe up againſt it. But he himſelf, declaring Fate to be an invincible, unimpeachable, and inflexible Cauſe, calls it * *Atropos*, † *Adraſtea*, *Neceſſity*, and *Pepromene*, as putting a Limit [or End] to all things. Whether then ſhall we ſay, that neither Conſents, nor Vertues, nor Vices, nor doing well, nor doing ill, are in us, [or in our Power?] or ſhall we affirm, that Fate is deficient, that terminating Deſtiny is unable to determine, and that the Motions and Habits of *Jupiter* [and his Reaſon] are unaccompliſhable? For the one of theſe [two Conſequences] will follow from Fates being an abſolute, the other from its being only a procatarctick Cauſe. For if it is an abſolute Cauſe, it takes away our Free Will, and what is in our
[illegible]

* That is, *unchangeable*.
† That is, *unavoidable*.

and if it is [only] procatarctick, it loſes its being unimpeachable and effectual. For not once, or ten times, but every where, eſpecially in his *Phyſicks*, he has written, that there are many Obſtacles and Impediments to particular Natures and Motions, but none to that of the Univerſe. And how can the Motion of the Univerſe, extending [as it does] to particular ones, be undiſturb'd, and unimpeach'd, if theſe are ſtopt and hindred? For neither can the Nature of Man be free from Impediment, if that of the Foot or Hand is not ſo; nor can the Motion of a Ship but be hindred, if there are any Obſtacles about the Sails, or the Operation of the Oars. Beſides [all] this, if the Fantaſies are not according to Fate, [neither are they the Cauſes] of Conſents; but if when it imprints Fantaſies, leading to Conſent, the Conſents are ſaid to be according to Fate, how is it not contrary to it ſelf, imprinting in the greateſt Matters different Imaginations, and ſuch, as draw the Underſtanding contrary ways? Since, they ſay, that thoſe, who adhere to one of them, and withhold not their Conſent, do amiſs: for if they yield to obſcure things, they ſtumble; if to falſe, they are deceiv'd; if to ſuch as are not commonly comprehended, they opine. And yet one of theſe three is of neceſſity, either that every Fantaſie is not the Work of Fate, or that every Receit and Conſent of Fantaſie is faultleſs, or that Fate it ſelf is not irreprehenſible. For I do not know how it can be blameleſs, propoſing to us ſuch Fantaſies, that not the reſiſting, or going againſt them, but the following and yielding to them is blameable. Moreover, both *Chryſippus* and *Antipater*, in their Diſputes againſt the *Academicks*, take not a little pains to prove, that we neither act, nor are incited without Conſent, ſaying, that, they [build on] Fictions, and falſe Suppoſitions, who think, that, a proper Fantaſie being preſented, we are preſently incited, without having either yielded, or conſented. Again *Chryſippus* ſays, that God imprints in us falſe Imaginations, as does alſo the wiſe Man, not that they would have us conſent, or yield to them, but only that we ſhould act, and be incited to that, which appears; but that we, being evil, do through Infirmity conſent to ſuch Fantaſies. Now the Perplexity and Diſcrepancy of theſe Diſcourſes from themſelves is not very difficult to be diſcern'd. For he, that would not have Men conſent, but only act, whether it be God, or a wiſe Man, knows that the Fantaſies are ſufficient for acting, and that Conſents are ſuperfluous. So that if Knowing, that the Imagination gives us not an Inſtinct to work without Conſent, he miniſters to us falſe and probable Fantaſies, he is the voluntary Cauſe of our falling and erring, by aſſenting to incomprehenſible things.

Plutarch's Morals:

Vol. IV.

Of the Word EI, *engraven over the Gate of* Apollo's *Temple at* Delphi.

Tranſlated out of the Greek *by* R. Kippax, *M.A.*

I Happned not long ſince, dear *Serapion*, on certain, not unelegant Verſes, which *Dicæarchus* ſuppoſes [the Poet] *Euripides* to have [heretofore] ſpoken to [King] *Archelaus*:

I'm poor, you rich, I'l therefore nothing give,
Leſt me, or Fool, or Begger, you believe.

For he, who out of his little Eſtate makes ſmall Preſents to thoſe, that have great Poſſeſſions, does them no Pleaſure, nay, [which is yet worſe,] being not believ'd to give [even that little *gratis*, or] for nothing, he incurs the Suſpicion of being of a ſordid and ungenerous Diſpoſition. But theſe pecuniary Preſents are both in Bounty and Beauty far inferior to Gifts, or Preſents from Learning and Wiſdom, 'tis honourable both to make ſuch Preſents, and at our giving them, to deſire ſuitable Returns from the Receivers. I therefore, dedicating to you, and for your Sake, to our Friends in thoſe Parts,

[ſuch]

Parts, as a First-fruit Offering, ſome Diſcourſes concerning the *Pythian* Affairs, confeſs, that I do [in requital] expect others, both more, and better from you, as being [Perſons] converſant in a great City, and enjoying more Leiſure amongſt many Books and Conferences of all ſorts. For indeed our good *Apollo* ſeems to cure and ſolve ſuch Difficulties, as occur in [the ordinary Management of our] Life, by giving his Oracles to thoſe that reſort to him; but as for thoſe, which concern Learning, he leaves and propoſes them to that Faculty of the Soul, which is naturally addicted to the Study of Philoſophy, imprinting in it a Deſire leading to Truth; as is manifeſt both in many other Matters, and in the Conſecration of [this Inſcription] EI. For 'tis not probable, that 'twas either by chance, or by a Lottery (as it were) of Letters, that this [Word] alone was, by the God, plac'd in the principal Seat, and receiv'd the Dignity of a ſacred Donary and Spectacle; but ['tis highly credible] that thoſe, who at the beginning philoſophiz'd concerning this God, gave it that Station, either as feigning in it ſome peculiar and extraordinary Power, or uſing it as a Symbol, to [ſignifie] ſome other thing, worthy of [our] Attention.

Having therefore often formerly declin'd and avoided this Diſcourſe, when propos'd in the School, I was lately ſurpriz'd by my own Children, as I was debating with certain Strangers, who being on their Departure out of Delphi, I could not in Civility hold them in ſuſpenſe, nor yet refuſe diſcourſing with them, ſince they were extremely earneſt to hear ſomething. Being therefore ſate down by the Temple, I began my ſelf to ſearch into ſome things, and to aſk them concerning others, [being] by the Place, and the very Talk [we had, put in mind of thoſe things] we had heretofore at the time as *Nero* paſs'd through theſe Parts, heard *Ammonius* and ſome others Diſcourſe, the ſame Difficulty having been

[then] likewiſe in this very place propounded. Becauſe therefore this God is no leſs a Philoſopher than a Prophet, *Ammonius* ſeem'd to all [of us,] rightly to have apply'd every one of his Names to this purpoſe, and to have taught [us,] that he is *Pythius,* [or a Queſtioniſt,] to thoſe, who begin to learn and enquire; *Delius* and *Phanæus*, or a Manifeſter and Approver] to thoſe, to whom ſomewhat of the Truth is already manifeſted and ſhines forth; *Iſmenius* [or Knowing,] to thoſe, that have acquir'd Knowledge and a Readineſs of Speech; and *Harius* [or a Finiſher] when they practiſe and enjoy [their Science,] making uſe [of it] to diſcourſe and philoſophize with one another. Now forasmuch as to Philoſophize, implies to Enquire, to Wonder, and to Doubt; 'tis probable, that many of the things, that concern this God, are not unfitly conceal'd under *Ænigmas,* [or myſtical Speeches and Ceremonies,] and [therefore] require [one ſhould ask] the Reaſon why, and [ſeek] to be inſtructed in the Cauſe: as, Why of all Wood, Fir only is burnt in the eternal Fire: Why the Lawrel only is us'd in Fumigations: Why there are erected but two [Statues of the] *Parcæ,* [or fatal Siſters,] they being every where [elſe] thought to be three: Why no Woman is permitted to have Acceſs to the Oracle: What is the Reaſon of the *Tripus* [or three-footed Chair,] and other ſuch like things, which being propos'd to thoſe, who are not altogether irrational and Soul-leſs, allure, and incite [ſuch Perſons], to conſider, hear and diſcourſe ſomething about them. And do but behold, how many queſtions theſe Inſcriptions, *Know thy ſelf,* and *Nothing too much,* have ſet afoot amongſt the Philoſophers, and what a Multitude of Diſcourſes has ſprung up from each of them, as from a Seed; than neither of which, I think the Matter now in queſtion to be leſs fruitful.

Ammonius having ſpoken thus, *Lamprias* the *Delphian* ſaid: "The Reaſon indeed, which we have heard of "this, is plain and very ſhort: for they ſay, that "thoſe wiſe Men, who were by ſome call'd Sophiſters, "were but five, *Chilon*, *Thales*, *Solon*, *Bias*, and *Pittacus*. But after that *Cleobulus*, the Tyrant of the "*Lindians*, and *Periander* the *Corinthian*, though wholly "deſtitute of Vertue and Wiſdom, had by [their] "Power, Friends, and Courteſie, forc'd a Reputation, "ſet forth, and diſpers'd all over *Greece*, certain Sentences and Sayings, not unlike to thoſe, which had been "ſpoken by theſe [others,] the [five former Sages, or "wiſe] Men; being diſcontented at it, would not however reprove their Arrogancy, nor openly conteſt, "and enter into Quarrels for Glory, with Men of ſo "great Power; but aſſembling here together, and "conſulting with one another, they conſecrated the "Letter E, which is in the Order [of the Alphabet] "the fifth, and ſignifies five in Number, profeſſing of "themſelves before the God, that they were but five, "and rejecting and abdicating the ſixth and ſeventh, as "not belonging to them. Now that theſe things are "not ſpoken beſide the Cuſhion, any one might underſtand, who ſhould have heard thoſe, [who have care] "of the Temple, naming the golden Εἶ; [the Εἶ] of "*Livia* the Wife of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, and the brazen one, "[the Εἶ] of the *Athenians*; but the firſt and ancienteſt "of all, which is the wooden one, they call [the "Εἶ] of the Sages, as not being of any one, but the "common Dedication of them all.

At this *Ammonius* gently ſmil'd, ſuppoſing *Lamprias* to have deliver'd an Opinion of his own, but to have feign'd, that he had heard the Story from others, leſt he might be oblig'd to give an Account of it. But another of thoſe, that were preſent, ſaid, that this had ſome Affinity with what a certain *Chaldean* Stranger had lately babbl'd, [to wit,] that there are [in the Alphabet] ſeven Letters, rendring a [perfect] Sound of themſelves, and in the Heavens ſeven Stars, mov'd by their own proper Motion, not bound [or link'd to that of the others;] That E is from the beginning the ſecond in order of the Vowels, and the Sun of the Planets [the ſecond, or next] to the Moon, and that the Greeks do all unanimouſly repute *Apollo* to be the ſame with the Sun. “ But theſe things, *ſaid he*, wholly ſavour of his [Aſtrological] counting Table [or Scheme,] and his Mountebank-like Harangue. But *Lamprias*, it ſeems, is not ſenſible of his having ſtirr'd up all thoſe of the Temple againſt his Diſcourſe: for there is not a Man of the *Delphians*, who knows any thing of what he has ſaid; but they all have alledg'd the common and current Opinion, holding, that neither the Sight, nor Sound of this Writing, but the Word alone, [as it is written,] contains ſome Symbol [or ſecret Signification.] For [the Syllable 'Ει, with which our *Engliſh* IF is correſpondent,] is, *as the* Delphians *conceive it, and as* Nicander *the Prieſt, who was then preſent, alſo ſaid*, a Conveyance and Form of Prayer to the God, and has the [firſt or] leading Place in the Queſtions of thoſe, who at every turn uſe it, and ask, *If* they ſhall overcome: *If* they ſhall marry: *If* 'tis convenient to go to Sea: *If* to till the Ground: *If* to travel. And the wiſe God, bidding adieu to the Logicians, who think, nothing at all can be made of this Particle 'Ει, [or *If*,] and any Propoſition [join'd] with it, underſtands and admits all Interrogations annex'd to it, as real things. Now, becauſe 'tis proper for us to conſult [him, as] a Prophet, and cuſtom to pray to [him, as] a God, they ſuppoſe, that this Word has no leſs a Precatory, than an Interrogatory Power. For every one, who prays, [or wiſhes,] ſays 'Ει ὄφελον: *If it might come to paſs*; [or, *If it*

might

" mighty ſingle God.] And Archilochus [has alſo this Ex-
" preſſion:]

" If I might be ſo happy, as to touch
" only Neobules Hand——

" And they ſay that the ſecond Syllable in this Word
" Εἴθε is redundant, [ſignifying nothing,] like [θὴν in]
" this of Sophron:

" Ἄμα τέκνων θὴν διζήμενοι:
" Deſiring alſo Children;

" And [in] this of Homer:——

" Ὡς θὴν καὶ τὸν ἐγὼ ἀλαπάξω:——
" As I will alſo foil thy Strength:

" [In both which θὴν ſignifies nothing.] But in the
" Word εἶ, there is ſufficiently declar'd an operative
" Power.

Nicander having deliver'd theſe [Words,] our Friend Theon, whom you know ask'd Ammonius, if he might have Liberty to plead for Logick, which was ſo highly injur'd. And Ammonius bidding him ſpeak, and defend it, [as well as he could,] he ſaid, " Now that this
" God is a moſt expert Logician, many of his Oracles
" ſhew: for 'tis, to wit, the Part of the ſame [Art]
" to diſſolve and frame Ambiguities. Moreover, as
" Plato ſaid, when an Oracle was given [to the Greeks,]
" that they ſhould double the Altar in Delos, which is
" a Work of the utmoſt Perfection in Geometry, that
" the God did not order [or intend] the doing of this
" very thing, but commanded the Greeks to apply
" themſelves to Geometry: ſo the ſame God, by gi-
" ving ambiguous Oracles, honours and recommends Lo-
gick,

“gick, as neceſſary to thoſe, who deſire to underſtand “him aright. Now this Conjunction [Εἰ, or If,] “ſo fit for the Connexion of a Speech, has very great “Efficacy in Logick, as forming the moſt rational “Propoſition. For how can it be otherwiſe, ſince the “very Brutes have indeed the Knowledge of the Sub-“ſtance of things; but to Man only has Nature given “the Conſideration and Judgment of Conſequence. For “that there is both Day and Light, Wolves, and Dogs, “and Birds are ſenſible. But that if it is Day, there “muſt be Light, no other Animal underſtands, but “Man, who only has the Conception of Antecedent “and Conſequent, of the Coherence and Connexion “of theſe things with one another, and of their Habi-“tude and Difference, from which things Demonſtra-“tions take their principal Beginning. Now ſince “Philoſophy is converſant about Truth, ſince the Light “of Truth is Demonſtration, and the Beginning of De-“monſtration this [Coherence and] Connexion [of “Propoſitions,] the Faculty, which contains and effects “this, was by wiſe Men with good reaſon conſecrated to “the God, who moſt of all loves Truth. Now the God “indeed is a Prophet, and the Art of Propheſying is “[a Divination] concerning the Future from things, that “are preſent and paſt. For neither is the Original of “any thing without a Cauſe, nor the Fore-knowledge of “any thing without Reaſon. But ſince all things, that “are done, follow, and are connext to thoſe, that have “been done, and thoſe, that ſhall be done, to thoſe, “that are done, according to the Progreſs, proceeding “from the Beginning to the End; he, who knows how “to look into the Cauſes of this together, and natural-“ly to connect them one with another, knows alſo, and “divines,

“*What things now are, ſhall be, or e're have been,*

“ And *Homer* indeed [excellently] well places first things,
“ that are preſent, and afterwards what is future and
“ paſt. For the Argument is according to the Vertue
“ of the Connexion taken from the Preſent: Thus, *If*
“ *this is, That preceded:* and again, *If this is, That ſhall*
“ *be.* For the Knowledge of the Conſequence is, as
“ has been ſaid, an artificial and rational thing; but
“ Senſe gives the Anticipation to Reaſon. Whence
“ (though [it may ſeem] undecent to ſay it) I will not
“ be afraid to aver this [Aſſertion,] that the *Tripus* [or
“ Oracle] of Truth is Reaſon, which, joyning the Con-
“ ſequence of the Subſequent to the Antecedent, and
“ then aſſuming the preſent, infers the Concluſion of
“ the Demonſtration. If then the *Pythian* [*Apollo*] de-
“ lights in Muſick, and [is pleas'd] with the Singing of
“ Swans, and the Harmony of the Lute [or Harp,]
“ what Wonder is it, that for the ſake of Logick, he
“ embraces and loves this argumentative Particle, which
“ he ſees the Philoſophers ſo much and ſo frequently to
“ uſe? *Hercules* indeed, not having yet unbound *Prome-*
“ *theus*, nor convers'd with the Sophiſters, that were
“ with *Chiron* and *Atlas*, but being ſtill a young Man,
“ and a plain *Bœotian*, at firſt aboliſh'd Logick, and de-
“ rided this Word 'Ει, but afterwards he ſeem'd by
“ force to have ſeiz'd on the *Tripus*, and contended
“ with [our] God [himſelf] for [the preeminence in]
“ this Art. For being grown up in Age, he appear'd
“ to be moſt expert both in Divination and Lo-
“ gick.

Theon having ended [his Speech,] I think, 'twas *Eu-*
ſtrophus the *Athenian*, who ſaid to us: “ Do you not ſee,
“ how valiantly *Theon* vindicates Logick, having in a
“ manner got on the Lions Skin, and not ſuffering e-
“ ven us, who comprehenſively place all the Affairs,
“ Natures and Principles of things, both Divine and
“ Humane in Number, and make it moſt eſpecially the

“ [illegible]

" Author and Lord of honeſt and eſtimable things, to
" be at quiet, but willingly to offer the Firſt Fruits of
" [our] dear Mathematicks to the God, ſince we think
" that this [Letter] E does of it ſelf neither in Power,
" Figure, or Expreſſion, differ from, [or exceed] the
" other Letters; but that it has been preferr'd as [be-
" ing] the Sign of that great Number, having an Influ-
" ence over all things, call'd [the Quinary, or] *Pempas*,
" from which the Sages have expreſ'd the Art of
" Numbring by the Verb Πεμπάζειν, [ſignifying to ac-
" count by Fives.]

Now *Euſtrophus* ſpake theſe things to us, not in jeſt, but becauſe I did at that time ſtudiouſly apply my ſelf to the Mathematicks, and perhaps alſo in every thing to honor that Saying, *Nothing too much*, as having been [converſant] in the Academy. I anſwer'd therefore, that *Euſtrophus* had excellently ſolv'd the Difficulty by Number. " For, *ſaid I*, ſince all Number being diſtributed
" into Even and Odd, Unity is in efficacy common to
" them both, for that being added to an even Number,
" it makes it odd, and to an odd, it makes it even, Two
" conſtituting the Beginning of the Even, and Three of
" the Odd: [The Number of] Five, compos'd of theſe
" two, is deſervedly honour'd, as being the firſt [Com-
" pound] made of the firſt [ſimple] Numbers, and is
" call'd the Marriage for the Reſemblance of the Odd
" with the Female, and the Even with the Male: for
" in the Diviſions of the Numbers into equal Parts, the
" Even, being wholly ſeparated, leaves a certain capa-
" cious Beginning and Space in it ſelf; but in the Odd,
" ſuffering the ſame thing, there always remains a
" Middle, of generative Diſtribution, by which it is more
" fruitful than the other, and being mixt, is always
" Maſter, never maſter'd. For by the Mixture of
" both [Even and Odd] together, there is never pro-
" duc'd an Even [Number,] but always an Odd. But

Mm 2

“ which is more, either of them added to, and com-
“ pounded with it ſelf, ſhews the Difference: for no
“ Even, joyn'd with another Even, ever produc'd an
“ Odd, or went forth of its proper [Nature,] being
“ through [its] Weakneſs unable to generate another,
“ and imperfect. But Odd Numbers, mixt with Odd,
“ do, through their being every way fruitful, produce
“ many Even ones. Time does not now permit us to
“ ſet down the other Powers and Differences of Num-
“ bers. Therefore have the *Pythagoreans*, through a
“ [certain] Reſemblance, ſaid, that Five is the Marriage
“ firſt Male and [firſt] Female. This alſo is it, for
“ which it is call'd alſo Nature, by the Multiplication of
“ it ſelf determining again into it ſelf. For as Nature,
“ taking a Grain of Wheat for Seed, and diffuſing it, pro-
“ duces many Forms and Species between, by which ſhe
“ brings her Work to an End, but at laſt ſhews again a
“ Grain of Wheat, reſtoring the Beginning in the End
“ of all: ſo the reſt of the Numbers, when they multi-
“ ply themſelves, terminating by the Increaſe in others,
“ only thoſe of Five and Six, multiply'd by themſelves,
“ bring back and reſerve themſelves. For ſix times ſix
“ makes thirty ſix, and five times five makes twenty five.
“ And again, Six does this once, and only after one
“ manner, becoming of it ſelf that four ſquare Number;
“ but this indeed befalls Five, both by Multiplication,
“ and by Compoſition with it ſelf, to which being added,
“ it alternatively makes Ten, and this as far as all [Num-
“ ber can extend,] this Number imitating the Be-
“ ginning, [or firſt Cauſe,] which [governs and ma-
“ nages the Univerſe. For as that [firſt Cauſe,] preſerv-
“ ing the World by it ſelf, does reciprocally perfect it
“ ſelf by the World, [as] *Heraclitus* ſays [of Fire;]

“ *Fire turns to all things, and all things to Fire.*

“ As Wares are chang'd for Gold, and Gold for Wares; ſo the Congreſs of Five with it ſelf is fram'd by Nature to produce nothing imperfect or ſtrange; but has limited Changes: for it either generates it ſelf, or Ten, that is, either [what is] proper [to it,] or [what is] perfect.

“ Now if any one ſhall ſay, what is all this to *Apollo*? We will anſwer, [That it concerns] not [*Apollo*] only, but *Dionyſius* [or *Bacchus*] alſo, who has no leſs to do with *Delphi* than *Apollo* himſelf. For we have heard the Divines, partly in Verſe, partly in Proſe, ſaying and ſinging, that the God, being of his own Nature incorruptible and eternal, yet through a certain fatal Decree and Reaſon, uſing Changes of himſelf, is ſometimes by Nature kindled into a Fire, making all things alike, and other whiles becoming various, in different Shapes, Paſſions, and Powers, as the World now is, he is nam'd by the moſt known of Names. But the Wiſer, concealing from the Vulgar the Change into Fire, call him both *Apollo*, from his Uniting, and *Phœbus* from his Purity and Unpollutedneſs. But [as for] the Paſſion and Change of his Converſion into Winds, Water, Earth, Stars, and the [various] Kinds of Plants and Animals, and of its [Order and] Diſpoſition, [this] they obſcurely propoſe as a certain Diſtraction, and [in theſe reſpects] call him *Dionyſius* [or *Bacchus*] *Zagreus*, *Nyctelius*, and *Iſodætes*, exhibiting and declaring forth certain Corruptions, Diſparitions, Deaths, and Regenerations, [which are all Riddles,] and [enigmatical] Fables, fit for [the veiling and myſtically repreſenting of] the ſaid Mutations: to the one indeed [that is, *Dionyſius*, or *Bacchus* ſinging] *Dithyrambic* Verſes, full of Paſſions and Changes, join'd with a certain Wandring and Agitation backwards and forwards: for, as *Æſchylus* ſays,

“ The Dithyramb, *whoſe Sounds are diſſonant,*
“ *'Tis fit, ſhould wait on* Bacchus.——

“ But to the other, [that is, to *Apollo,*] they ſing the well-ordered *Pæan,* and a diſcreet Song. And this [laſt indeed] they do both in their Sculptures, and Statues, always make to be young, and never declining to old Age; but that [former] they repreſent in many Shapes and Forms. Laſtly, to the one they attribute Equality, Order, and unmixt Gravity; but to the other a certain Mixture of Sports, Petulancy, Gravity, Madneſs, and Inequality; ſurnaming him

“ Evius Bacchus, *who to Rage incites*
“ *Women on Tops of Mountains, and delights*
“ *In frantick Worſhip.*——

“ [By which] they not unfitly touch the Property of both Changes. Now becauſe the Time of the Revolutions in theſe Changes is not equal, but that of the one, which they call *Coros,* [that is, Satiety,] longer, and that of the other, [nam'd] *Chreſmoſyne,* [or Want,] ſhorter; obſerving in this the Proportion, they all the reſt of the Year uſe in their Sacrifices the *Pæan;* but at the beginning of Winter, rouſing up the *Dithyramb,* and laying the *Pæan* to reſt, they do for three Months invocate this God inſtead of the other, eſteeming the Reſtauration of the World to be the ſame in [proportion of] time to the Conflagration of it, as Three is to One.

“ But theſe things have [perhaps] had more than ſufficient Time ſpent on them. This however is evident, that they properly attribute to this God the Number of Five, ſaying, that it ſometimes of it ſelf produces

“ ſelf like Fire, and other whiles the Number of Ten,
“ like the World. But do we think, that this Number
“ is not alſo concern'd with Muſick, which is [of all
“ things] moſt acceptable to this God? For the chiefeſt
“ Operation of Harmony is, as one may ſay, about
“ Symphonies [or Accords.] Now that theſe are five,
“ and no more, Reaſon convinces [even] him, who will
“ by his Senſe [of Hearing only] without reaſoning,
“ make Trial either on Strings or Pipe-holes. For all
“ [theſe Accords] take their Original in Proportions from
“ Number: and the Proportion of [the Symphony]
“ *Diateſſaron* is ſeſquitertial, of *Diapente* ſeſquialter, of
“ *Diapaſon* duple, of *Diapaſon* with *Diapente* triple, and
“ of *Diſdiapaſon* quadruple. But as for that, which,
“ tranſcending all Meaſures, the Muſicians add to theſe,
“ naming it *Diapaſon* with *Diateſſaron*, 'tis not fit, we
“ ſhould receive it, gratifying the unreaſonable Pleaſure
“ of the Ear againſt Proportion, which is as the Law.
“ That I may therefore let paſs the five Poſitions of the
“ Tetrachords, and alſo the five firſt, whether they are
“ to be called *Tones*, *Tropes*, or *Harmonies*, as which
“ change by riſing or falling either to more or leſs, the
“ reſt are *Baſſes* or *Trebles*: Whereas there are many,
“ or rather infinite Intervals, are not five of them only
“ uſed in Muſick? [to wit,] *Dieſis*, *Hemitonium*, *Tonus*,
“ *Trihemitonium*, and *Ditonum*. Nor is there any other
“ Space, either greater, or leſs in the Voice, that, being
“ diſtinguiſhed by *Baſs* or *Treble*, comes into Melody.
“ Paſſing by many other ſuch like things, *ſaid I*,
“ I will only produce *Plato*, ſaying, that there is but
“ one World, but that if this were not alone, ſo that
“ there were others beſides it, they would be in all five,
“ and no more. For indeed though there is but this
“ one only World, as *Ariſtotle* is alſo of Opinion, yet
“ this World is in ſome ſort compoſed and aſſembled of
“ five [others,] of which one indeed is of Earth, ano-

“ ther of Water, the third of Fire, the fourth of Air,
“ and the fifth, being Heaven, ſome call Light, and o-
“ thers the Sky; and ſome alſo name this ſame the fifth
“ Eſſence, to which alone of [all] Bodies 'tis natural to
“ be carry'd about in a Circle, not of Neceſſity, or o-
“ therwiſe by Accident. Wherefore knowing, that of
“ the Figures, which are in Nature, there are five moſt
“ excellent and perfect, [to wit,] the *Pyramis*, the *Cube*,
“ the *Octaëdron*, the *Icoſaëdron*, and *Dodecaëdron*, he has
“ fitly accommodated each [of them] to each [of theſe
“ Worlds or Bodies.] There are ſome alſo, who apply
“ the Faculties of the Senſes, being equal in Number,
“ to theſe five firſt Bodies, ſeeing the Touch to be firm
“ and earthy, and the Taſte to perceive the Qualities of
“ Savors by Moiſture. Now the Air, being ſtruck upon
“ in the Hearing, is a Voice and Sound; and as for the
“ other two, the Scent, which the Smell has obtain'd
“ [for its Object,] being an Exhalation, and engen-
“ dred by Heat, is fiery; and for the Sight, which
“ ſhines by reaſon of its Affinity to the Sky and Light,
“ it has from both of them a Temperature and Com-
“ plexion equally affected. Now neither has any
“ Animal any other Senſe, or the World any other
“ Nature ſimple and unmixt; but there has been made,
“ as appears, a certain wonderful *Diſtribution* and Con-
“ gruity of five to five.

Having here ſtopt a little, and made a ſmall Pauſe be-
tween, I ſaid: “ What a Fault, O *Euſtrophus*, were we
“ like to have committed! having almoſt paſt by *Homer*,
“ as if he were not the firſt, that diſtributed the World
“ into five Parts, who aſſign'd the three, which are
“ in the midſt, to three Gods, and left the two Ex-
“ treams, *Olympus* and the Earth, of which one is the
“ Limit of things above, the other of things below,
“ common and undiſtributed. But we muſt, as *Euripi-*
“ *des* ſays, return to our Diſcourſe. For thoſe, who

" magnifie the Quaternary or Number of Four, teach
" not amiſs, that every [ſolid] Body had its Generati-
" on by reaſon of this. For ſince every Solid conſiſts
" in Length and Breadth, having alſo receiv'd a Depth,
" and ſince before Length there is [illegible] a Point, an-
" ſwerable to Unity, and Length without Breadth be-
" ing call'd a Line, and conſiſting of two, and the Mo-
" tion of a Line towards Breadth exhibiting alſo the
" Procreation of a Superficies, compos'd of three, and
" the Augmentation of this Depth, added to it, going
" on to a Solid; 'tis manifeſt to every one, that the Qua-
" ternary, having carry'd on Nature hitherto, and e-
" ven to the perfecting of a Body, and the exhibiting it
" double, maſſy, and ſolid, has at laſt left it, wanting
" the greateſt [Accompliſhment.] For that which is in-
" animate, is to ſpeak ſincerely, Orphan-like, unperfect,
" and fit for nothing at all, unleſs there is ſome Soul to
" uſe it; but the Motion or Diſpoſition, introducing a
" Soul, being a Change, made by [the Number] five,
" adds the Conſummation to Nature, and has a Rea-
" ſon ſo much more excellent than the Quaternary, as
" an Animal differs in Dignity from that, which is inani-
" mate. Moreover the Symmetry and Power of [this
" Number] Five, having obtain'd greater Force, has
" not permitted the animate Body to proceed to infinite
" ſorts, but has exhibited five Species of all things that
" have Life: For there are Gods, Genii, and Heroes,
" and then after them the fourth ſort is Men, and the
" fifth and laſt the irrational and brutiſh Animal. Fur-
" thermore, if you divide the Soul it ſelf according to
" [its] Nature, its firſt and moſt obſcure [Part or Facul-
" ty] is the Vegetative, the ſecond the Senſitive, then
" the Concupiſcible, after that the Iraſcible, and having
" brought on and perfected Nature in the Faculty of
" the Rational, it reſts in this fifth, as in the Top [of
" all.] Now the Generation of this Number, which

has ſo many and ſo great Faculties, is alſo beautiful, not that, which we have already diſcours'd of, being compos'd of two and three, but that, which the [firſt] Principle, joyn'd with the firſt Square has exhibited. For the Principle of all Number is Unity, and the firſt Square is the Quaternary: Now the Quinary is compos'd of theſe, as of Form and Matter, having [attain'd to] Perfection. And if 'tis right, which ſome hold, that Unity is alſo ſquare, as being the Power of it ſelf, and terminating in it ſelf, the Quinary, being made of the two firſt Squares, could not have a nobler Original.

"But [as for its] greateſt Excellency, I fear, leſt being ſpoken, it ſhould preſs our *Plato* [as much,] as he himſelf ſaid, *Anaxagoras* was by the Name of the Moon, who made a certain Opinion concerning her Illuminations, which was very ancient, [to be an Invention of] his own. For has he not ſaid this in [his Dialogue, entitled] *Cratylus*?

"Yes indeed, *anſwer'd* Euſtrophus; but I ſee not any thing that has fallen out like it. And yet you know, that in [his Treatiſe, which has for its Title] *The Sophiſter*, he demonſtrates five principal Beginnings, [to wit] *Ens* [or, *That which is*,] *The Same*, *Another*, [adding] to theſe for a fourth and fifth *Motion* and *Reſt*. Again, in [his Dialogue, call'd] *Philebus*, uſing another manner of Diviſion, he ſays, that there is one thing infinite, and another the Extremity, [or End;] and that all Generation conſiſts of theſe [two] mixt [together.] Then he puts the Cauſe, by which they are mixt, for the fourth Kind: and has left us to conjecture the fifth, by which the things that were mixt, have again a Diviſion and Diſſipation. Now I am [altogether] of Opinion, that theſe [laſt] are deliver'd as the Images [or Repreſentations] of thoſe [before, to wit,] *The things engendred* of *Ens* [or, *That*

“ *which is,*] *Infinite* of *Motion*, and the *Extremity* of *Reſt*; “ the *Mixing Principle* of *The ſame*, and the *Separating* of “ *The other*. But if theſe are different [from thoſe,] “ yet both that way and this way [theſe Principles are “ ſtill diſtinguiſht] in five Kinds and Differences. Now “ ſome one, *ſaid he*, being perſwaded of theſe things, “ [and] ſeeing them before *Plato*, conſecrated to the God “ two E E, for a Mark and Symbol of the Number of “ all things. And having perhaps further underſtood, “ that Good alſo appears in five Kinds, of which the “ firſt is *Mean* [or *Meaſur'd*,] the ſecond *Commenſurate* [or “ *Proportion'd*,] the third *Underſtanding*, the fourth *Scien-* “ *ces*, *Arts*, and *true Opinions in the Soul*, and the fifth, a “ certain *Pleaſure*, *pure and unmixt with Sorrow*; he “ ſtops there, ſubjoyning that of *Orpheus*:

“ *In the ſixth Age ſtay your Deſire of Singing.*

After he had ſpoken theſe things to us, he ſaid, “ Yet one ſhort [Word] to thoſe about *Nicander*,

“ *I'l ſing to Men of Skill.*——

“ For on the ſixth Day of the New Moon, when he “ introduces [the Propheteſs] *Pythia* into the [Hall, “ call'd] *Prytaneum*, the firſt of the three Lots tends “ with you towards five, caſting neither three, nor two, “ one to another. For is not this ſo?

“ It is ſo, *ſaid* Nicander; but the Cauſe is not to be “ told to others.

“ Well then, *ſaid I ſmiling*, till ſuch time as the “ God admits us, being conſecrated to know the “ Truth, this alſo ſhall be added to thoſe things, “ that have been ſpoken concerning the Qui- “ nary.

This End, as I remember, had the Diſcourſe of the Arithmetical and Mathematical Encomiums of ε. But *Euſtrophus*, who had himſelf alſo beſtow'd not the worſt [part of his Time] in Mathematical Philoſophy, was delighted with what had been ſpoken, and ſaid; “'Tis not meet too eagerly to oppoſe theſe young Men about theſe things, except [it be by ſaying,] that every one of the Numbers will afford you, if you deſire to praiſe it, no ſmall [Subject of Commendations.] And what need is there to ſpeak of others? For the Septenary, ſacred to *Apollo*, will take up a Days time, before one can in Words run through all its Powers. We ſhall therefore pronounce, that the wiſe Men [or Sages] do at once conteſt both againſt common Law, and a long [Series of] Time, if, throwing the Septenary out of its Seat, they ſhall conſecrate the Quinary to the God, as being more ſuitable to him. I am therefore of Opinion, that this Syllable ſignifies neither Number, Order, nor Connexion, nor any other of the deficient Parts, but is a ſelf-perfect Appellation and Salutation of the God, which together with [the Pronunciation of] the Word, brings the Speaker to the Conception of his Power. For the God in a manner calls upon every one of us, who come hither, with this Salutation, *Know thy ſelf*: which is nothing inferior to [that other Expreſſion] *All hail*. And we again, answering the God, ſay to him *Ei*, *thou art*, attributing to him the true, unfeign'd, and Sole Appellation of Being, [as] agreeing to him alone.

“For we indeed do not at all eſſentially partake of Being, but every mortal Nature, being in the midſt between Generation and Corruption, exhibits an Appearance, and obſcure and weak Opinion of it ſelf; and if you fix your Thoughts, deſiring to comprehend it, as the hard Graſping of Water, by the preſſing and ſqueezing together, that which is fluid, loſes that

“ which is held: ſo the Paſſions changing, Reaſon, pur-
“ ſuing too evident a Perception of every thing, is de-
“ ceiv'd, partly as to its Generation, and partly to its
“ Corruption, being able to apprehend Nothing, either
“ remaining, or really ſubſiſting. For we cannot, as
“ *Heraclitus* ſays, deſcend twice into the ſame River, or
“ twice find any periſhable Subſtance in the ſame State;
“ but by the Suddenneſs and Swiftneſs of the Change it
“ diſperſes, and again gathers together, comes and goes;
“ whence what is generated of it, reaches not to the
“ Perfection of Being, becauſe the Generation never
“ ceaſes, nor is it at an End; but always changing, of
“ Seed it makes an Embryo, next an Infant, then a
“ Child, then a Stripling, after that a young Man,
“ then a full-grown Man, an elderly Man, [and laſtly,]
“ a decrepit old Man, corrupting the [precedent or]
“ former Generations and Statures by the ſubſequent
“ [or later.] But we ridiculouſly fear one Death, hav-
“ ing already ſo often dy'd, and dying. For not only,
“ as *Heraclitus* ſaid, is the Death of Fire the Generation
“ of Air, and the Death of Air the Generation of Wa-
“ ter; but you may ſee this more plainly in Men them-
“ ſelves: for the full-grown Man periſhes, when the
“ old Man comes, as the Youth terminated in the
“ full-grown Man, the Child in the Youth, the Infant
“ in the Child: ſo Yeſterday dy'd in To day, and To
“ day dies in To morrow: ſo that none remains, nor is
“ one, but we are generated many about one Phantaſm,
“ and common Mould, the Matter ſliding and turning
“ about. For how do we, if remaining the ſame, de-
“ light in other things, [than we delighted in before?]
“ How do we love, hate, admire, and contemn things
“ contrary to the former? How do we uſe other
“ Words, and other Paſſions, not having the ſame
“ Form, Figure, or Underſtanding? For neither is it
“ probable, we ſhould be thus differently affected with-

“ our

out Change, neither is he, who changes the ſame. And if he is not the ſame, neither is he at all, but changing from the ſame, changes alſo his Being, being made one from another. But the Senſe is deceiv'd through the Ignorance of Being, ſuppoſing that to be, which appears.

“ What then is it that has really a Being? That which is eternal, unbegotten, and incorruptible, to which no Time brings a Change. For Time is a certain moveable thing, appearing as a Shadow with fleeting Matter, always flowing and unſtable, like a Veſſel of Corruption and Generation: of which the Saying, *After*, and *Before*, *It has been*, and *It ſhall be*, is of it ſelf a Confeſſion, that it has no Being. For to ſay, that what never was, or what has already ceas'd to be, is in being, how fooliſh and abſurd it is. And as for that, on which we chiefly ground the Underſtanding of Time, ſaying, the *Inſtant*, *Preſent*, and *Now*, Reaſon again, wholly diſcovering it, does immediately overthrow it: for it is preſs'd between the Future and the Paſt, as deſiring to ſee it neceſſarily ſeparated into two.

“ Now if the ſame thing befalls Nature, which we meaſure by Time, as does the Meaſure of it, there is nothing in it permanent or ſubſiſtent, but all things are either breeding, or dying, according to their Commixture with Time. Whence alſo it is not lawful to ſay of any thing, which is, that it was, or ſhall be: for theſe are Inclinations and Departures, and Changes of that, whoſe Nature is not to continue in Being. But GOD, we muſt ſay, IS, and he is not according to any Time, but according to Eternity, which is immoveable, without Time, and free from Inclination, in which there is nothing firſt, or laſt, or newer; but being one, it has fill'd its eternal Duration with one [only] *Now*, and that only is, which is really accord-

" ing to this, [of which it cannot be ſaid, that it] either
" was, or ſhall be, or that it begins, or ſhall end. Thus
" ought thoſe, who worſhip, to ſalute and invocate this
" eternal Being, or elſe indeed, as ſome of the Ancients
" [have done, with this Expreſſion] Εἶ Ἕν, *Thou art*
" *one*. For the Divinity is not many, as [is] every
" one of us, who are made of ten thouſand Differences
" in Affections, being a confus'd Heap, fill'd with all
" Diverſities, and a Mixture of all ſorts of Alterations.
" But that, which is, muſt be one, as One muſt have a
" Being. But Diverſity, [which is eſteem'd] the Dif-
" ference of Being, goes forth to the Generation of
" that which is not. Whence both the firſt of his
" Names agrees rightly with this God, as do alſo the
" ſecond and third. For he is call'd *Apollo*, as denying
" Plurality, and rejecting Multitude : and *Ieius*, as be-
" ing only one ; and *Phœbus* was the Name given by
" the Ancients to every thing, that is pure and chaſt : as
" the *Theſſalians* even to this Day, if I am not miſtaken,
" ſay of their Prieſts, when on vacant Days they [ab-
" ſtain from the Temples, and] keep themſelves retir'd,
" that they do *Phœbonomize*, that is, purifie themſelves.
" Now that which is one, is ſincere and pure: For Pol-
" lution is by the Mixture of one thing with another :
" as *Homer*, ſpeaking of a Piece of Ivory dy'd red, ſaid,
" it was polluted by the Dye, and Diers ſay of mixt
" Colours, that they are *corrupted*, and call the Mixture
" itſelf *Corruption*. 'Tis therefore always requiſite for
" that, which is incorruptible and pure, to be one and
" unmixt. Now as for thoſe who think *Apollo* and the
" Sun to be the ſame, they are to be careſs'd and lov'd
" for their Ingenuity, [as] placing the Notion of God
" in that, which they moſt reverence of all things, that
" they know and deſire.

" And now, as if we were dreaming of God the moſt
" glorious Dream [imaginable,] let us ſtir up and exhort

" our ſelves to aſcend higher, and to contemplate what
" is above us, and [principally to adore his] Eſſence;
" but to honour alſo this his Image, [the Sun,] and to
" venerate that Generative [Faculty, he has plac'd] in
" it, exhibiting in ſome ſort by its Brightneſs, as far as
" 'tis poſſible for a ſenſible thing [to repreſent] an In-
" tellectual and a moveable thing, that, which is per-
" manent, certain Manifeſtations and Reſemblances of
" his Benignity and Bleſſedneſs. But as for thoſe his
" Sallyings out and Changes, when he caſts forth Fire,
" which, as they ſay, at the ſame time diſtract him, and
" when he again draws himſelf in, afterwards extend-
" ing himſelf into the Earth, Sea, Winds, Animals, and
" ſtrange Accidents both of Animals and Plants, they
" cannot ſo much as be hearkned to without Impiety, or,
" elſe the God will be worſe than the Child in the Poet,
" who made himſelf Sport with an Heap of Sand, firſt
" rais'd, and then again ſcatter'd abroad by himſelf, if
" he ſhall do the ſame in reſpect of the Univerſe, firſt
" framing the World, when it was not, and then de-
" ſtroying it, when made. On the contrary, whatſoever
" of him is in any ſort infus'd into the World, that
" binds together its Subſtance, and reſtrains the Corpo-
" real Weakneſs, which tends to Corruption. And this
" Word ſeems to me to have been chiefly oppos'd to
" that Doctrine, and that EI, [or *Thou art*] is ſpoken to
" this God, as teſtifying, that there is never in him any
" going forth or Change. But to do and ſuffer this, a-
" grees to a certain other God, or rather *Dæmon*, or-
" dain'd [to take care] about Nature in Generation and
" Corruption, as is immediately manifeſt from their
" Names, being wholly contrary, and of different Sig-
" nifications. For the one is call'd *Apollo*, [or *Not many*,]
" the other *Pluto*, [or *Many*;] the one *Delius* [from
" Clearneſs,] the other *Aidoneus* [from Obſcurity;] the
" one *Phœbus*, [or Shining,] the other *Scotius*, [or

" *Dark*;] with the one are the *Muſes* and *Mnemoſyne*, [or *Songs* and *Memory*,] with the other *Lethe* and *Siope*, [or *Forgetfulneſs* and *Silence*:] The one is [from Contemplating and Shewing,] nam'd *Theorius* and *Phaneus*, the other is

" *Prince of dark Night, and ſluggiſh Sleep, whoſe Fate*
" *Is, that Men him moſt of all Gods do hate.*

" Of whom alſo *Pindarus* not unpleaſantly ſung,

" *He is condemn'd to be for ever Childleſs.*

" And therefore *Euripides* rightly alſo ſaid:

" *Theſe mournful Songs ſuit well with Men deceas'd,*
" *With which gold-hair'd* Apollo'*s no way pleas'd.*

" And before him *Steſichorus*:

" Apollo *joys in Sports and pleaſant Tunes*;
" *But* Pluto *takes delight in Griefs and Moans.*

" *Sophocles* alſo evidently attributes to either of them his proper Inſtruments, in theſe Words:

" *Neither the Lute nor Pſaltery is fit*
" *For mournful Matters*——————

" For 'tis but very lately, and in a manner of yeſterday, that the Pipe or Hautbois has dar'd to introduce it ſelf into delightful Matters; having in former times drawn Men to Mourning, and poſſeſſing about theſe things no very honorable or ſplendid Employment, though it was afterwards wholly intermixt. But thoſe eſpecially, who confounded the Affairs of

" the Gods with thoſe of the *Genii*, brought them into
" Reputation.

" But the Sentence, *Know thy ſelf*, ſeems in one re-
" ſpect to contradict this Note EI, and in another to
" agree with it. For the one is pronounc'd with Ad-
" miration and Veneration to God, as being eter-
" nally, and the other is a Remembrance to mortal
" Men of their Nature and Infirmity.

Plutarch's Morals :

Vol. IV.

The Lives of the Ten Orators.

Tranſlated out of the Greek, *by* Charles Barcroft, *Lecturer of St.* Mildred Bread-ſtreet.

ANTIPHON I.

ANtiphon, the Son of *Sophilus*, by Deſcent a *Rhamnuſian*, was his Fathers Scholar, for he kept a Rhetorick-School, to which, 'tis reported, that *Alcibiades* himſelf had recourſe in his Youth. Having attain'd to competent meaſure of Knowledge and Eloquence, and that, as ſome believe, from his own Natural Ingenuity, he dedicated his Study chiefly to Affairs of State. And yet he was for ſome time converſant in the Schools, and had a Controverſie with *Socrates* the Philoſoper, about the Reaſon of Diſputing; not ſo much for the Sake of Contention, as the Profit of Arguing, as *Xenophon* tells us; in his Commentaries on the Sayings and Actions of *Socrates*. At the Requeſt of ſome Citizens he wrote Orations, by which they defended their Suits at Law; and ſome ſays, that he was the firſt that ever did any thing of this Nature: For it is certain there is not one Juridicial-Oration extant, written by any Orator that liv'd before him, nor by his Contemporaries neither, as *Themiſtocles*, *Ariſtides* and *Pericles*, though the Times gave them opportunity, and there was need enough of their Labour in ſuch Buſineſs. Not that we are to impute it to their Want of Parts, that they did nothing in this way, for we may inform our ſelves of the contrary from what Hiſtorians relate of each of 'em. Beſides, if we inſpect the moſt Antient, *viz.* *Alcibiades*, *Critias*, *Lyſias* and *Archinous*, who we ſhall find, that though they wrote in one and the ſame Stile, and had the ſame Form and Method in their Pleadings, yet they were in a great Meaſure beholding to *Antiphon*, when he was old. For being a Man of incomparable Sagacity, he was the firſt that publiſhed Inſtitutions of Oratory; and by reaſon of his profound Learning, he was Sirnamed *Neſtor*. *Cæcilius*, in a Tract which he wrote of him, ſuppoſes him to have been *Thucidides*'s Pupil, from what *Antiphon* delivered in praiſe of him. He is moſt accurate in his Orations; in Invention ſubtil; and would frequently baffle his Adverſary at unawares, by a covert ſort of Pleading; in troubleſome and intricate Matters he was very judicious and ſharp; and as he was a great Admirer of Ornamental Speaking, he would always adapt his Orations to both Law and Reaſon.

He liv'd about the Time of the *Perſian* War, and of *Gorgias* the *Rhetorician*, being ſomewhat younger than he. And he lived to ſee the Subverſion of the Popular Government in the Common-wealth, which was wrought by the four hundred Conſpirators, in which he himſelf is thought to have had the chiefeſt Hand, being ſometimes Commander of two Gallies, and ſometimes holding the Prætorſhip, and having by the many and great Victories he obtain'd, gain'd them many Allies, he armed the young Men, man'd out ſixty Gallies, and on all their Occaſions went Ambaſſador to *Lacedæmonia*, at what time *Eetionia* was fortified. But when thoſe four hundred were overcome and taken down, he, with *Archiptolemus*, who was likewiſe one of the ſame Number, was accuſed of the Conſpiracy, Condemned and Sentenſed to the Puniſhment due to Traytors, his Body caſt out unburied, and all his Poſterity infamous on Record. But there are ſome, who tell us, that he was put to Death by the thirty Tyrants; and among the reſt, *Lyſias*, in his Oration for *Antiphon*'s Daughter, ſays the ſame, for he left a little Daughter, whom *Callæſchius* claim'd for his Wife by the Law of Propinquity. And *Theopompus* likewiſe in his fifteenth Book of his *Philippicks*, tells us the ſame thing. But he is more tender of his Reputation than *Lycidonidas* his Father; and ſo is *Cratinus* in his Pytine, in that he does not mention the Evil he was guilty of. But how could he be Executed in the Time of the four Hundred, and afterward live to be put to Death by the Thirty Tyrants? There is likewiſe anoother Story of the Manner of his Death. That when he was old he ſail'd to *Syracuſe*, when the Tyranny of *Dionyſius* the Firſt, was moſt famous; and being at Table, a Queſtion was put, What ſort of Braſs was beſt? When others had anſwered, as they thought moſt proper, he replied; *That is the beſt Braſs, of which the Statues of* Hermodius *and* Ariſtogiton *were made.* Which the Tyrant hearing, and taking it as a tacit Exhortation to his Subjects to contrive his Ruine, he commanded *Antiphon* to be put to Death; and as ſome ſay, he unjuſtly gave out, that he was put to Death for deriding his Tragedies.

This Orator is reported to have written ſixty Orations; but *Cæcilius* ſuppoſes twenty five of them to be ſpurious and none of his. *Plato*, in his Comedies with *Piſander*, traduces him as a Covetous Man. He is reported to have compoſed ſome of his Tragedies alone, and others with *Dionyſius* the Tyrant. While he was Poetically inclined, he invented an Art of Curing the

Diſtemper of the Mind, as Phyſicians are wont to promiſe Cure of bodily Diſeaſes. And having at *Corinth* built him a little Houſe, in or near the Market, he ſet a Poſtſcript over the Gate, to this effect; *That he had a way to cure the Diſtemper of Mens Minds by Words; and let him but know the cauſe of their Malady, he would immediately preſcribe the Remedy, to their Comfort.* But after ſome time, thinking that Art not worth his while, he betook himſelf to the Study and Teaching of Oratory. There are ſome who aſcribe the Book of *Glaucus Rhegius* concerning Poets, to him as Author of it. His Orations concerning *Herodotus*, to *Eraſiſtratus* concerning Ideas, are very much commended: and that which, when he was accuſed, he penn'd for himſelf, againſt a Law not recorded; and that againſt *Demoſthenes* the Prætor, touching publick Offences. He likewiſe had another againſt *Hippocrates* the Prætor, in which he condemn'd him for his Contempt, in that he did not appear on the Day appointed for his Tryal: and this was done in the very time when *Theopompus* was Governor of the City, under whoſe Government the Power of the four hundred Conſpirators was overthrown.

Cæcilius has recorded the Decree of the Senate, for the Judicial Tryal of *Antiphon*, in theſe Words: That on the one and twentieth Day of *Prytaneis*, *Demonicus Alopecenſis* being then Notary-Publick, *Philoſtratus Palenenſis* preferr'd a Bill from the Senate, wherein it was decreed, that thoſe Men, viz. *Archeptolemus*, *Onomacles*, and *Antiphon*, whom the Prætors had declar'd againſt, for that they went in an Embaſſage to *Lacedæmon*, to the great Damage of the City of *Athens*, and departed from the Camp in an Enemies Ship, and ſo went through *Decelia* by Land; that they ſhou'd be apprehended and kept in Priſon, till they ſhould be brought to a legal Tryal: That the Prætors themſelves, with others of the Senate, to the Number of ten, whom it ſhould pleaſe

[illegible]

them to name and chuſe, ſhould look after them to keep them ſafe till Judgment ſhou'd be paſs'd upon 'em: That *Theſmothetes* ſhou'd on the Morrow after their Commitment, judicially cite the ſaid Priſoners before the Judges, both the Leaders, and others of the Conſpiracy, where the Bill being read, wherein they were accuſed of Treaſon, whoever had any thing to ſay againſt 'em, he ſhou'd be heard: That whoever ſhou'd then be Condemn'd, ſhou'd have Sentence pronounc'd againſt him, according to the preſcript Form of Condemnation, appointed by the Law in the Caſe of Treaſon. At the bottom of this Decree was ſubſcribed, *Archeptolemus*, the Son of *Hippodamus Agrylenſis*; and *Antiphon*, the Son of *Sophilus* the *Ramnuſian*, being both preſent in Court, are condemned of Treaſon. And this was to be their Puniſhment; That they ſhou'd be deliver'd to the eleven Executioners, their Goods confiſcated, the tenth part of 'em being firſt conſecrated to *Minerva*; their Houſes to be level'd with the Ground, and in the Places where they ſtood, this Subſcription to be engraven on Braſs: The Houſe of *Archeptolemus* and of *Antiphon* Traytors. *** That *Archeptolemus* and *Antiphon* ſhou'd neither of 'em be buried in *Athens*, nor any where elſe under that Government. And beſides all this, that their Memory ſhou'd be accounted infamous to Poſterity, as well the Memory of Baſtards as of their lawful Progeny: and he too was lookt upon with the ſame Contempt, who ſhou'd adopt any one of their Progeny for his Son. In a Word, that all this ſhou'd be engroſs'd and engraven on a Braſs Column, and that Column to be placed, where that ſtands, on which is engraven the Decree concerning *Phrynicus*.

ANDOCIDES II.

ANdocides, the Son of that *Leogoras*, who once made a Peace with the *Athenians* againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, by Deſcent a *Cydathenian* or *Phucian*, of a Noble Family, and as *Hellanicus* tells us, if we may believe him, the Off-ſpring of *Mercury* himſelf: for the Race of Heraulds belong to him: and on this account he was choſen by the People to go with *Glaucon*, with twenty Sail of Ships to aid the *Corcyreans* againſt the *Corinthians*. But in proceſs of time, being accuſed of ſome notorious Acts of Impiety; as that he was of the Number of thoſe who defaced the Statues of *Mercury*, and divulg'd the Sacred Myſteries of *Ceres*; and withal, being accuſed of Wildneſs and Intemperance, and that he had been ſeen in the Night in Maſquerade to break one of the Statues of *Mercury*; and when he refus'd to bring his Servant to Examination, whom his Accuſers named, he was not only convicted of the firſt, but alſo was very much ſuſpected to be guilty of the ſecond Crime too. Which later Action was laid to his Charge ſoon after the Expedition of the Navy ſent by the *Athenians* into *Sicily*. For as *Cratippus* informs us, when the *Corinthians* ſent the *Leontines* and *Ægeſians* to the *Athenians*, who were to lend them Aſſiſtance *in cognito*, they in the Night defaced and brake all the Statues of *Mercury* which were erected in the Market. To which Offence, *Andocides* having added another, that of divulging the Myſteries of *Ceres*, he was brought to his Tryal, but was acquitted, on condition he wou'd diſcover who were Companions with him in the Crime. In which Affair, being very diligent, he found out who they were that had been guilty, and among the reſt, he diſcover'd his own Father. He prov'd all guilty, and caus'd them all to be put to Death, only his Father, whom he ſav'd, though in Priſon, by a Promiſe of ſome eminent Service he wou'd do to the Common-wealth. Nor did he fail of what he promis'd; for *Leogoras* accuſed many who had acted in ſeveral Matters againſt the Intereſt of the Common-wealth, and for this was acquitted of his own Crime.

Now, though *Andocides* was very much eſteemed of for his Skill in the Management of the Affairs of the Common-wealth; yet his Inclinations led him rather to Trafick by Sea: and by this means he contracted Friendſhip with the Kings of *Cyprus*, and other great Princes. At which time he privily ſtole a Damſel of the City, the Daughter of *Ariſtides*, and his own Neece, and ſent her as a Preſent to the King of *Cyprus*: But ſuſpecting he ſhou'd be call'd in queſtion for it, he again ſtole her from *Cyprus*, for which the King of *Cyprus* took him and clapt him up in Priſon; whence he brake looſe and return'd to *Athens*, juſt at that time when the four hundred Conſpirators had uſurped the Government. By whom being confined, he again eſcaped, when the Power of Governing was lodg'd in a few. But when the thirty Tyrants were uppermoſt, he withdrew to *Elis*, and there lived, till *Thraſybulus* and his Faction returned into the City, and then he alſo repair'd thither. And after ſome time, being ſent into *Lacedæmonia* to conciliate a Peace, he was again ſuſpected to be faulty, and on that Suſpicion baniſhed.

He himſelf has given an account of all theſe Tranſactions in his Orations which he has left behind him. For ſome of 'em treat of the Crime of him who ſhakes off his Religion by a Violation of its Laws, as he did when he divulg'd the Myſteries of *Ceres*: Others repreſent a convicted Perſon begging Mercy of the Judge: and there is one extant, wherein he makes a Diſcovery of the wicked Practiſes of others, and one to

Phæax, and one concerning Peace. He flouriſhed at the ſame time with *Socrates* the Philoſopher; he was born in the ſeventy eighth Olympiade, when *Theagenides* was Governour of *Athens*, ſo that he ſhou'd ſeem to be almoſt an hundred years before *Lyſias*. There is an Image of *Mercury*, call'd from his Name *Andocideum*, being given by the Houſe of *Ægeis*, and it ſtood near the Houſe where *Andocides* dwelt. This *Andocides* himſelf was at the Charge of a publick Revel, in memory of the Name and Houſe of *Ægeis*, at the Celebration of the * Dithyrambicks. And having gain'd a Victory, he erected a Tripos on an Aſcent oppoſite to the Country of *Perinus Selinus*. His Stile in his Orations is plain and eaſie, without the leaſt Affectation, or any thing of a Figurative Ornament.

* Feaſts or Songs dedicated to *Bacchus*.

LYSIAS III.

LYſias, the Son of *Cephalus*, Grand-Son of *Lyſanias*, and Great Grand-Son of *Cephalus*, was by Deſcent a *Syracuſian*, but partly for the Love he had to the City, and partly in condeſcention to the Perſwaſions of *Pericles*, the Son of *Xantippus*, a great and rich Man there, who entertain'd him as his Friend and Gueſt, he went to live at *Athens*. Some ſay, that he was baniſh'd *Syracuſe*, when the City was under the Tyranny of *Gelo*. However, he entred *Athens* when *Philocles*, the Succeſſor of *Phraſicles* was Governour, in the ſecond Year of the eighty ſecond Olympiade. At his firſt coming, he was educated among the moſt Noble of the *Athenians*. But when the City ſent a Colony to *Sybaris*, which was afterwards call'd *Thurii*, he went thither with his elder Brother *Polemarchus*, his Father being now dead, for he had two other Brothers, *Euthydemus* and *Brachilus*, that he might receive his Portion, or part of his Fathers Eſtate. This was done in the fifteenth Year of his Age, when *Praxiteles* was Governour. There then he ſtaid, and was brought up under *Nicias* and *Tiſias*, both *Syracuſians*. And having purchas'd a Houſe, he liv'd as a Citizen for about ſixty three years, till the Regency of *Clearchus*, having been Governour himſelf in his turn. In the Year following, in the Time of *Gallias*, *viz.* in the ninety ſecond Olympiade, when the *Athenians* had War with the *Sicilians*, and when other of their Allies revolted, and eſpecially the *Italians*, he being accuſed of favouring the *Athenians*, with three others of his Aſſociation was baniſh'd; when coming to *Athens*, in the Year wherein *Gallias* ſucceeded *Cleocritus* in the Government, which then labour'd under the Tyranny of the four hundred Conſpirators, he there ſate down. But after the Fight at ** Ægoſpotamus*, when the Thirty Tyrants had uſurp'd the Government, he was baniſhed thence for ſeven Years, his Goods confiſcated, and having likewiſe loſt his Brother *Polemarchus*, he himſelf eſcaped by a Back-door of the Houſe in which he was kept, fled to *Megara*, and there lived as one without hope of Recovery. But when the Citizens endeavour'd to return from *Phile*, he alſo behaved himſelf very well, and appear'd very active in the Affair, having, to forward this great Enterpriſe, depoſited two thouſand Drachms of Silver, and two hundred Targets, and being Commiſſion'd with *Hermas*, he maintain'd three hundred and two Men in Arms, and prevail'd with *Thraſilæus* the *Elian*, his old Friend and Hoſt, to contribute ſome Talents. Upon his coming the City *Thraſybulus* propoſed, that for a Conſideration of his good Service to the Publick, he ſhould take upon him the Adminiſtration of the Commonwealth, and be inveſted with the Government before *Euclides*. Which Propoſal be-

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* *i. e.* The River of Goats.

being ratified by the People, *Archinus* objected that it was againſt the Laws, and a Judgment without Authority, and therefore void of it ſelf. Whereupon being deceiv'd of his Right of Governing, he led the Remainder of his Life in private, and died at laſt at *Athens*, being fourſcore and three years old, or as ſome would have it, ſeventy ſix: and others again ſay, that he liv'd above fourſcore years, till after the Birth of *Demoſthenes*. 'Tis ſuppos'd he was born in the Year of *Philocles*. There are four hundred and twenty five Orations which bear his Name, of which *Dionyſius* and *Cecilius* affirm only two hundred and thirty to be genuine: and he is ſaid to have been overcome but twice in all. There is extant alſo the Oration which he made in defence of the forementioned Decree againſt *Archinus*, wherein he ſhews what Right he had to it, by his Converſation in the Common-wealth: as alſo another againſt the thirty Tyrants. He was very cogent in his Perſwaſions, and was always very brief in what he deliver'd. He would commonly give Orations to private Perſons. There are likewiſe his Inſtitutions of Oratory, his Lectures and Epiſtles, his Elogies, Funeral Orations, Diſcourſes of Love, and his Defence of *Socrates*, accommodated to the Minds of the Judges. His Stile ſeems plain and eaſie, though hardly imitable. *Demoſthenes* in his Oration againſt *Neæra*, ſays that he was in Love with one *Metanira*, *Neæra*'s Serving-maid; but afterwards married his Brother *Brachillus*'s Daughter. *Plato* in his *Phedrus* makes mention of him, as a moſt eloquent Orator, and antienter than *Iſocrates*. *Philiſcus*, his Companion, and *Iſocrates*'s Votary, compoſed an Epigram concerning him, whence the * ſame that we have urg'd from *Plato* is deducible; and it ſings to this effect;

* That he was before *Iſocrates*.

Thou witty Daughter of Callippe, *ſhew*,
If ought of Wit or Eloquence thou haſt:
For 'tis decreed that thou ſhalt bear a Son,
Lycias *by Name, to ſpread the Name of him,*
Whoſe great and generous Acts do fill the World,
And are receiv'd for Glorious above.
Let him who ſings theſe Praiſes of the Dead,
Let him, my Friend, too, praiſe our Amity.

He likewiſe wrote an Oration for *Iphicrates*, againſt *Harmodius*; and another accuſing *Timotheus* of Treaſon, in both which he overcame. But when *Iphicrates* took upon him the Examination of *Timotheus*'s Actions, and wou'd purge him of the Allegation of Treaſon, *Lycias* wrote an Oration for him to deliver in his Defence; upon which he was acquitted; but *Timotheus* was fined in a conſiderable Sum of Money. He likewiſe delivered an Oration at the Olympick Games, in which he endeavour'd to convice the *Greeks*, of how great Advantage it wou'd be to 'em, if they cou'd but unanimouſly joyn to pull down the Tyrant *Dionyſius*.

ISOCRATES IV.

ISocrates was the Son of *Theodorus*, and *Erechthian*, reckon'd among the meaner ſort of Citizens, and a Man who kept Servants under him to make Flutes, by which he got ſo much Money, as enabled him not only to bring up his Children after the moſt gentile Manner, but likewiſe to maintain a Choire, (for beſides *Iſocrates*, he had other Sons, *viz.* *Teleſippus*, and *Diomneſtus*, and one Daughter.) And hence we may ſuppoſe thoſe two comical Poets, *Ariſtophanes* and *Stratis*, took occaſion to bring him on the Stage. He lived about the eighty ſixth Olympiade, *Lyſimachus* the *Myrrhinuſian* being Governour, about two and twenty Years after *Lyſias*, and ſeven before *Plato*. When he was a Boy, he was as well educated as any of the *Athenian* Children, being under the Tuition of *Prodicus* the *Cean*, *Gorgias* the *Leontine*, *Tiſias* the *Syracuſan*, and *Theramenes* the *Rhetorician*, whom when he was to be apprehended by the Order of the Thirty Tyrants, and flying for Succor to the Altar of the Senate, only *Iſocrates* ſtood his Friend, and for a long time conceal'd him. But after ſome time *Theramenes* adviſed him to deſiſt, becauſe, he told him, it would be an Aggravation of his Grief, if any of his Friends ſhould come into Trouble for and with him. And 'tis ſaid, that he made uſe of certain Inſtitutions of Rhetorick, compoſed by him when he was ſlandered in Court: which Inſtitutions have ſince born *Boton's* Name.

When *Iſocrates* was come to Man's Eſtate, he medled with nothing of State Affairs, both becauſe he had a very weak Voice, and becauſe he was ſomething timorous; and beſides theſe two Impediments, his Eſtate was much impair'd by the Loſs of a great part of his Patrimony in the War with the *Lacedæmonians*. It is the Opinion of ſome, that he compos'd ſome Orations, and eſpecially one concerning Barter. Having ſet up a School, he gave himſelf much to Writing, and the Study of Phyloſophy, and then he wrote his Panegyrical Oration, and others which were uſed for Advice, ſome of which he deliver'd himſelf, and others he gave to others to pronounce for him; aiming thereby to perſwade the *Greeks* to the Study and Practice of ſuch things as were of moſt immediate concern to them. But his Endeavours in that way proving to no purpoſe, he gave thoſe things over, and opened a School in Chio firſt, as ſome will have it, having for a Beginning nine Scholars: and when they came to him to pay him for their Schooling, he weeping ſaid, *Now I ſee plainly* *that I am ſold to my Scholars.* He admitted all into his Acquaintance who deſir'd it. He was the firſt that made a Separation between Brawling, and ſolid Pleading and Arguments, to which latter he rather addicted himſelf. He inſtituted a Form of Magiſtracy in *Chios*, much the ſame with that at *Athens*. No School-maſter ever got ſo much Money by the Profeſſion as he did: for he got ſo much, that he built and maintain'd a Galley at his own Charge. He had more than an hundred Scholars, and among others, *Timotheus* the Son of *Conon* was one, with whom he viſited many Cities, and compoſed theſe Epiſtles which *Timotheus* ſent to the *Athenians*; who for his pains gave him a Talent out of that which he got of *Samos*. *Theopompus* likewiſe, the *Chian*, *Ephorus* the *Cumæan*, *Aſclepiades* the Writer of Tragedy, and *Theodectes*, who afterwards wrote Tragedies too, were all *Iſocrates*'s Scholars. (The laſt of theſe had a Monument in the way to *Cyamites*, as we go to *Eleuſines*, of which now remains only Rubbiſh, there alſo he ſet up with his, the Statues of other famous Poets, of all which, only *Homer*'s is to be ſeen.) *Leodamas* alſo the *Athenian*, and *Lacritus* who gave Laws to the *Athenians*, were both his Scholars: and ſome ſay *Hyperides* and *Iſæus* too. They add likewiſe, that *Demoſthenes* alſo was very deſirous to learn of him; and because he cou'd not give the full Rate, which was a thouſand Drachms, he offer'd him two hundred, the fifth part, if he wou'd teach him but the fifth part of his Art proportionable: to whom *Iſocrates* anſwer'd, *We do not uſe,* Demoſthenes, *to impart our Skill by halves, but as Men ſell good Fiſh whole, or altogether, ſo, if thou haſt a Deſire to learn, we will teach thee our full Art, and not a piece of it.* He died in the Year when *Cheronidas* was Governour; when being at *Hippocrates*'s publick Exerciſe, he receiv'd the News of the Slaughter at *Cheronea*; for he was the Cauſe of his own Death by a four Days Faſt, which he then made, pronouncing juſt at his Departure the three Verſes which begin the three Tragedies of *Euripides*:

Danaus, *Father of the fifty Siſters.*
Pelops, *Son of* Tantalus, *in queſt of* Piſa.
Cadmus, *in time paſt going from* Sidonia.

He lived ninety eight Years, or, as ſome ſay, a hundred, not being able to behold *Greece* the fourth time brought into Slavery. The Year, or as ſome ſay, four Years before he died, he wrote his Panethenaic Oration: his Panegyrick Oration ten Years before, or as ſome tell us, fifteen, which he is ſuppoſed to have tranſlated out of *Gorgias* the *Leontine*, and *Lyſias*. His Oration concerning Barter, he wrote when he was eighty two years old; and that to *Philip* a little before his Death. When he was old, he adopted *Aphareus*, the youngeſt of the three Sons of *Plathane*, the Daughter of *Hippias* the Orator, whom he married for his Son. He was very rich, both in reſpect of the great Sums of Money he exacted of his Scholars; and beſides that, he had at one time twenty Talents of *Nicocles*, King of *Cyprus*, for an Oration which he dedicated to him. By reaſon of his Riches he became obnoxious to the Envy of others, and was three times named to build a Galley, which he evaded twice by the Aſſiſtance of his Son and a Counterfeit Sickneſs; but the third time he undertook it, though the Charge prov'd very great. A Father telling him, that he had allow'd his Son no other Companion than one Slave: *Iſocrates* reply'd, *Go thy way then, for one Slave thou ſhalt have two.* He ſtrove for the Prize which *Artemiſia* dedicated to the Honour and Memory of her Husband *Mauſolus*; but that Oration is loſt. He wrote alſo another Oration in praiſe of *Helen*, and one for *Areopagus*. Some ſay, that he died when he had fasted nine Days, some again, at four days end; and that his Death took its Date from the Funeral Solemnities of those that lost their Lives at *Chæronea.* His Son *Aphareus* likewise wrote several Orations. He was buried with all his Family near *Cynosarges*, on the Left hand of the Hill. For there are interr'd *Isocrates* and his Father *Theodorus*, and his Mother, and her Sister *Anaco*, and his adoptive Son *Aphareus*, *Socrates* the Son of *Anaco*, and *Theodorus* his Brother, bearing his Father's Name, and Moreover his Nephews, the Sons of *Aphareus*, *Aphareus* and his Father *Theodorus*, and his Wife *Plathane*, the Mother of his adopted *Aphareus*. On the Tombs of whom were erected six Tables, which are now demolished. But upon the Tomb of *Isocrates* himself was placed a Ram thirty Cubits high, and on that a Mermaid of seven Cubits, which was an Emblem of his Eloquence; there is nothing now extant. There was also near it a Table having the Poets and Schoolmasters on it; and among the rest, *Gorgias* inspecting a Celestial Globe, and *Isocrates* standing by him. There is likewise a Statue of his of Brass in *Eleusis*, dedicated by *Timothy* the Son of *Conon*, before the Entry of the Porch, with this Inscription;

[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] This Statue was made by *Leochares.* There are [illegible] Orations which bear his Name, of which [illegible] only five and twenty [illegible] the rest are accounted spurious. He was an utter Stranger to [illegible] [illegible] when [illegible] [illegible] Day [illegible]

saw

that two at once were to him as a full Theater. He used to tell his Scholars that he taught his Art for ten Pounds; but he would give any Man ten thousand, that cou'd teach him to be bold, and give him a good Utterance. And being once asked, how he, who was not very eloquent himself, cou'd make others so: he answered, *Just as a Whetstone cannot cut, yet it will sharpen Knives for that purpose.* Some say, that he wrote Institutions to the Art of Oratory; others are of Opinion, that he had no Method of Teaching, but only Exercise. He would never ask any thing of a Freeborn Citizen. He used to enjoyn his Scholars being present at publick Assemblies, to repeat to him what was there delivered. He conceiv'd no little Sorrow for the Death of *Socrates*, insomuch that the next Day he put himself in Mourning. Being asked what was the Use and Force of Rhetorick, he answer'd, *To make great Matters appear small, and small great.* At a Feast with *Nicocreon*, the Tyrant of *Cyprus*, being desired by some of the Company to declaim upon some Theme, he made answer, *The like* [illegible] *Season for him to speak his Mind,* [illegible] *to the Sophistick.* Happening once to see *Sophocles* the Tragedian amorously eying a comely Boy, he said to him, *It will become thee,* Sophocles, *not only to refrain thy Hands, but to turn away thine Eyes.* When *Ephorus* of *Cumæ* left his School, before he had arriv'd at any good D Proficiency, his Father *Demophilus* sent him again with a second Sum of Money in his Hand; at which, [illegible], he jocosely call'd him *Diphorus*, that pays twice for his Learning. However, he took a great deal of Pains and Care with him, and [illegible] him [illegible] in the way of writing History.

He was womanly given; and us'd to lie upon a Soft Mat for his Bed, and his Pillow was commonly made moist with Saffron. He never married while he was young, but in his old Age he kept a Miſs, whoſe Name was *Lagiſca*, and by her he had a Daughter, who died in the twelfth Year of her Age, before ſhe was married. He afterward married *Plathane*, the Wife of *Hippias* the *Rhetorician*, who had three Sons, the youngeſt of which, *Aphareus* by Name, he adopted for his own, as we ſaid before; and he erected a brazen Statue to him near *Olympius*, as it were a Column, with an Inſcription to this purpoſe:

In veneration of the mighty Jove,
His noble Parents and the Gods above,
Aphareus *this Statue here has ſet,*
The Statue of Iſocrates *his Father.*

He is ſaid to have run a Race on a ſwift Horſe, when he was but a Boy; for he is to be ſeen in this Poſture in the Citadel or Tower, in the Tennis-Court of the Prieſts of *Minerva*, in a Statue. There were but two Suits commenced againſt him in his whole Life: one whereof was with *Megaclides*, who provoked him to Barter; at the Tryal of which, he could not be perſonally preſent, by reaſon of Sickneſs; but ſending *Aphareus*, he nevertheleſs overcame. The other Suit was commenced againſt him by *Lyſimachus*, who would have him come to a Barter, or likewiſe to be at the Charge of maintaining a Galley for the Commonwealth. In this Caſe he was overthrown, and forced to depoſite the Money. But there was likewiſe a [illegible] of Painting of him [illegible]. *Aphareus* alſo wrote Orations both judicial and deliberative; as alſo a few Tragedies, to the Number of thirty ſeven; of which two are anſwer'd. He began to make his Works publick in the Year of *Lyſiſtratus*, and continued it to the [illegible], that is, eight and twenty Years: He wrote

* From *Lenaeus*, one of the Names of *Bacchus*.

wrote likewise Ten civil Plays, and twice together went away with the Prize; and by other Actors he play'd two more, which he call'd * *Lenaica*.

There were to be seen in the Citadel, the Statues of their Mother, of *Isocrates*, *Theodorus*, and *Anaco* their Mothers Sister. That of the Mother is plac'd just by the Image of Health, or, the Inscription being chang'd, of *Anaco*. She had two Sons, *Alexander* by *Cones*, and *Usicles* by *Lysias*.

ISOEUS.

ISaeus was born in *Chalcis*, when he came to *Athens*, he read *Lysias*'s Works, whom he imitated so well, both as to his Stile, and his way of Reasoning, that he who was not very well acquainted with their manner of Writing, could not tell which of the two was Author of many of their Orations. He flourished after the *Peloponnesian* War, as we may conjecture from his Orations, and was in repute till the Reign of *Philip*. He taught *Demosthenes*, not at his School, but privately, who gave him ten thousand Drachms, by which Business he became very famous. Some say that he compos'd Orations for *Demosthenes*, which he pronounced in opposition to his Tutors. He left behind him sixty four Orations, of which fifty are his own; as likewise some peculiar Institutions of Rhetorick. He was the first that used to speak or write figuratively, and that addicted himself to Civil Matters; which *Demosthenes* chiefly follow'd. *Theopompus* the Comedian makes mention of him in his *Theseus*.

ÆSCHINES VI.

HE was the Son of that *Atrometus*, who being baniſhed by the thirty Tyrants, was thereby a Means of reducing the Common-wealth to the Government of the People, and of his Wife *Glaucothea*; by Deſcent a *Cothocidian*. He was neither nobly born, nor Rich; but in his Youth, being ſtrong and well ſet, he addicted himſelf to all ſorts of bodily Exerciſes; and afterwards, if we may credit *Demoſthenes*, having a very clear Voice, and good Pronunciation, he took to playing of Tragedies, and in this he ſerved *Ariſtodemus* in his Bacchanals, playing in the School only the third Parts of the ancient Tragedies. When he was but a Boy, he was aſſiſting to his Father in teaching little Children their Letters, and when he was grown up, he liſted himſelf a private Centinel. Some think he was brought up under *Socrates* and *Plato*; but *Cecilius* will have it that *Leodamas* was his Maſter. Being concern'd in the Affairs of the Common-wealth, he openly acted in oppoſition to *Demoſthenes* and his Faction; and was therefore employed in ſeveral Embaſſies, and eſpecially in one to *Philip*, to treat about Articles of Peace. For which *Demoſthenes* accuſed him for being the Cauſe of the Overthrow and Ruine of the *Phoceans*, and the Enflaming of War; which part he would have him thought to have acted in the Diet of the *Amphictyons*, who choſe him one of their Deputies in that Aſſembly; and having made them a convenient Haven, put themſelves under *Philip's* Protection, who being aſſiſted by *Æſchines*, took the Affair in hand, and ſoon conquer'd all *Phocis*. But *Æſchines*, notwithſtanding all that *Demoſthenes* could do, being favoured by *Eubulus* the Son of *Spintharus*, a *Probaliſian*, who pleaded in his Behalf, he carried his Cauſe by thirty Voices, and ſo was clear'd. Though ſome tell us, that there were Orations prepared by ſom Orators; but the News of the Conqueſt of *Cheron* put a ſtop to the preſent Proceedings, and ſo the Sui fell.

Some time after this, *Philip* being dead, and his So *Alexander* marching into *Aſia*, *Æſchines* impeached *Cteſi-phon* for acting againſt the Laws, in paſſing a Decree i favour of *Demoſthenes*. But he having not the fifth par the Voices of the People on his ſide, he was forced t go in Exile to *Rhodes*, becauſe he would not pay th Mulct of a thouſand Drachms, in which he was fine being overthrown at the Bar. Others ſay, that to ad to his Crime, he would not depart the City; and th he went to *Alexander* at *Epheſus*. But upon the Deat of *Alexander*, when the Tumult was at the higheſt, h went to *Rhodes*, and there opened a School and taugh And on a time pronouncing the Oration which he ha formerly made againſt *Cteſiphon* to pleaſure the *Rhodian* he did it with that Grace, that they wondred how h cou'd fail of carrying his Cauſe, if he pleaded ſo wel for himſelf: *But, wonder not*, ſaid he, *that I was over-thrown, becauſe ye did not hear* Demoſthenes *pleading again me*. He left a School behind him at *Rhodes*, whi was afterwards call'd the *Rhodian* School. Thence h ſailed to *Samos*, and there in a ſhort time died. H had a very good Voice, as both *Demoſthenes* and *Demo-chares* teſtifie of him.

Four Orations bear his Name, one of which was a-gainſt *Timarchus*, one concerning a falſe *Embaſſage*, third againſt *Cteſiphon*, which three are really his own but the fourth, called *Deliaca*, is none of his; fo though he was named to plead the Cauſe of the Tem-ple at *Delos*, yet *Demoſthenes* tells us, that *Hyperides* wa choſen in his ſtead. He ſays himſelf, that he had tw Brothers, *Aphobus* and *Demochares*. He was the firſt tha brought the *Athenians* the News of the Victory obtai ed arraigned, for which he was crowned. Some report that Æſchines was never any Man's Scholar; but having learned to write indifferently well, he by that means arrived to his Skill in Rhetorick. His firſt publick Appearance was in a Speech againſt Philip; with which the People being pleaſed, he was immediately choſen to go Ambaſſador to the *Arcadians*, and being come thither, he raiſed ſome thouſands of Men againſt *Philip*. He indicted *Timarchus* for keeping a Brothel, who fearing the Iſſue, deſerted his Cauſe and hang'd himſelf, as *Demoſthenes* ſomewhere informs us. Being imploy'd with *Cteſiphon* and *Demoſthenes* in an Embaſſage to *Philip*, to treat of Peace, he appear'd the moſt accompliſhed of the three. Another time alſo he was the tenth Man ſent in Ambaſſage to conclude a Peace, and being afterward call'd to anſwer it, he was acquitted, as we ſaid before.

LYCURGUS VII.

Lycurgus was the Son of *Lycophron*, and Grand-Son of that *Lycurgus* whom the thirty Tyrants put to Death, by the Procurement of *Ariſtodemus* the *Bateſian*, who alſo being Quæſtor, or Treaſurer of the *Greeks*, was baniſhed in the time of the Popular Government. He was a *Butadian* by Country, of the Line or Family of the *Eteobutadæ*. He receiv'd his firſt Inſtitutions of Philoſophy from *Plato* the Philoſopher. But afterward entring himſelf a Scholar to *Iſocrates* the Orator, he employ'd his Study about Affairs of the Common-wealth. And to his care was committed the Diſpoſal and Management of the City Stock, and ſo he executed the Office of Treaſurer General for the ſpace of three times four Years; in which time there went through his Hands fourteen Millions of Talents, or, as ſome will have it, fourteen Millions, ſix hundred and fifty. It was the

Orator *Stratocles* that procured him this Preferment, he as his Friend recommended him to the People, though he was firſt choſen for his own Sake; for there was a Law, that no Man ſhou'd be choſen Treaſurer for above the Term of five Years. But *Lycurgus* plied his Buſineſs cloſely, both Summer and Winter, in the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs, and being entruſted to make Proviſion of all Neceſſaries for the Wars, he reformed many Abuſes that were crept into the Commonwealth. He built four hundred Galleys for the uſe of the Publick: And prepar'd and fitted a Place for publick Exerciſes in *Lyceum*, and planted Trees before it; he likewiſe built a Wreſtling Court, and was at laſt made Surveyer of the Theatre of *Bacchus*. He was likewiſe of ſo great repute among all ſorts, that he was entruſted with two hundred and fifty Talents of private Citizens. He adorned and beautified the City with gold and ſilver Veſſels of ſtate, and golden Lawrels: He likewiſe finiſhed many things that were as yet imperfect, as the Arſenals, Armories, &c. He built a Wall alſo about the ſpacious Panathenaick Cloiſter, and made level a piece of uneven Ground, given by one *Dinias* to *Lycurgus* for the uſe of the City. The keeping of the City was committed wholly to his Care, and Power to apprehend Malefactors, of whom he clear'd the City by degrees: ſo that ſome Sophiſters were wont to ſay, that *Lycurgus* did not dip his Pen in Ink, but in Blood. And therefore it was, that when *Alexander* demanded him of the People, they would not deliver him up. When *Philip* made the ſecond War upon the *Athenians*, he was employed with *Demoſthenes* and *Polyeuctus* in an Embaſſie to *Peloponneſus*, and other Cities. He was always in great repute and eſteem with the *Athenians*, and looked upon as a Man of that Juſtice and Integrity, that in the Courts of Judicature his good Word was at all times prevalent on the Behalf of thoſe Perſons for [illegible] whom he undertook to ſpeak. He was the Author of ſeveral Laws; one of which was, that there ſhou'd be certain Comedies plaid at the *Chytrian* Solemnities, and whoever of the Poets or Players ſhou'd come off Victor, he ſhou'd thereby be inveſted with a Freedom, which before was not lawful: and ſo he revived a Solemnity, which for want of Encouragement, had for ſome time before been out of requeſt. Another of his Laws was, that the City ſhou'd erect Statues to the Memory of *Æſchylus*, *Sophocles* and *Euripides*; and that their Tragedies being fairly engroſſed, ſhou'd be preſerved in the publick Conſiſtory, and that they ſhou'd be read by the publick Notaries, becauſe it was not lawful for the Players to act them. A third Law propoſed by him was, that no *Athenian*, nor any Perſon inhabiting in *Athens*, ſhou'd be permitted to ſell a Captive, who was free before, to be a Slave, without the Conſent of his former Maſter. Further, that in *Piræeus* there ſhou'd be at leaſt three circular Dances play'd to *Neptune*; and that to the Victor in the firſt, ſhou'd be given ten Pounds; to the ſecond, eight; and to the third, ſix. Alſo, that no Woman ſhould go to *Eleuſine* in a Coach, leſt the Poor ſhou'd appear more deſpicable than the Rich, and ſo be dejected and caſt down: and that whoever ſhou'd ride in a Coach contrary to this Law ſhou'd be fin'd ſix thouſand *Drachms*. And when even his own Wife was taken in the Violation of it, he paid to the Diſcoverers of it a whole Talent, for which being afterwards call'd in queſtion by the People: *See therefore*, ſaid he, *I am call'd to anſwer for giving, and not for receiving Money.*

As he was walking one Day in the Streets, he ſaw an Officer lay Hands on *Xenocrates* the Philoſopher, and when nothing would ſerve his turn but the Philoſopher muſt to Priſon, becauſe he had not depoſited the Tribute due from Strangers; he with his Staff ſtruck the

Officer on the Head for his unmannerly Roughneſs toward a Perſon of that Character, and, freeing Xenocrates, caſt the other in Priſon in his ſtead. And not many Days after, *Xenocrates* meeting with the Children of *Lycurgus*; *I make the more haſte*, ſaid he, *to them, to give your Father Thanks for his Friendſhip to me, becauſe I heard his unfeigned Kindneſs commended by all People where I go.* He made likewiſe ſeveral Decrees, in which he made uſe of the Works of *Euclides*, one very expert in ſuch Matters. Though he was rich enough, yet he was uſed to wear the ſame Coat, and the ſame Shooes every Day, both Summer and Winter. Becauſe he was not ſo ready and apt as ſome others, to ſpeak to any thing *ex tempore*, he uſed to meditate and ſtudy Day and Night. And to the end he might not at any time overſleep himſelf, and ſo loſe time from his Study, he uſed to cover himſelf on his Bed only with a Sheep's ſkin, with the Wooll on, and to lay a hard Bolſter under his Head. When one reproached him for being a fee with Rhetoricians, when he ſtudied his Orations, he anſwered; *That, if any Man would promiſe to make his Sons better, he would give him not only a thouſand Drachms, but half what he was worth.* He took the Liberty of ſpeaking boldly upon all occaſions, by reaſon of his Greatneſs: as when once the *Athenians* interrupted him in his ſpeaking, he cryed out, *O thou* Corcyrean *Whip, how many Talents art thou worth?* And another time, when ſome would rank *Alexander* among the Gods; *What manner of God*, ſaid he, *muſt he be, when all that go out of his Temple had need to be dipp'd in Water to purifie themſelves?*

After his Death, *Meneſæchmus* accuſing and indicting them by Virtue of an Inſtrument drawn by *Thraſycles*, his Sons were delivered to the eleven Executioners of Juſtice. But *Demoſthenes* being in Exile, wrote to the *Athenians*, to let them know that they were wrongfully accuſed, and that therefore they did not well to hear their Accuſers: upon which they recanted what they had done, and ſet them at liberty again; *Democles*, who was *Theophraſtus*'s Scholar, likewiſe pleading in their Defence. *Lycurgus* and ſome of his Poſterity were buried publickly, at, or near the Temple of *Minerva Pæonia*, where their Monuments ſtand in the Garden of *Melanthius* the Philoſopher, on which are Inſcriptions to *Lycurgus* and his Children, which are yet extant. The greateſt thing he did while he lived, was his raiſing the Revenue of the Commons totally from ſixty Talents, as he found it, to twelve hundred. When he found he muſt die, he was by his own appointment carried into the Temple, and into the Senate-houſe; being willing before his Death to give an account of his Adminiſtration: And no Man daring to accuſe him of any thing except one *Meneſæchmus*; having purged himſelf from thoſe Calumnies he caſt upon him, he was carried Home again, where in a ſhort time he ended his Life. He was always accounted Honeſt, his Orations were commended for the Eloquence they carried in them, and though he was often accuſed, yet he never was overthrown in any Suit.

He had three Children by *Calliſto*, the Daughter of *Abron*, and Siſter of *Callias Abron's* Son, by Deſcent a *Bateſian*, I mean, of him, who when *Charondas* was Governor, was Treaſurer, or Paymaſter to the Army. Of this Affinity *Dinarchus* ſpeaks in his Oration againſt *Paſtius*. He left behind him three Sons, *Abron*, *Lycurgus* and *Lycophron*; of which, *Abron* and *Lycurgus* died without Iſſue, though the firſt, *Abron*, did for ſome time act very acceptably and worthily in Affairs of the Common-Wealth. *Lycophron* marrying *Calliſtomache*, the Daughter of *Philip Æxonenſis*, begat *Calliſto*, who married *Cleombrotus* the Son of *Dinocrates* the *Acharnenſian*, to whom ſhe bare *Lycophron*, who being adopted by his

Grand-Father died without Iſſue. He being dead, married *Caliſto*, of whom he had his Son *Lycomedes*. To him was born *Ariſtonymus*, to *Ariſtonymus Charmides*, who was the Father of *Philippe*. Of her and *Lyſicles* came *Medius*, who alſo was an Interpreter, one of the *Eumolpides*. He begat two Children of *Timothea*, the Daughter of *Glaucus*, viz. *Laodamia* and *Medius*, who were Prieſts of *Neptune Erectheus*; alſo *Philippe* a Daughter, who was afterward Prieſteſs of *Minerva*; for before, ſhe was married to *Diocles* the *Meliteus*, to whom ſhe bare a Son named *Diocles*, who was a Colonel of a Regiment of Foot. He married *Hediſte*, the Daughter of *Abron*, and of her begat *Philippide* and *Nicoſtrata*; whom *Themiſtocles* the Torch-bearer, Son of *Theophraſtus* married, and by her had *Theophraſtus* and *Diocles*, and he likewiſe conſtituted the Prieſthood of *Neptune Erectheus*.

'Tis ſaid, that he penn'd fifteen Orations. He was often Crown'd by the People, and had Statues dedicated to him. His Image in Braſs was ſet up in *Ceramicum*, by order of the Publick, in the time of *Anaxicrates*; in whoſe time alſo it was order'd that he and his eldeſt Son ſhou'd be provided for with Diet in *Prytaneum*: and he being dead, *Lycophron* his eldeſt Son ſued for that Donation. This *Lycurgus* alſo was uſed frequently to plead on the account of Sacred things; and accuſed *Autolycus* the *Areopagite*, *Lyſicles* the Pretor, *Demades* the Son of *Demius*, *Meneſæchmus*, and many others, all whom he cauſed to be condemned as guilty. *Diphilus* alſo was called in queſtion by him, for impairing and diminiſhing the Props of the Metal Mines, and ſo unjuſtly making himſelf Rich, and cauſed him to be condemned to die, according to the Proviſion made by the Laws in that Caſe. He gave, out of his own Stock, fifty Drachms to every Citizen, the Sum-total of which Donation amounted to one hundred and ſixty Talents; but ſome ſay he gave a pound of Silver to each. He likewiſe accuſed *Ariſtogiton*, *Leocrates* and *Autolycus*, for appearing as Free-men, when they were known to be but as it were Slaves. He was Sirnamed *Lycurgus Ibis*, which in Engliſh ſounds, a *black Stork*; and they would compare him to *Xenophon Nycteris*, which in plainer terms is, *Owl*. His Anceſtors derived their Pedigree from *Erectheus*, the Son of the Earth and of *Vulcan*; but he was neareſt to *Lycomedes* and *Lycurgus*, whom the People honoured with publick Solemnities. There is a Succeſſion of their Race, of the Prieſts of *Neptune*, in a compleat Table, which is placed in the Temple at *Erechtheum*, drawn by *Iſmenias* the *Chalcidian*; in the ſame place alſo ſtood the Images of *Lycurgus*, and of his Son *Abron*, *Lycurgus* and *Lycophron*; and by them *Timarchus* and *Cephiſodotus* the Son of *Praxiteles*. His Son *Abron* dedicated the Table, and coming to the Prieſthood by right of Succeſſion, he reſigned to his Brother *Lycophron*, and hence he is painted as giving a Trident. But *Lycurgus* had made a Draught of all his Actions, and hung it on a Column before the Wreſtling-Court built by himſelf, that all might read that would; and no Man cou'd accuſe him of any Offence. He likewiſe referred to the People, the Crowning of *Neoptolemus*, the Son of *Anticles*, and to dedicate Statues to him; becauſe he had promiſed and undertaken to cover the Altar of *Apollo* in the Market with Gold, according to the Order of the Oracle. He decreed Honours likewiſe to *Diotimus*, the Son of *Diopithes* of *Euonymus*, in the year when *Cteſicles* was Governour.

DEMOSTHENES VIII.

DEmoſthenes, the Son of *Demoſthenes* by *Cleobule*, the Daughter of *Gilon*, a Native by Deſcent, he was left an Orphan by his Father, when he was but ſeven years old, together with a *Siſter* of the *Age of* five. Being kept by his *Mother* during his Nonage, he went to School to *Iſocrates*, ſay ſome; but the Generality are of Opinion that he was Pupil to *Iſæus* the *Chalcidian*, who lived in *Athens*, and was *Iſocrates's* Scholar. Some ſay he was initiated by *Thucydides* and *Plato*, and they affirm that he more eſpecially followed the laſt of theſe two. *Hegeſias* the *Magneſian* writes, that he intreated his *Maſter's* Leave to go hear *Calliſtratus* the Son of *Empædus*, an *Aphidnæan*, a noble Orator, and ſometime Commander of a Troop of Horſe, who had dedicated an Altar to *Mercury Agoræus*, and was to make an Oration to the People: Whom, when he heard him, he loved, and ſo long as he continued at *Athens*, became his Diſciple.

But *Calliſtratus* being ſome time after baniſhed, and *Demoſthenes* being arrived to ſome years of maturity, he joyned with *Iſocrates* and *Plato*. After this, he took *Iſæus* into his Houſe, and for the ſpace of four years he beſtow'd a very hard imitation of his Orations. Though *Cteſibius* in his Book of Philoſophy, affirms, that by the help of *Callias* the *Syracuſian*, he got the Orations of *Zethus* the *Amphipolitan*, and by the aſſiſtance of *Charicles*, thoſe alſo of *Alcidamas* the *Caryſtian*, and devoted himſelf to the imitation of them. When he came to Age, in the Year of *Timocrates*, he call'd his Tutors and Guardians to account for their *Mal-adminiſtration*, in not allowing him what was fitting and requiſite out of his *Eſtate*, while he was under their Tuition. And theſe Tutors or Guardians were three, *Aphobus*, *Therippides* and *Demophon*, alias *Demeas*, the laſt of whom, being his Uncle, he charged more ſeverely than the other two. He arreſted each of them in an Action of ten Talents, and caſt them, but did not exact of them what the Law had given him.

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When *Ariſtophon*, by reaſon of his Age, could not hold the Government any longer, he was choſen Choragus, or Overſeer of the Dances. During the Execution of which Office, *Midias* the *Anagyraſian* ſtriking him as he was ordering the Dances in the Theatre, he ſued him upon it, but let fall his Suit upon *Midias's* paying him three thouſand Drachms.

'Tis reported of him, that while he was a Youth, he confined himſelf to a Den or Cave, and there ſtudied his Orations, and ſhaved half of his Head, that he might not be allured to divert himſelf from it; and that he lay upon a very narrow Bed, that he might awake and riſe the ſooner. And for that he could not very well pronounce the Letter R, he accuſtomed himſelf very much to that, that he might maſter it if poſſible; and uſing likewiſe an unſeemly Motion of his Shoulder when he ſpake at any time, he remedied that by a Spit, or as ſome ſay, a Sword ſtuck in the Ceiling juſt over his Shoulder, that the Fear of being pricked with it might break him off that indecent Geſture. They report of him further, that when he could declaim pretty well, that he had a ſort of Looking-glaſs as big as himſelf, and uſed always in declaiming, to look in that, to the end he might ſee, and correct what was amiſs. He uſed likewiſe at ſome certain times to go down to the *Phalerian* Shore, to the end, that being accuſtomed to the Surges, and Noiſe of the Waves, he might not be daunted by the Clamours of the People, when he ſhould at any time declaim in publick. And being naturally ſhort-winded, he gave *Neoptolemus* a Player, ten thouſand Drachms to teach him to pronounce long Sentences in one breath.

Afterwards, betaking himſelf to the Affairs of the Common-wealth, and finding the People divided into two different Factions, one in favour of *Philip*, and the other ſtanding for the Liberties and Properties of the

People; he took part with them that oppos'd *Philip*, and always perswaded the Citizens to help those that were in danger and trouble by *Philip's* Oppression; taking for his Companions in Council, *Hyperides*, *Nausicles*, *Polyeuctus* and *Diotimus*; and then he drew the *Thebans*, *Eubœans*, *Corcyreans*, *Corinthians*, *Bœotians*, and many more into a League with the *Athenians*. Being to speak one day, and his Memory failing him, his Oration was hiss'd; which made him return home very heavy and melancholly: and being met by *Eunomus* the *Thriasian*, an old Man, by him he was comforted and encourag'd. But chiefly he was animated by *Andronicus* the Player, who told him that his Orations were excellent, but that he wanted something of Action. And so when he was asked what was the first part of Oratory, he answered, *Action*; and which was the second, he replied, *Action*; and which was the third, he still answered, *Action*. Another time, declaiming publickly, and using Expressions too youthful for one of his Years and Gravity, he was laugh'd at, and ridiculed by the Comedians *Antiphanes* and *Timocles*, who in derision us'd to repeat such Phrases as these, as utter'd by him—

Μὰ γῆν, μὰ κρήνας, μὰ ποταμοὺς, καὶ νάματα.

By the Earth, by the Fountains, by the Rivers, by the Floods.

For having sworn thus in presence of the People, he raised a Tumult about him. He likewise swore by *Æsclepius*, and made the *ante penultima* long through some Mistake, and yet afterward defended it; for this *Æsclepius* was called, θεὸς ἤπιος, that is a mild God, by which Name he often invoked him. But all these things he reform'd in time, being sometimes conversant with *Eubulides* the *Milesian* Rhetorician. Being on a time present at the Olympick Games, and hearing

Lamachus the *Terinæan* ſound the Praiſes of *Philip*, and of *Alexander* the Great, his Son, and decry the Cowardize of the *Thebans* and *Olynthians*, he ſtood up in their Defence againſt him, and from the ancient Poets he proclaim'd the great and noble Atchievements of the *Thebans* and *Olynthians*; and ſo elegantly he behaved himſelf in this Affair, that he at once filenced *Lamachus*, and made him convey himſelf immediately out of the Aſſembly. And even *Philip* himſelf, when he heard what an Harangue he made againſt him, replied, *That, if he had heard him himſelf, he ſhou'd have been apt to commend him, and to have choſen him to make War againſt himſelf.* He was uſed to compare *Demoſthenes*'s Orations to Souldiers, for the Force they carried along with them: but the Orations of *Iſocrates* to Fencers, becauſe of the Theatrical Delight that accompanied them.

Being about the Age of ſeven and thirty, reckoning from *Dexitheus* to *Callimachus*, in whoſe time the *Olynthians* ſent to beg Aid of the *Athenians* againſt *Philip*, who then made War upon them, he perſwaded them to anſwer the *Olynthians* Requeſt: but in the following Year, in which *Plato* died, *Philip* overthrew and deſtroyed the *Olynthians*. *Xenophon* alſo, the Scholar of *Socrates*, had ſome knowledge of *Demoſthenes*, either at his firſt Riſe, or at leaſt, when he was moſt famous and flouriſhing: For he wrote the Acts of the *Greeks*, as touching what paſſed at the Battel of *Mantinea*, in the Year of *Chariclides*: our *Demoſthenes* having ſome time before overthrown his Guardians, in a Suit he had commenced againſt them, of which mention is made already. When *Æſchines*, being condemn'd, fled toward *Athens*, *Demoſthenes* hearing of it, he took Horſe and rode after him; which *Æſchines* underſtanding, and fearing to be apprehended again, he came out to meet *Demoſthenes*, and fell at his Feet, cover'd his Face, and begg'd

1758

begg'd his Mercy; upon which *Demoſthenes* bid him ſtand up, aſſured him of his Favour, and as a Pledge of it, gave him a Talent of Silver. He adviſed the People to maintain a Company of mercenary Souldiers in *Thaſos*, and thither ſail'd himſelf as Captain of the Gallys. Another time, being entruſted to buy Corn, he was accuſed of defrauding the City, but cleared himſelf of the Accuſation, and was acquitted. When *Philip* made War upon *Elatia*, and overcame it, *Demoſthenes* with others went to the War of *Ceronea*, where he is ſaid to have deſerted his Colours, and flying away, a Bramble caught hold of his Veſt behind, when turning about in haſt, thinking an Enemy had overtaken him, he cry'd out, *Save my Life, and ſay what ſhall be my Ranſom.* On his Buckler he had engraven for his Motto, *Good Fortune.* And it was he that made the Orations at the Funerals of ſuch as died in the Field.

After theſe things, he bent his whole Care and Study for the reparation and adorning of the City and Walls; and beſides what Money he expended of the City Stock, he laid out of his own Pocket at leaſt an hundred pounds. And beſides this, he gave ten thouſand to thoſe who were concern'd about things Sacred, and taking Ship, he ſail'd from Coaſt to Coaſt to collect Money of the Allies: for which he was often by *Demotales*, *Ariſtonicus*, and *Hyperides*, crowned with golden Crowns; and afterwards by *Cteſiphon*. Which afterward had like to have been retracted, *Diodotus* and *Æſchines* endeavouring to prove it to be contrary to the Laws; but he defended himſelf ſo well againſt their Allegations, that he overcame all Difficulties, his Enemies not having the fifth part of the Votes of the People.

After this, when *Alexander* the Great made his Expedition into *Aſia*, and *Harpalus* fled to *Athens* with a great Sum of Money; at firſt he would not let him be entertain'd, but afterwards, he being landed, and having given him a thouſand Daricks, he was of another Mind; and when the *Athenians* determin'd to deliver *Harpalus* up to *Antipater*, he oppos'd it, averring that the Money was laid up in the Citadel, ordering the Sum to be declar'd to the People, and accordingly *Harpalus* told them, it was ſeven hundred and fifty Talents, or ſomewhat more, according to *Philochorus*. But when *Harpalus* broke out of the Priſon wherein he was kept till ſome Perſon ſhou'd come from *Alexander*, and was eſcap'd into *Crete*, or, as ſome will have it, into *Tænarus* in *Laconia*; *Demoſthenes* was accuſed that he had let him go for a Sum of Money; and that he had not given a true Account of the Sum delivered to him; nor had he impeach'd the Negligence of the Keepers of both him and the Money; and ſo he was judicially cited by *Hyperides*, *Pytheus*, *Meneſæchmus*, *Himereus* and *Patrocles*, who proſecuted him ſo ſeverely, as to cauſe him to be condemn'd in the Court of *Areopagus*; and being condemn'd, he went into Exile, not being able to pay five fold; for he was accus'd of receiving thirty Talents: Others ſay, that he wou'd not run the Riſque of a Tryal, but went into Baniſhment befor the Day came. After this Tempeſt was over, when the *Athenians* ſent *Polyeuctus* to the Republick of *Arcadia*, to draw them off from the Alliance of the *Macedonians*, he not ſucceeding, *Demoſthenes* appear'd to ſecond him, where he reaſon'd ſo effectually, that he eaſily prevail'd. Which procur'd him ſo much Credit and Eſteem, that after ſome time a Galley was diſpatch'd to call him Home again. And the *Athenians* decreed, that whereas he ow'd the State thirty Talents, as a Fine laid on him for the Miſdemeanor he was accuſed of, he ſhou'd be excus'd only for building an Altar to *Jupiter Servator* in the *Piræum*; which Decree was firſt propos'd by *Damon* his near Kinſman.

This being agreed on, he return'd to the Adminiſtration of Affairs in the Common-wealth again. But when *Antipater* was block'd up in *Lamia*, and the *Athenians* offer'd Sacrifices for the happy News, he happen'd, being talking with *Ageſiſtratus*, one of his intimate Friends, to ſay, that his judgment concerning the ſtate of Affairs, did not jump with other Mens, for that he knew the *Greeks* were briſk and ready enough for a ſhort Encounter, but were not able to endure a long War. When *Antipater* had taken *Pharſalus*, and threatned to beſiege *Athens* it ſelf, if they refus'd to deliver up ſuch Orators as had declaim'd againſt him: *Demoſthenes* ſuſpecting himſelf to be one of the Number, left the City, and fled firſt into *Egina*, that he might take Sanctuary in the Temple of *Æacus*; but being afraid to truſt himſelf long there, he went over to *Calauria*: and when the *Athenians* had decreed to deliver up those Orators, and him eſpecially as one of them, he continued a Suppliant in the Temple of *Neptune*. When *Archias*, who from his Office of purſuing Fugitives, was call'd *Phygadotheres*, came thither, who was the Scholar of *Anaximenes* the Orator; when he, I ſay, came to him, and perſwaded him to go with him, telling him, that no doubt he ſhou'd be receiv'd by *Antipater* as a Friend; he reply'd, *When you play a part in a Tragedy, you cannot perſwade me to believe you the Perſon you repreſent; no more ſhall you now perſwade me by your Counſel.* And when *Archias* endeavour'd to force him thence, the Townſmen wou'd not ſuffer it. And *Demoſthenes* told them, that he did not flee to *Calauria* to ſave his Life, but that he might convince the *Macedonians* of their Violence committed, even againſt the Gods themſelves. And with that he call'd for a Writing-Table, and if we may credit *Demetrius* the *Magneſian*, on that he wrote this Diſtich, which afterwards the *Athenians* caus'd to be affix'd to his Statue; and 'twas to this purpoſe:

Hadſt thou, Demoſthenes, *an outward Force,*
Great as thy inward Magnanimity;
Greece *ſhou'd not wear the* Macedonian *Yoke.*

This Statue, made by *Polyeuctus,* is plac'd near the Cloiſter, where the Altar of the twelve Gods is erected. Some ſay this Writing was found; *Demoſthenes* to *Antipater* Greeting. *Philochorus* tells us that he died by drinking of Poyſon; but *Satyrus* the Hiſtoriographer will have it, that the Pen was poiſon'd with which he wrote his Epiſtle, and putting it into his Mouth, ſoon after he taſted it he died. *Eratoſthenes* is of another Opinion, *viz.* that being in continual Fear of the *Macedonians,* he wore a poiſon'd Bracelet on his Arm. Others ſay again, that he died with holding his Breath; and others, laſtly, ſay, that he carry'd ſtrong Poyſon in his Signet * * two and twenty.

When King *Philip* was dead, he appear'd publickly in a glorious Robe or Mantle, as rejoycing for his Death, though he but juſt before mourn'd for his Daughter. He aſſiſted the *Thebans* likewiſe againſt *Alexander,* and animated all the other *Greeks.* So that when *Alexander* had conquer'd *Thebes,* he demanded *Demoſthenes* of the *Athenians,* threatning them, if they refus'd to deliver him. When he went againſt *Perſia,* demanding Ships of the *Athenians, Demoſthenes* oppos'd it, ſaying, *Who can aſſure us, that he will not uſe those Ships we ſhou'd ſend him, againſt our ſelves?*

He left behind him two Sons by one Wife, the Daughter of one *Heliodorus Euboicus.* He had but one Daughter, who died unmarried, being but a Child. A Siſter, too, he had, who married with *Laches* the *Leuconian,* his Kinſman, and to him bore *Demochares,* who prov'd inferior to none in his time for Eloquence, Conduct and Courage. His Statue is ſtill ſtanding in the *Pritaneum*, on the Right of the Entry, the firſt that ever was cloathed with a Coat, and girt with a Sword; becauſe in this Habit he delivered an Oration to the People when *Antipater* demanded of them their Orators.

Afterwards, in proceſs of time, the *Athenians* decreed Nouriſhment to be given to the Kindred of *Demoſthenes* in the *Prytaneum*; and likewiſe ſet up a Statue to his Memory, when he was dead, in the Market, in the Year of *Gorgias*: Which Honours were paid him at the Requeſt of *Demochares* his Siſters Son. And ten years after, *Laches*, the Son of *Demochares* a *Leuconian*, in the Year of *Pytharatus*, requir'd the ſame Honour for himſelf; *viz.* That his Statue ſhou'd be ſet up in the Market, and that both he and his Poſterity, that is, the Eldeſt of his Line for the future ſhou'd have their Allowance in the *Prytaneum*, and the higheſt room at all publick Shews and Triumphs. Theſe Decrees concerning both of them, are engroſs'd, and to be found among the Statute Laws. The Statue of *Demochares*, as we have ſaid before, was afterwards remov'd out of the Market into the Prytaneum.

There are extant ſixty five Orations which are truly his. Some report of him, that he liv'd a very diſſolute and vitious Life, appearing often in Womens Apparel, and being frequently converſant at Masks and Revellings; whence he was ſirnam'd *Batalus*: though others ſay, that this was a Diminutive of his Nurſes Name, and that from her he was call'd *Batalus* in deriſion. *Diogenes*, who for his churliſh Humor, was ſirnamed *Canis*, a Dog, eſpying him one day in a Victualing-houſe, he was very much aſhamed, and to ſhun him, went to withdraw: But *Diogenes* call'd after him, and told him; *The more you ſhrink inward, the more you will be in.* The ſame *Diogenes* hearing him once upon the Banter, ſaid of him, that in his Orations, he was a *Scythian*, a robuſt valiant Warrior; but in War a delicate nice Citizen. He was one of them who receiv'd Gold of *Ephialtes*, one of the popular Orators, who being ſent in an Embaſſie to the King of *Perſia*, took Money privily, and diſtributed among the Orators of *Athens*, that they might uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to kindle and inflame the War againſt *Philip*; and 'tis ſaid of *Demoſthenes*, that he for his part, had at once three thouſand Daricks of the King. He apprehended one *Anaxilles* of *Oreites*, and cauſ'd him to be tortur'd for a Spie, and when he wou'd confeſs nothing, he procur'd a Decree that he ſhou'd be deliver'd to the Eleven Executioners. When once at a Meeting of the *Athenians*, they wou'd not ſuffer him to ſpeak, he told them, he had but a ſhort Story to tell them. Upon which all being ſilent, thus he began; *A certain Youth*, ſaid he, *hired an Aſs in Summer time, from hence to* Megara. *About Noon, when the Sun was very hot, and both he that hired the Aſs, and the owner being deſirous of ſitting under, or on one ſide of the Aſs, that he might ſhade them, they each thruſt the other away, the Owner arguing, that he let him only his Aſs, and not the Shadow; and the other replying, that ſince he had hir'd the Aſs, all that belong'd to him was at his Diſpoſe.* Having ſaid thus, he ſeem'd to go his way. But the *Athenians* willing now to hear his Story out, call'd him back, and deſired him to proceed. To whom he reply'd; *How comes it to paſs that ye are ſo deſirous of hearing a Story of the Shadow of an Aſs, and refuſe to give ear to Matters of greater Moment? Polus*, the Player, boaſting to him, that he had gotten a whole Talent by playing but two days, he anſwer'd, *And I have gotten five Talents by being ſilent but one Day.* One Day his Voice failing him, when he was declaiming publickly, being hiſs'd, he cry'd out to the People, ſaying, *Ye are to judge of Players, indeed, by the Clearneſs and Tuneableneſs of their Voice; but of Orators, by the Gravity and Excellency of their Sentences. Epicles* upbraiding him, for his premeditating what he was to ſay, he replyꝰd, *I ſhould be aſham'd to ſpeak what comes uppermoſt to ſo great an Aſſembly.* They ſay of him, that his Lamp never went out; that he us'd always, to the Age of fifty years, to peruſe often, correct and poliſh his Orations before he deliver'd them. And he ſays of himſelf, that he drank always fair Water. Lyſias the Orator was acquainted with him; and *Iſocrates* knew him concern'd in the Management of publick Affairs till the Battle of *Chæronea*; as alſo ſome of the Socratical Sect. He deliver'd ſome of his Orations * *ex tempore*; Nature having qualify'd him for it. The firſt that propoſed the Crowning him with a Coronet of Gold, was *Ariſtonicus*, the Son of *Nicophanes* the *Anagyraſian*; though *Diondas*, indeed, interceded for it likewiſe.

* This is ſuppoſed to have been added by ſome other Hand, becauſe a contrary Sentence is given of him before.

HYPERIDES IX.

Hyperides was Son of *Glaucippus*, and Grand-ſon of *Dionyſius*, of the Borough of *Colimus*. He had a Son who bare the ſame Name with his Father *Glaucippus* the Orator, who wrote many Orations, and begot a Son named *Alphinus*. He was *Plato's* Scholar, and had the Management of publick Affairs with *Lycurgus*, or, as ſome will have it, he was the Scholar of *Plato*, *Lycurgus* and *Iſocrates*: However, his Concern in the Commonwealth, was at that time, when *Alexander* invaded *Greece*, whom he vigorouſly oppos'd, in his Demands of Officers and Ships of the *Athenians*. He adviſed the People not to diſcharge the Gariſon of *Tenarus*, and that he ſeem'd to do for the Sake of a Friend of his, who was Commander of it. At firſt he us'd to plead Cauſes for a Fee, and was ſuſpected to have receiv'd part of the Money which *Ephialtes* brought out of *Perſia*. When *Philip* beſieged the City *Byzantium*, he was ſent as Captain of the Galleys for the Aſſiſtance and Relief of that City. In that Year he had the Charge and Care of the ſolemn Dances, when others were diſmiſs'd from all publick Offices. He obtain'd a Decree for ſome Honours to be paid to *Demoſthenes*; and when that Decree was repeal'd at the Inſtance of *Diondas*, as being contrary to the Laws, he being call'd in queſtion upon it, clear'd himſelf. He did not continue his Friendſhip with *Demoſthenes*, *Lyſicles*, and *Lycurgus* to the laſt; for, *Lyſicles* and *Lycurgus* being dead, and *Demoſthenes* being accuſ'd of having receiv'd Money of *Harpalus*, he, among all the reſt, was pitch'd upon as the only Perſon who was not corrupted with Bribery, to draw up his Indictment, which he accordingly did. Being once accuſed of publiſhing Acts contrary to the Laws; as, that all Inhabitants of *Athens* ſhou'd be accounted Citizens; that Slaves ſhou'd be made free; that, all ſacred things, Children and Women, ſhou'd be confin'd to the *Piraeum*, he clear'd himſelf of all, and was acquitted. And being blam'd by ſome, who wondred how he cou'd be ignorant of the many Laws that were directly repugnant to thoſe Decrees; he anſwer'd, that, *The Arms of the* Macedonians *dazled his Sight, and it was not he, but the Battel of* Chaeronea *that made that Decree.* But *Philip* being affrighted at ſomewhat, gave leave to carry away their Dead out of the Field, which before he had deny'd to the Heraulds of *Lebadia*.

After this, at the Overthrow at *Cranon*, being demanded by *Antipater*, and the People being reſolv'd to deliver him up, he fled out of the City with others who were under the ſame Condemnation, to *Aegina*; where meeting with *Demoſthenes*, he excuſed himſelf for the Breach of Friendſhip between them. Going from thence, he was apprehended by *Archias*, ſirnamed *Phygadotheras*, by Country a *Thurian*, formerly a Player, but at that time in the Service of *Antipater*; by this Man, I ſay, he was apprehended, even in the very Temple of *Neptune*, though he graſp'd the Image of that God in his Arms, and was brought before *Antipater*, who was then at *Corinth*. Where being put upon the Rack, he bit out his Tongue, becauſe he wou'd not divulge the Secrets of his Country, and ſo died, on, or about the ninth Day of *October*. *Hermippus* tells us, that as he went into *Macedonia*, his Tongue was cut out, and his Body caſt out unburied; but *Alphinus* his Couſin German, or, according to the Opinion of others, his Grandſon, by his Son *Glauſippus*, obtain'd Leave, by means of one *Philopithes* a Phyſician, to take up his Body, which he burnt, and carried the Aſhes to *Athens* to his Kinsfolk there, contrary to the Edicts both of the *Athenians* and *Macedonians*; which not only baniſh'd them, but likewiſe forbad the Burial of them any where in their own Country. Others ſay, that he went to *Cleonæ*, where with others he died; having his Tongue cut out, as above. However, his Relations and Friends took his Bones when his Body was burnt, and buried them among his Anceſtors before the Gate *Hippades*, as *Heliodorus* gives us the Relation in his third Book Of *Monuments*. His Monument is now altogether unknown and loſt, being thrown down with Age and long ſtanding.

He is ſaid to have excell'd all others in his way of delivering himſelf in his Orations to the People. And there are ſome, who prefer him even to *Demoſthenes* himſelf. There are ſeventy ſeven Orations which bear his Name, of which only two and fifty are genuine, and truly his. He was much given to Venery, inſomuch, that he turn'd his Son out of Doors, to entertain that famous Curteſan, *Myrrhina*: In *Pyræeum* he had another, whoſe Name was *Ariſtagora*; and at *Eleuſine*, where the greateſt part of his Eſtate lay; he kept another, one *Phila*, a

Theban, whom he purchaſed for twenty Pounds. His uſual Walk was in the Fiſh-Market. It is thought that he was accus'd of Impiety with one *Phryne*, a *Curtezan* likewiſe, and ſo was ſought after to be apprehended, as he himſelf ſeems to intimate in the beginning of an Oration: and 'tis ſaid, that when Sentence was juſt ready to be paſs'd upon her, he produc'd her in Court, open'd he Cloaths before, and diſcover'd her naked Breaſts, which were ſo very white, that for her Beauty's ſake, the Judges for that time acquitted her. He at leiſure times drew up ſeveral Declamations againſt *Demoſthenes*, which he thus diſcover'd; *Hyperides* being ſick, *Demoſthenes* came one Day to viſit him, and caught him with a Book in his Hand written againſt him; at which ſeeming ſomewhat diſpleas'd, *Hyperides* told him; *This Book ſhall hurt no Man that is my Friend; but as a Curb it may ſerve to reſtrain my Enemy from offering me any Injury.* He obtain'd a Decree of ſome Honours to be paid to *Iolas*, who gave the poyſon'd Cup to *Alexander*. He joyn'd with *Demoſthenes* in fomenting the *Lamian* War, and made an admirable Oration at the Funerals of thoſe who loſt their Lives therein.

When *Philip* embark'd for *Eubæa*, and the *Athenians* were at the News of it in no little Conſternation; *Hyperides* in a very ſhort time, by the voluntary Contributions of the Citizens, fitted out forty Sail; and was the firſt that ſet the Example, by ſetting out two Gallies, one for himſelf, and another for his Son, at his own Charge.

When there was a Controverſie between the *Delians* and the *Athenians*, who ſhou'd have the Preheminence in the Temple at *Delos*, *Æſchines* being choſen on the behalf of the *Athenians*, the *Areopagites* pitch'd upon *Hyperides* for their Advocate, and his Oration is yet extant, and bears the Name of the *Deliack* Oration.

He likewiſe went Ambaſſador to *Rhodes*, where meeting other Ambaſſadors from *Antipater*, who commended him very highly for his Goodneſs and Vertue; *We know*, reply'd he, *that* Antipater *is good, but we have no need of a good Maſter at preſent.*

It is ſaid of him, that he never affected much Action in his Orations to the People; his chief aim being to lay down the Matter as plainly, and make the Caſe as obvious to the Judges as he cou'd.

He was ſent likewiſe to the *Elians*, to plead the Cauſe of *Callippus* the Fencer, who was accuſ'd of carrying away the Prize at the publick Games unfairly: in which Cauſe he got the better. But when he oppoſ'd the Sentence of paying Honours to *Phocion*, obtain'd by *Midias* the Son of *Midias* the *Anagyraſian*, he was in that Cauſe overthrown. This appear'd on the twenty fourth, or, as ſome ſuppoſe, the twenty ſeventh Day of *May*, in the Year when *Xenius* was Governor.

DINARCHUS X.

Dinarchus, the Son of *Soſtrates*, or *Socratus*, born, as ſome think, at *Athens*, but according to others, at *Corinth*, came to *Athens* very young, and there took up his Dwelling, at that time when *Alexander* made his Expedition into *Aſia*. He uſed to hear *Theophraſtus*, who ſucceeded *Ariſtotle* in his School. He was frequently converſant with *Demetrius* the *Phalerian* too. He betook himſelf more eſpecially to the Affairs of the Commonwealth, after the Death of *Antipater*, when ſome of the Orators were kill'd, others baniſh'd. Having contracted Friendſhip with *Caſſander*, he became in a ſhort time vaſtly Rich, by exacting great Rates for his Orations, of thoſe for whom he wrote them. He oppoſ'd himſelf to the greateſt and moſt noble Orators of his time, not by being over forward to declaim publickly, for his Faculty did not lye that way, but by compoſing Orations for their Adverſaries. And when *Harpalus* had broken out of Priſon, he wrote ſeveral Orations, which he gave to their Accuſers to pronounce againſt thoſe that were ſuſpected to have taken Bribes of him.

Some time after, being accuſed of a Conſpiracy with *Antipater* and *Caſſander*, about the Matter of *Munichia*, when it was ſurpriz'd by *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, who put a Gariſon into it, in the Year when *Anaxicrates* was Governour, he turn'd the greateſt part of his Eſtate into Money, and fled to *Calchis*, where he liv'd in Exile about fifteen Years, where he increas'd his Stock, and afterwards, by the Mediation of *Theophraſtus*, he and ſome other baniſh'd Perſons, return'd to *Athens*. Then he took up his Abode in the Houſe of one *Proxenus*, his intimate Friend; where, being very Aged, and withal dim Sighted, he loſt his Gold. And becauſe *Proxenus* refuſ'd to make inquiry after the Thief, he apprehended him; and this was the firſt time that ever he appear'd in Court. That Oration againſt *Proxenus* is extant: And there are ſixty four that bear his Name, whereof ſome are receiv'd and approv'd; as namely, that againſt *Ariſtogiton*. He imitated *Hyperides*; or, as ſome incline to judge, rather *Demoſthenes*, becauſe of that Vigor and Force to move the Affections, and the Rhetorical Ornaments that are evident in his Stile.

Decrees propoſed to the Athenians.

DEmochares the Son of *Laches* the *Leuconian*, requires that a Statue of Braſs be ſet up for *Demoſthenes* the Son of *Demoſthenes* the *Pæanian*, in the Market-place: as likewiſe that Proviſion of Diet be made in the *Prytanæum* for himſelf, and the Eldeſt of his Progeny ſucceſſively, and the chief Seat of all publick Shews. For he had done many good Offices for the *Athenians*, had on moſt Occaſions been a good Counſellor, had ſpent his Patrimony in the Common-wealth, that he had expended eight Talents for the fitting out and maintenance of one Galley, when they deliver'd *Eubœa*; another, when *Cephiſodorus* ſail'd into the *Helleſpont*; and a third, when *Chares* and *Phocion* were Commiſſion'd by the People to go Captains to *Bizantium*; that he at his own Charge, had redeem'd many who had been taken Priſoner by *Philip* at *Pydene*, *Methone* and *Olynthus*: That himſelf had maintain'd the Choire, when the ſolemn Dances had been ſometime laid aſide, through the Neglect of the *Pandionides*: That he had furniſhed many indigent Citizens with Money and Arms: That being choſen by the People to overſee the City Works, he had laid out three Talents of his own Stock towards the repairing of the Walls, and ten thouſand Drachms for making two Trenches about the *Piræum*: That after the Battel of *Chæronea*, he depoſited one Talent for the Uſe of the Publick; and after that, another to buy Corn in time of Scarcity and Want: That by his Beneficence, wholſome Counſels, and effectual Perſwaſions, he allur'd the *Thebans*, *Eubœans*, *Corinthians*, *Megarenſians*, *Achæans*, *Locrians*, *Byzantines* and *Meſſenians* to a League with the *Athenians*: That he rais'd an Army of ten thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe, and contracted

Plenty to the People and their Allies, That being Ambaſſador, he had perſwaded the Allies to a Contribution of above five hundred Talents: That in the ſame Quality he obtain'd of the *Peloponneſians* that they ſhou'd not ſend Aid to *Alexander* againſt the *Thebans*: And in Conſideration of many other good Offices perform'd by him, either as to his Counſels, or his perſonal Adminiſtration of Affairs of the Common-wealth, in which, and in defending the Rights and Properties of the People, no Man in his time had done more, or deſerv'd better. And in regard of his Sufferings, on the Account of the Common-wealth, being baniſh'd by the Inſolence of a few, and at laſt dy'd at *Calauria* for his Good Will to the Publick, and his unchangeable Love to the People of *Athens*, there being Souldiers ſent from *Antipater* to apprehend him; and that notwithſtanding his being in the Hands of his Enemies, in ſo great and imminent Danger, his hearty Affections to his Countrymen was ſtill the ſame, inſomuch, that he never to the laſt offer'd any thing unworthy to the Injury of his People. Subſcribed *Pytharatus* Governour.

* *Laches*, the Son of *Demochares* the *Leuconian*, requires of the *Athenian* Senate, that a Statue of Braſs be ſet up for *Demochares*, the Son of *Laches* of *Leucon*, in the Market-place, and Table and Diet in the *Prytaneum* for himſelf and the Eldeſt of his Progeny ſucceſſively, and the firſt Seat at all publick Shews; for that he had always been a Benefactor and good Counſellor to the People; that he had done theſe and the like good Offices to the Publick; he had gone in Embaſſies in his own Perſon; that he propoſed and carried in Bills relating to his Embaſſage; that he had been chief Manager of publick Matters; he repair'd the Walls, prepar'd Arms and Machines; that he fortified the City in the time of the four years War, and compos'd a Peace, Truce and Alliance with the *Bœotians*. That for theſe

things he was baniſh'd by thoſe who overturn'd and uſurped the Government; and being call'd Home again by a Decree of the People, in the Year of *Diocles*, he contracted the Adminiſtration, not ſparing his own Pains, he went in Embaſſage to *Lyſimachus*; that at one time he levied thirty, and at another time an hundred Talents of Silver, for the uſe of the Publick; that he moved the People to ſend an Embaſſage to *Ptolemy*, by which means the People got fifty Talents: That he went Ambaſſador to *Antipater*, and by that got twenty Talents, and brought it to *Eleuſine* to the People: That he did all theſe things, for which he was baniſhed; and wou'd never take part with Uſurpers againſt the Popular Government; neither did he after the Overthrow of that Government, bear any publick Office in the State: That he was the only Man of all that had to do in the publick Adminiſtration of Affairs in his time, who never promoted or conſented to any other Form of Government, but the Popular: That by his Prudence and Conduct, all the Judgments and Decrees, the Laws, Goods and all things elſe belonging to the *Athenians* were preſerved ſafe and inviolate; and in a Word, That he never ſaid or did any thing to the Prejudice of the Popular Government.

Lycophron, the Son of *Lycurgus* of *Butas*, requires, that he may have Diet in the *Prytaneum*, according to a Donation of the People to *Lycurgus*, in the Year of *Anaxicrates*, the Tribe of *Antiochus* in *Prytaneum*. *Stratocles*, the Son of *Euthydemus*, of *Diomeia*, propoſed: That ſince *Lycurgus*, the Son of *Lycophron* of *Butæ*, had, as it were, a generated Good-Will in him towards the People of *Athens*; and ſince his Anceſtors *Diomedes* and *Lycurgus* lived in Honour and the Eſteem of all People, and when they died were honour'd for their Vertues, ſo far as to be buried at the publick Charge in the *Ceramicus*; and ſince *Lycurgus* himſelf, while he had the Management of publick Affairs, was the Author of many good and wholſome Laws, and was the City Treaſurer for above fifteen Years together; during which time he paſſed through his own Hands eighteen thouſand and nine hundred Talents, beſides other great Sums of Money that he had in his Hands, and was entruſted with of private Citizens, to the Sum of at leaſt ſix hundred Talents; in all which concerns he behaved himſelf ſo juſtly, that he was often Crown'd by the City for his Fidelity: Beſides, being choſen by the People to that purpoſe, he brought much Money into the Citadel, and provided Ornaments, *viz.* Veſſels of Gold and Silver for the Goddeſs *Minerva*, and Ornaments for the **Cenephoræ*. That being Commiſſary General, he brought into the Stores a great number of Arms, and at leaſt fifty thouſand Shot of Darts: That he ſet out four hundred Galleys, ſome new built, and others only repair'd: That finding many things out of repair, as the Armory, the Theatre of *Bacchus*, he repair'd them, and finiſhed the *Panathenaick* Race, the Court for publick Exerciſes, and the *Lycæum*, and adorned the City with many fair new Buildings: That when *Alexander* having conquer'd *Aſia*, and aſſuming the Empire of all Greece, demanded *Lycurgus* as the principal Man, that confronted and oppoſed him in his Affairs, the People refuſed to deliver him up: That being often call'd to account for his Management of Affairs in ſo free a City, which was wholly govern'd by the People, he never was found faulty in any particular. That all People, therefore, might know, that the People do highly eſteem all ſuch as act in the Defence of their Liberties and Rights, not only while they live, but likewiſe that they pay them Honours after Death, for the Encouragement of all others, it is decreed by the People that

* *i. e.* Perſons who carried Baſkets or Panniers on their Heads, of Sacred things.

Q q

ſuch Honours be paid to *Lycurgus* the Son of *Lycophron* of *Butæ*, for his Juſtice and Magnanimity; as that a Statue of Braſs be erected in Memory of him in any part of the Market, that the Laws do not prohibit; as likewiſe that there be proviſion of Diet for every eldeſt Son of his Progeny ſuceſſively for ever: Alſo, that all his Decrees be ratified, and engroſs'd by the publick Notary, and engaven on Pillars of Stone, and ſet up in the Citadel juſt by the Gifts conſecrated to *Minerva*; and that the City Treaſurer ſhall depoſite fifty Drachms for the Engraving of them, out of the Money ſet apart for ſuch Uſes.

Plutarch's Morals:

Vol. IV.

Whether an aged Man ought to meddle in State Affairs?

Tranſlated out of the Greek by
F. Fetherſton, *D.D.*

WE are not ignorant, O *Euphanes*, that you, being a [frequent] Extoller of the [Poet] *Pindar*, have often in your Mouth [this Saying of his,] as a thing, well, and to the purpoſe ſpoken by him;

When as the Combat's once agreed,
Who by Pretences ſeeks to be freed,
Obſcures his Virtue quite.

But, ſince Sloth and Effeminacy [or want of Courage] towards [the Management of] Civil Affairs, having many Pretences, do for the laſt, as if it were drawn from the Sacred Line, tender to us old Age, and thinking by this chiefly to abate and cool our honourable Deſire, alledge, that there is a certain [fitting and] decent Diſſolution, not only of the Athletical, but alſo of the Political Period, [or that there is in the Revolution of and our Years, a certain ſet and limited time, after which 'tis no more proper for us to employ our ſelves in the Conduct of the State, than in the Corporeal and robuſt Exerciſes of Youth. I eſteem my ſelf obliged to communicate alſo to you thoſe Sentiments of mine concerning old Mens intermedling with publick Matters, which I am ever and anon ruminating on by my ſelf: ſo that neither of us may deſert that long Courſe, we have to this Day held together, nor rejecting the Political Life, [which has been] as it were an intimate Friend of our own Years, [growing all along up with us,] change it for another, to which we are [abſolute] Strangers, and with which we have not time to become acquainted and familiar; but that we may perſiſt in what we had choſen, [and have been inur'd to] from the Beginning, putting the ſame Concluſion to our Life, and our Living honorably; unleſs we would by the ſhort [Space of Life,] we have remaining, diſgrace that longer Time, [we have already liv'd,] as having been ſpent idly, and in nothing, [that is] commendable. For Tyranny is not an honorable Sepulchre, as one [heretofore] ſaid to *Dionyſius*, whoſe Monarchy, [obtain'd by, and adminiſtred] with Injuſtice, did by its Non-ceſſation [and long Continuance,] bring on him but a more perfect Calamity; as *Diogenes* afterwards let his Son know, when ſeeing him at *Corinth*, of a Tyrant become a private Perſon, he ſaid to him: *How unworthy of thy ſelf,* Dionyſius, *thou acteſt! For thou oughteſt not to live here at Liberty and fearleſs with us, but to ſpend thy Life, as thy Father did, even to old Age, immur'd within a Tyrannical Fortreſs.* But the popular and legal Government of a Man, accuſtom'd to ſhew himſelf no leſs profitable in obeying, than in commanding, is an honorable Monument, which really adds to Death the Glory, accrewing from Life. *For this thing,* as *Simonides* ſays, *goes laſt under the Ground,* unleſs [it be in thoſe,] in whom Humanity, and the

Love of Honour dies firſt, and whoſe Zeal for Goodneſs ſooner decays, than their Covetouſneſs after Temporal Neceſſaries; as if the Soul had its active and Divine Parts weaker than thoſe, that are paſſive and corporeal: which 'twere neither honeſt to ſay, nor yet to admit from thoſe, who ſay [it, and affirm,] that only of Gaining we are never weary. But we ought to a better purpoſe to produce the Saying of *Thucydides*, that not the Deſire of Honour alone never grows old, but much more alſo the Inclination to Society and Affection to the State, which continues even in Ants and Bees to the very laſt. For never did any one know a Bee to become by Age a Drone, as ſome think it requiſite of States-men, [of whom they expect,] that, when the Vigor of their Youth is paſt, they ſhould retire, and ſit mouldy at Home, ſuffering their active Vertue to be conſum'd [and eaten up] by Idleneſs, as Iron is by Ruſt. For *Cato* [indeed excellently well] ſaid, that we ought not willingly to add the Shame [proceeding] from Vice, to thoſe many Afflictions, which Old Age has of its own. For of the many Vices, [every where abounding,] there is none, which more diſgraces an old Man, than Sloth, Delicacy, and Effeminateneſs, when [retiring] from the Court and Council, he ſhuts himſelf up at Home like a Woman, or [getting into the] Country, overſees his Reapers and Gleaners. [For of ſuch an one we may ſay with *Sophocles*,]

Where's Oedipus, *and all his famous Riddles?*

For as for him, who ſhou'd in his old Age, and not before, begin to meddle with publick Matters, [for they ſay of *Epimenides*, that having fall'n aſleep, [while he was] a young Man, he awaked [not till] fifty years after, [when he was] grown old] and ſhaking off ſo long and ſo cloſe-ſticking a Repoſe, ſhould thruſt himſelf, being unaccuſtom'd and unexercis'd into difficult and laborious Employs, without having been experienc'd in Civil affairs, or [inur'd to the Converſations] of Men, [ſuch a Man] may perhaps give [occaſion] to one, that would reprehend him, to ſay with the [Propheteſs] *Pythia*,

If now thou ſeek'ſt to govern in the State,
And rule the People, Friend, thou com'ſt too late,
And at an hour unfit, knock'ſt at the Palace Gate.

Like an ill-bred Gueſt, coming late to a Banquet, or a Stranger, [looking in the Dead of the Night for a Lodging,] thou wouldſt change, not thy Place, or Region, but thy Life [for one,] of which thou haſt made no Tryal. For that Saying of *Simonides*,

——*The State inſtructs a Man*,

is true in thoſe, who [apply themſelves to the Buſineſs of the Common-weal, whilſt] they have yet time to be taught, and learn a Science, which is ſcarce attain'd with much Labour through many Struglings and Negociations, even when it timely meets with a Nature, that can eaſily undergo Toil and Difficulty. Theſe things ſeem not to be impertinently ſpoken againſt him, who in his old Age begins to act in the Management of the State. And yet on the contrary we ſee, how young Men, and thoſe of unripe Years, are by Perſons of [great] Judgment diverted from medling in publick Matters: and the Laws [alſo] teſtifie the ſame, when by the Cryers in the Aſſemblies they ſummon not firſt the *Alcibiades* and the *Pytheas* to come to the Desk, but thoſe who have paſs'd the Age of fifty Years, to make Speeches, and conſult together [for the Good of the People.] For the being inur'd to Boldneſs, the want of Experience, and the first Heat is not to every Soul-dier so * *

Here is a Defect in the Original.

But *Cato*, when [at the Age of] above eighty years, he was to plead his own Cause said, *That 'tis a difficult thing for a Man to make his Apology,* [*and justifie his Life*] *before others, than those, with whom he has liv'd* [*and been conver-sant.*]

All Men indeed confess, that the Actions of [*Augustus*] *Cæsar*, when he had defeated *Anthony*, were no less Royal, and useful to the Publick, towards the End of his Life, [than any he had done before.] And himself severely reprehending [the Dissoluteness of] young Men by e-stablishing Good] Customs and Laws, when they were in an Uproar, [only] said to them: *Young Men,* [*refuse not to*] *hear an old Man, to whom old Men* [*not unwilling-ly*] *gave Ear, when he was young.* The Government al-so of *Pericles* exerted it self with most Vigor in his old Age, when he both perswaded the *Athenians* to make War, and at another time, when they were eagerly bent unseasonably to [go forth, and] fight sixty thousand armed Men, withstood, and hindred them, *sealing* up in a manner the Arms of the People, and the Keys of the Gates. Now as for what *Xenophon* has written of *Agesilaus*, 'tis fit it should be set down in his own Words. *What Youth*, says he, [*ever*] *was there, than which his old Age did not appear goodlier? Who was* [*ever*] *so terrible to his Enemies in the very Flower of his Virility, as* Agesilaus *in the Declension of his Days? At whose Death were Adversaries* [*ever seen*] *more joyful, than at that of* Agesilaus, *though he departed* [*not this Life, till*] *stooping under the Burthen of his Years? Who more* [*encourag'd and*] *animated his Confederates, than* Agesilaus, *though being at the utmost Period of his Life? What young Man was* [*ever*] *miss'd* *more by his Friends, than* Ageſilaus, *who dy'd not till he was very old?* Age then hindred not theſe Men from performing ſuch [gallant] Actions; and yet we, forſooth, being at our Eaſe in States, which neither have Tyranny, War, nor Siege, [to moleſt them,] are afraid of [being troubled with] ſuch bloodleſs Debates and Emulations, as are for the moſt part terminated with Juſtice only by Law, and Words, confeſſing our ſelves by this not only worſe than thoſe ancient Generals and States-men, but even than Poets, Sophiſters and Players. Since *Simonides* in his old Age gain'd the Victory in [compoſing of Songs for] Dances, as the Epigram teſtifies in theſe concluding Verſes:

Fourſcore years old was Leoprepes *Son*
Simonides, *when he this Glory won.*

And 'tis ſaid of *Sophocles*, that, to avoid being condemn'd of Dotage [at the Inſtance] of his Children, he repeated the Entrance of the *Chorus* in [his Tragedy of] *Oedipus in Colonus*, which begins thus:

Welcome, Stranger, come in time
To the beſt place of this Clime,
White Colonus, *which abounds*
With brave Horſes. In theſe Grounds,
Spread with Natures choiceſt Green,
Philomel *is often ſeen.*
Here She her Hearers charms with ſweeteſt Laies,
Whilſt with ſhrill Throat,
And warbling Note,
She moans the ſad Misfortunes of her former Days.

And that, this Song appearing admirable, he was diſmiſs'd from the Court, as from the Theatre, with the Applauſe and Acclamations of all that were preſent.

And this ſhort Verſe is acknowledged to be of him:

> *When* Sophocles *fram'd for* Herodotus
> *This Ode, his Years were fifty five*——

Philemon alſo the *Comedian*, and *Alexis* were ſnatch'd away by Death, whilſt they were acting on the Stage, and crown'd with Garlands. And as for *Polus* the *Tragædian*, *Eratoſthenes* and *Philochorus* related of him, that, being ſeventy years of Age, he a little before his Death, acted in four Days eight Tragedies.

Is it not then a Shame, that thoſe, who have grown old in Councils and Courts of Judicature, ſhould appear leſs generous than ſuch, as have ſpent their Years on the Stage, and forſaking thoſe Exerciſes, which are really ſacred, caſt off the Perſon of the States-man, to put on inſtead of it, I know not what other. For to deſcend from the State of a Prince, to that of a Plow-man is all over baſe and mean. For ſince *Demoſthenes* ſays, that the *Paralus*, being a ſacred Galley, was unworthily us'd [in being employ'd] to carry Timber, Pales, and Cattle to *Meidias*; would not a Man, who ſhould after his having quitted the Office of Superintendent at the publick Solemnities, Governour of *Bœotia*, or Preſident in the Councel of the *Amphictyons*, be ſeen meaſuring of Corn, weighing of Raiſins, and bargaining about Fleeces and Wooll-Fells? Would not ſuch an one, I ſay, wholly ſeem to have brought on himſelf, as the Proverb has it, the old Age of an Horſe, without any ones neceſſitating him to it? For to ſet ones ſelf to Mechanical Employments and Trafficking, after one has born Office in the State, is the ſame, as if one ſhould ſtrip a well-bred virtuous Gentlewoman out of her Matron-like Attire, and thruſt her with an Apron ty'd about her into a publick Victualling-houſe. For the Dignity and Greatneſs of political Vertue is overthrown, when 'tis debas'd to ſuch mean Adminiſtrations and Trafficks for Gain. But if (which is [the only thing] remaining) they ſhall by giving Effeminacies and Voluptuouſneſs the Name of living at Quiet, and enjoying ones ſelf, exhort a Stateſman leiſurely to waſt away and grow old in them, I know not, to which of the two ſhameful Pictures his Life will ſeem to have the greater Reſemblance: whether to the Mariners, who, leaving their Ship, not in the Harbor, but under Sail [in the open Sea,] ſpend all the Remainder of their Time in celebrating the Feaſts of *Venus*; or to *Hercules*, whom, as ſome [Painters] merrily, [but yet *ridiculouſly* and] irreverently, repreſent wearing in *Omphale's* Palace a yellow Petticoat, and giving himſelf up to be born and comb'd by the *Lydian* Damſels: ſo we, ſtripping a Stateſman of his Lions Skin, [or of that Magnanimity and Courage, which renders him profitable to the Publick,] and ſeating him at a [luxurious] Table, will there be always cloying his Palate with Delicacies, and filling his Ears with [effeminate] Songs and Muſick: being not a whit aſham'd [or put to the bluſh] by the Saying of *Pompeius Magnus* to *Lucullus*, who having after his publick Services both in Camp and Council addicted himſelf to Bathing, Feaſting, Converſing with Women in the Day, and much other Diſſoluteneſs, even to the raiſing [and extravagantly furniſhing] of ſumptuous Buildings, fitter for Men of younger Years, and upbraiding *Pompey* with an Ambition and Deſire of Rule unſuitable to his Age, was by him anſwered: That it was more miſ-becoming an old Man to live voluptuouſly than to govern. [The ſame *Pompey*,] when in his Sickneſs his Phyſician had preſcrib'd him the eating of a Thruſh, which was then hard to be got, as being out of Seaſon, being told, that *Lucullus* bred great ſtore [of ſuch Birds,] would not ſend to him for one, but ſaid: [What?]

Cannot Pompey *live, unleſs* Lucullus *be Luxurious?* For though Nature ſeeks by all means to delight and enjoy her ſelf, yet the Bodies of old Men are incapacitated for [the enjoying] any Pleaſures, except a few, that are [abſolutely] neceſſary [for the Preſervation of their Lives.] For not only

Venus *to old Men is averſe,*——

As *Euripides* has it; but their Appetite alſo to their Meat and Drink is for the moſt part dull, and as one would ſay, toothleſs; ſo that they have but little Guſt and Reliſh in them.

They ought therefore to furniſh themſelves with Pleaſures of the Mind, not ungenerous or illiberal, as *Simonides* ſaid to thoſe, who reproach'd him with Covetouſneſs, that being by his Years depriv'd of other Pleaſures, he recreated his Old Age with the only Delight he took in heaping up Riches. But [the Political Life, or] the Management of the Commonwealth has in it Pleaſures exceeding great, and no leſs honorable; [being ſuch,] as 'tis probable the [very] Gods do only, or [at leaſt] chiefly enjoy themſelves in; and theſe are [the Delights] which proceed from doing good, [or being beneficial to many,] and performing what is honeſt, [and laudable.] For if *Nicias* the Painter took ſuch Pleaſure in the Work of his *Hands*, that he often [ſo far forgot himſelf, as that he] was fain to ask his Servants, whether he had Waſh'd, or din'd; and if *Archimedes* was *ſo intent* upon the Table, [in which he drew his Geometrical Figures,] that his Attendants were oblig'd by force to pluck him from it, and ſtrip him of his Clothes, that they might anoint him, whilſt he [in the mean time] drew new Schemes on his anointed Body; and if Canus the Piper, whom you alſo know, was wont to ſay, that *Men* knew not how much more he delighted himſelf with his Playing, than he did others: for that then his Hearers would rather demand of him, than give him a Reward: do we not thence conceive, how great Pleaſures the Vertues afford to thoſe, who practice them, from their honeſt Actions, and publick-ſpirited Works, tending to the Benefit of Human Society? not tickling or ſtroaking, as do ſuch ſweet and gentle Motions as are made on the Fleſh: for theſe indeed have a furious and unconſtant Itching, mix'd with a feavoriſh Inflammation; whereas thoſe do by ſuch gallant Actions, as he, who rightly adminiſters the State, is Worker of, not with the golden [illegible] of *Euripides*, but with thoſe Cœleſtial Wings of *Plato*, elevate the Soul, which has receiv'd a Greatneſs of Courage and Wiſdom, [accompany'd] with Joy. Call to mind [a little, I intreat you,] thoſe things, you have ſo often heard. For *Epaminondas* indeed, being ask'd, what was the moſt pleaſant thing that ever befel him, anſwer'd: His having gain'd the Victory at *Leuctra*, whilſt his Father and Mother were yet living. And *Sylla*, when having freed *Italy* from Civil Wars, he came to *Rome*, could not the firſt Night fetch the leaſt Wink of Sleep, having his Soul tranſported with exceſſive Joy and Content, as with a ſtrong and mighty Wind; and this he himſelf has written in his *Commentaries*. For be it indeed ſo, as *Xenophon* ſays, that there is no Sound more pleaſing [to the Ear,] than [the hearing ones own] Praiſes: there is alſo no Sight, Remembrance or Conſideration, which gives [a Man] ſo much Satisfaction, as the Contemplation of his own Actions, [perform'd by him] in [Offices of] Magiſtracy, and Management of the State, as in eminent and publick Places.

'Tis moreover true, that the courteous [and [illegible]] Thanks, [attending as] a Witneſs on [ſuch virtuous] Acts, and the emulous Praiſe, [conferr'd on them,] which is as] a Guide, [conducting us in the Way] of juſt Benevolence, add a certain Luſtre and ſhining Gloſs to the Joy, [proceeding] of Vertue. Neither ought a Man negligently to ſuffer his Glory to wither in his old Age like a Wreſtlers Garland; but, by adding always ſomething new and freſh to awaken, meliorate, and confirm the Grace of his former [Actions.] For as thoſe Workmen, on whom was incumbent the Charge of [maintaining and] keeping in repair the *Delian* Ship [or Gallion,] by ſupplying, and putting into the Place of the decay'd [Planks and Timber,] others, [that were new and ſound,] ſeem'd to have preſerv'd it from ancient times, [as if it were] eternal and incorruptible: ſo the preſerving [and upholding] of ones Glory, is as the keeping in of a Fire, [a Work] of no difficulty, as requiring only [to be ſupply'd with] a little Fewel; but when either of them is wholly extinct and ſuppreſs'd, one cannot without great [Toil and] Labour [revive and] rekindle it again. *Lampis*, the Sea Commander, being ask'd, how he got his Wealth, anſwer'd: *My greateſt* [*Eſtate I gain'd*] *eaſily enough, but the ſmaller ſlowly and with much Labor.* In like manner 'tis not eaſie at the beginning to acquire Reputation and Power in the State; but to augment and conſerve it, when it is grown great, is not at all hard for thoſe who have obtain'd it. For neither does a Friend, when he is once had, require many and great Services, that he may ſo continue; but Aſſiduity does by ſmall Signs [and Teſtimonies of Love] preſerve his good Will: nor does the Friendſhip and Confidence of the People expect to have a Man always beſtowing Largeſſes, defending their Cauſes, or executing of Magiſtracy; but is maintain'd by a Readineſs, and a not leaving, or being weary of Carefulneſs and Sollicitude for the Publick. For even Wars themſelves have not always Conflicts, Fights and Sieges; but there ſometimes intervene Sacrifices, and Parleys, and [Truces, affording] bloodleſs Leiſure for Sports and Paſtimes.

Whence then comes it, that the Adminiſtration of the Common-wealth ſhould be fear'd, as mournful, laborious, and inſupportable, where Theatres, Proceſſions, Largeſſes, Muſick, Joy, and at every turn the Service and Feſtival of ſome God or other, unbending the Brows, [and diſſipating the Cares] of every Council and Senate, yield a manifold Pleaſure and Delight? As for Envy, which is the greateſt Evil attending the Management of publick Affairs, it leaſt attacks old Age. For Dogs indeed, as *Heraclitus* has it, bark at [a Stranger,] whom they do not know; and Envy oppoſes him, who governs, at the very Door, as it were, of the Tribunal, hindring his Acceſs [and Entrance;] but meekly bears an accuſtom'd and familiar Glory, and not churliſhly or difficultly. Wherefore ſome reſemble Envy to Smoak: For it ariſes thick at firſt, when the Fire begins to burn; but when it grows clear, it vaniſhes away. Now Men uſually quarrel and contend about other Excellencies, as Vertue, Nobility, and Honour, as if [they were of Opinion, that] they took from themſelves, as much as they give to others; but the precedency of Time, which is properly call'd by the Greeks Πρεσβεῖον, [or the Honour of old Age,] is free from Jealouſie, and willingly granted [by Men to their Companions.] For to no Honour is it ſo incident more to grace the Honorer, than the Honor'd, as to that, which is given to Perſons in Years. Moreover, all Men do not expect to gain themſelves Authority from Wealth, Eloquence, or Wiſdom; but as for the Reverence and Glory, to which old Age [uſually] brings Men, there is not any one of thoſe, who act in the Management of the State, but hopes to attain it.

He therefore, who having a long time contended [and born up,] againſt Envy, ſhall, when it ceaſes, and is appeas'd, withdraw himſelf from the State, and together with publick Actions deſert Communities and Societies; differs nothing from that Pilot, who, having kept his Ship out at Sea, when in danger of being overwhelm'd by contrary [and tempeſtuous] Waves and Wind, ſeeks to put into Harbor, as ſoon as ever the Weather is grown calm and favorable. For the longer time there has been, the more Friends and Companions he has made, all which he can neither carry out with him, as a Singing-Maſter does his Quire, nor is it juſt to leave them. But as 'tis not eaſie to root up old Trees, [ſo neither is it to extirpate] a long continu'd Practice in the Management of the State, which, having many Roots, is involv'd in Affairs, which create more Troubles and Vexations to thoſe, who retire [from them,] than who continue [in them.] And if there is any remainder of Envy and Emulation againſt old Men from [former] Contentions about Civil Affairs, they ſhould rather extinguiſh it by Authority, than turn their Backs on it, going away naked and diſarm'd. For envious Perſons do not ſo much aſſail thoſe, who contend againſt them, as they do by Contempt inſult over ſuch, as retire. And to this bears Witneſs that Saying of the great *Epaminondas* to the *Thebans*, when in the Winter the *Arcadians* requeſted them to come into their City, and dwell in their Houſes; for he would not permit it, but ſaid to them: *Now the* Arcadians *admire you, ſeeing you undreſs your ſelves, and wreſtle in your Armour; but if they ſhall behold you ſitting by the Fire, and pounding of Beans, they will think you to differ nothing from themſelves.* So an old Man, ſpeaking [to the People,] acting [in the State,] and honour'd, is a venerable Spectacle; but he, who waſts away his Days in his Bed, or ſits diſcourſing of trivial Matters, and blowing his Noſe in the Corner of a Gallery, eaſily renders himſelf an Object of Contempt. And this indeed *Homer* himſelf teaches thoſe, who hear [and underſtand him] aright: For *Neſtor*, who fought before [the Walls of] *Troy*, was highly venerated and eſteem'd; whilſt *Peleus* and *Laertes*, who ſtay'd at Home, were ſlighted and deſpis'd. For the Habit of Prudence does not continue the ſame in thoſe, who give themſelves to their Eaſe; but by little and little diminiſhes and is diſſolv'd by Sloth, as always requiring ſome Exerciſe of the Thought, to rouſe up and purifie the rational and active [Faculty of the Soul.] For

Like glittering Braſs, by being us'd it ſhines.

For the Infirmity of the Body does not ſo much incommode the Adminiſtrations of thoſe, who, almoſt ſpent with Age, go up to the Bench, or to the Council of War, as they are advantag'd by the Caution and Prudence, which [attend their Years, and] keeping them from thruſting themſelves precipitately into Affairs, abus'd partly by want of Experience, and partly by Vain-glory, and hurrying the People along with them by Violence, like a Sea, agitated by the Winds, cauſe them mildly and moderately to manage thoſe, with whom they have to do.

Whence Cities, when they are in Adverſity and Fear, deſire the Government of [grave and] ancient Perſonages; and often having drawn out of his Field [and Countrey-houſe] ſome old Man, who had not ſo much as the leaſt thought of it, have compell'd him, though unwilling, to put his Hand to the Helm, and conduct [the Ship of] the State into [the Haven of] Security, rejecting ſuch Generals and Orators, as [not only] knew how to ſpeak loud, and make [long] Harangues without drawing their Breath, [but were able] alſo valiantly to march forth, and fight their Enemies. So when the Orators, [one day] at *Athens*, [illegible] before *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates*, *Chares* the Son of *Theo-*

chares, a vigorous and ſtout-body'd young Man, [ſaid, they] were of Opinion, that the General of the *Athenians* ought to be ſuch an one. *Not ſo, by all the Gods*, anſwered *Timotheus*, *but ſuch an one he ſhould be, that is to carry the Generals Bedding: But the General himſelf ought to be ſuch an one, as can at the ſame time, ſee both the Antecedents and Conſequents of Affairs, and ſuffers not his Reaſonings about things, convenient [for the Publick,] to be diſturb'd by any Paſſion.*

For *Sophocles* indeed ſaid, he was glad, that he was got free from [the Tyranny of] wanton Love, as being a furious and raging Maſter: But in the Adminiſtrations of State, we are not to avoid this one only Maſter, the Love of Women or Boys, but many, who are madder than he, [ſuch as are] Obſtinacy in contending Ambition, and a Deſire of being always the firſt and greateſt, which is a Diſeaſe, moſt fruitful in bringing forth Envy, Jealouſie, and Conſpiracies; ſome of which [Vices] old Age abates and dulls, and wholly extinguiſhes and cools the others, not ſo much detracting from the practical Impulſe [of the Mind,] as repreſſing its impetuous and over-hot Paſſions, that it may apply a ſober, and ſetled Reaſoning to its [Conſiderations and] Sollicitude [about the Management of Affairs.] Nevertheleſs let this Speech of the [Poet,]

Ly ſtill at eaſe, poor Wretch, in thy own Bed,

Both be, and ſeem to be ſpoken for the diſſwading of him, who ſhall, when he is now grown grey [with Age,] begin to play the Youth, and for the reſtraining an old Man, who, riſing from a long Adminiſtration of his Domeſtick Affairs, as from [a lingring] Diſeaſe, ſhall ſet himſelf to lead an Army to the Field, or perform the Office of Secretary in the State.

But altogether senseless, and nothing like to this is who will not suffer one, that has spent his whole in Political Administrations, and been throughly to them, to go on to the [extinguishing of his] Torch, and the Conclusion of his Life, but shall call back, and command him, as were, to turn out of the Road, [he has been travelling For, as he, that to draw off [from his Design,] an old Fellow, who is powdering his Peruke, * and perfuming himself to go a wooing, should say to him, as [wa heretofore said] to *Philoctetes*,

What Virgin will her blooming Maiden-head
Bestow on such a Wretch? Why would'st thou Wed?

Could not be at all absurd, since even old Men break many such Jests upon themselves, and say:

I, old Fool, know, I for my Neighbour Wed.

But he, who should think, that a Man, which has cohabited, and liv'd irreprehensibly with his Wi ought, because he is grown old, to dismiss her, an live alone, or take a Concubine in her Place, would have attain'd the utmost Excess of Perverseness. So he would not act altogether unreasonably, that should admonish an old Man, who is making his [first] Approaches to the People, whether [he be such an one, as] *Chlidon* the Farmer, or *Lampon* the Mariner, or som [old dreaming] Philosopher out of his Garden, and advise him to continue in his accustom'd Unconcernedness for the Publick. But he, that taking hold of *Phocion*, *Cato*, or *Pericles*, should say to him, *My* Athenian

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* I have so rendred the *Greek* Words ἐςεφανώμενον and μυριζόμενον, which signifie *crown'd with Garlands*, and *anointed*, to render it more sutable to the modern Practice.

or Roman *Friend, who art come to thy wrinkl'd old Age, make a Divorce, and henceforth quit the State, and diſmiſſing all Converſations and Cares about either Council or Camp, retire into the Countrey, there with an old Maid-ſervant looking after thy Husbandry, or ſpending the Remainder of thy Time in managing thy Domeſtick Affairs, and taking thy Accounts:* [ſuch an one] would perſwade a Stateſman to do things miſbeſeeming him, and unacceptable.

What then? may ſome one ſay; do we not hear the Souldier in the Comedy affirming,

Henceforth my gray Hairs exempt me from Wars!

Yes indeed, my Friend, 'tis altogether ſo; for it becomes the Servants of *Mars* to be young and vigorous, as managing

War, and Wars confuſed Works ——

In which, though an Helmet may alſo hide the old Man's gray Hairs,

Yet inwardly his Limbs are all decay'd,

And his Strength falls ſhort of his good Will. But from the Miniſters of *Jupiter*, the Counſellor, Orator, and Patron of Cities, we expect not the Works of Feet and Hands, but of Counſel, Providence, and Eloquence, not ſuch, as raiſes a Noiſe and Shouting amongſt the People, but ſuch, as has in it Underſtanding, prudent Sollicitouſneſs, and Safety; by which the derided Hoarineſs and Wrinkles appear as Witneſſes of his Experience, and add to him the Help of Perſwaſion, and the Glory of Ingenuity. For Youth is made to [follow and] be perſwaded, and Age to guide [and direct,] and that City is moſt ſecure, where the Counſels of the

Old, and the Prowess of the Young bear ſway. And this [of *Homer*,]

A Counſel firſt of valiant old Men
He call'd in Neſtors *Ship*———

Is wonderfully commended. Wherefore the *Pythia* [*Apollo*] call'd the Ariſtocracy [or Council of Noblemen] in *Lacedæmon*, joyn'd [as Aſſiſtants] to their Kings Πρεσβυγενέας [or *the Antients*,] and *Lycurgus* nam'd it plainly Γερουσία, [or the Councel of old Men:] and even to this Day the Councel of the *Romans* is call'd the Senate [from *Senium*, ſignifying old Age.] And as the Law places the Diadem and Crown, ſo does Nature the Hoarineſs of the Head, as an honorable Sign of Princely Dignity. And I am of Opinion, that Γέρας, [ſignifying an honorable Reward,] and Γεραίρειν, [ſignifying to honor,] continue [ſtill in uſe amongſt the Greeks,] being made venerable from [the Reſpect paid to] old Men, not becauſe they waſh in warm Water, and ſleep [on] ſofter [Beds than others;] but becauſe they have as it were a King-like Eſteem in States for their Prudence; from which, as from a late bearing Tree, Nature ſcarcely in old Age brings forth its proper and perfect Good. Therefore none of thoſe martial and magnanimous *Achaians* blam'd that King of Kings [*Agamemnon*] for praying thus to the Gods,

O that among the Greeks *I had but ten*
Such Councellors, as Neſtor———

But they all granted, that not in Policy only, but in War alſo, old Age has great Influence:

For one diſcreet Advice is much more worth
Than many Hands,————

And one rational and perſwaſive Sentence effects the braveſt and greateſt of publick [Exploits] Moreover, the Regal Dignity, which is the perfecteſt and greateſt of all Political Governments, has exceeding many Cares, Labors and Difficulties; inſomuch that *Seleucus* is reported ever and anon to have ſaid: *If Men knew, how laborious the only Writing and Reading of ſo many Epiſtles is, they would not* [*ſo much as ſtoop to*] *take up a Diadem thrown* [*on the Ground.*] And *Philip*, when, being about to pitch his Camp in a fair and commodious Place, he was told, that there was not there Forage for his Juments, cry'd out: O Hercules, *what a Life is ours, if we muſt live for the Conveniency of Aſſes.* 'Tis then time to perſwade a King, when he is now grown into years, to lay aſide his Diadem and Purple, and putting on a courſe Coat, with a Crook in his Hand, to betake himſelf to a Country Life, leſt he ſhould ſeem to act ſuperfluouſly and unſeaſonably, by reigning in his old Age. But if the very mentioning ſuch a thing to an *Argeſilaus*, a *Numa*, or a *Darius*, would be an Indignity; let us not, becauſe they are in Years, either drive away *Solon* from the Councel of the *Areopagus*, or [remove] *Cato* out of the Senate; nor yet let us adviſe *Pericles* to abandon the Democracy. For 'tis beſides [altogether] unreaſonable [and abſurd,] that he, who has in his Youth leapt into the Tribunal [or Chair of the State,] ſhould, after he has diſcharg'd all his furious Ambitions, and impetuous Paſſions on the Publick, when he is come to that Maturity of Years, which by Experience brings Prudence, deſert and abandon the Common-wealth, having abus'd it, as if it were a Woman, [for the Satisfaction of his Luſt.]

Æſops Fox indeed would not permit the Hedg-hog, who offer'd it, to take from him the Ticks, [that fed upon his Body;] *For*, ſaid he, *if thou remov'ſt theſe, that are full, other hungry ones will ſucceed them:* ſo 'tis of neceſſity, that a Common-wealth, which is always loſ-ing off thoſe, who grow old, muſt be repleniſh'd with young Men, thirſting after Glory and Power, and void of Underſtanding in State Affairs. For whence, [I pray, ſhould they have it,] if they ſhall have been neither Diſciples nor Spectators of any ancient Stateſman? For if [Sea-Charts and] Treatiſes of Navigation cannot make thoſe skilful Pilots, who have not often in the Stern been Spectators of the Conflicts againſt the Waves, Winds, and [pitchy Darkneſs of the] Night,

When the poor trembling Sea-man longs to ſee
The ſafety-boding Twins, Tyndaridæ;

How ſhould a [raw] young Man take in hand [the Government of] a City, and rightly adviſe both the Senate and the People, having only read a Book, or written an Exerciſe in the *Lyceum* concerning Policy, though he has ſeldom or never ſtood by the Reins or Helm, when grave Stateſmen, and old Commanders, have in debating alledg'd both their Experiences and Fortunes, whilſt he was wavering on both ſides, that ſo he might with Dangers and tranſacting of Affairs gain Inſtruction? This is not to be ſaid. But if it were for nothing elſe, yet ought an old Man to engage in publick Affairs, that he may inſtruct and teach thoſe, who are young. For as thoſe, who teach [Children] Reading and Muſick, do by pronouncing the [Letters, Syllables, and Words,] and ſinging Notes and Tunes before them, lead and bring on their Scholars; ſo an [old] Stateſman, not by ſpeaking, and dictating exteriorly, but by acting and adminiſtring publick Affairs, directs [and breeds up] a young one, who is by his Deeds, joyn'd with his Words, interiorly form'd and faſhion'd. For he, who is exerciſ'd after this manner, not amongſt [the Diſputes of] nimble-Tongu'd Sophiſters, as in the Wreſtling-Schools, and Anointings where there is not [the leaſt Appearance of] any Danger, but really, and as it were in the Olympick and *Pythian* Games, [will tread in his Teachers Steps,]

Like a young Colt, which runs by th' Horſes ſide,

As *Simonides* has it. Thus *Ariſtides* [follow'd thoſe of] *Cliſthenes*, *Cimon* of *Ariſtides*, *Phocion* of *Chabrias*, *Cato* of *Maximus Fabius*, *Pompey* of *Sylla*, and *Polybius* of *Philopœmen*: for theſe, when they were young, joyning themſelves with their Elders, afterwards as it were flouriſhing and growing up by their Adminiſtrations and Actions, gain'd Experience and were inur'd to the Management of publick Affairs with Reputation and Power. *Æſchines* therefore the *Academick*, being charg'd by certain Sophiſters, that he pretended himſelf a Diſciple of *Carneades*, when he was not ſo, ſaid: *I was then an Hearer of* Carneades, *when his Diſcourſe, having diſmiſs'd Contention and Noiſe, contracted it ſelf to what was uſeful, and fit to be communicated.* Now an aged Mans Government being not only in Words, but in Deeds, far remote from all Oſtentation and Vain-glory: as they ſay of the Bird *Ibis*, that when ſhe is grown old, having exhal'd all her venemous and ſtinking Savor, ſhe ſends forth a moſt ſweet and aromatical one: ſo in Men, grown into Years, there is no Opinion or Counſel diſturb'd, but all grave and ſetled. Wherefore, even for the young Mans Sake, as has been ſaid, ought an old Man to act in the Government of the State: that, as *Plato* ſaid of Wine allay'd with Water, that the furious God was made Wiſe, being chaſtis'd by another, who was ſober: ſo the Caution of old Age, mixt among the People with the Fervency of Youth, tranſ-

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ported by Glory and Ambition, may take off that which is furious, and over-violent.

But beſides [all] this, they are under a Miſtake, who think, that as Sailing, and going to the Wars, ſo alſo Acting in the State, is done for ſomething elſe, and ceaſes, when that is obtain'd. For the Managing of State Affairs is not a Miniſtry, which has Profit for its End; but the Life of gentle, civil and ſociable Animals, fram'd by Nature to live civilly, honeſtly, and for the Benefit of Mankind. Wherefore 'tis fit, he ſhould be ſuch an one, as that it may be ſaid of him, he is employ'd in State Affairs, and not he has been ſo employ'd; as alſo, that he is true, and not he has been true; he acts juſtly, and not he has acted juſtly; and that he loves his Country and Fellow Citizens, and not he has lov'd them. For to theſe things does Nature direct, and theſe Voices does ſhe ſound to thoſe, who are not totally corrupted with Sloth and Effeminacy:

Thy Father has engendred thee a Man,
Worthy of much Eſteem with Men———

And again,

Let us not ceaſe to benefit Mankind.

Now as for thoſe, who pretend Weakneſs and Impotency, they accuſe rather Sickneſs, and Infirmity of Body, than old Age: for there are many young Men ſickly [and weak,] and many old ones luſty [and healthy:] ſo that we are not to remove [from the Adminiſtration of the State] aged, but impotent Perſons; nor call [to it] ſuch as are young, but ſuch as are able [to bear the Burthen of it.] For *Aridæus* was young, and *Antigonus* old, and yet the latter conquered in a manner all *Aſia*, whereas the former, as if he had only been to make a dumb Shew with his Guards upon a Stage, was but the bare Name of a King, a Property, always mock'd by thoſe who were in Power. As therefore he would be a very Fool, that ſhould think *Prodicus* the *Sophiſter*, and *Philetas* the Poet, Men indeed young, but withal weak, ſickly, and moſt an end confin'd by their Infirmity to their Beds, fit to be concern'd in the Management of the State: ſo he [would be no leſs abſurd,] that ſhould hinder ſuch [vigorous] old Men, as were *Phocion*, *Maſiniſſa* the *Libyan*, and *Cato* the *Roman*, from governing, or leading forth of Armies. For *Phocion*, when the *Athenians* were at an unſeaſonable time hurrying to War, made Proclamation, that all, who were not above ſixty years of Age, ſhould take up Arms and follow him; and when they were offended at it, he ſaid, *There is no Hardſhip put upon you: For I, who am above fourſcore years old, will be your General.* And *Polybius* relates, that *Maſiniſſa*, dying at the Age of ninety years, left behind him a young Son of his own begetting, not above four years old; and that having a little before been in a great Fight, he was the next Day ſeen at the Door of his Tent eating a piece of brown Bread, and that, he ſaid to thoſe, who wondred at it, that he did this * *

For us'd, to ſhine, as poliſh'd Braſs, 'tis known;
But unemploy'd, in time with Ruſt's o'ergrown.

As *Sophocles* has it: we all ſay the ſame of that Light and Luſtre of the Soul, by which we reaſon, remember, and think.

Wherefore alſo they ſay, that Kings become better in Wars and military Expeditions, than when they live at eaſe. *Attalus* therefore, the Brother of *Eumenes*, being enervated with long Idleneſs and Peace, was with little Skill managed by *Philopœmen*, one of his Favorites, who fatned him [like an Hog in a Sty;] ſo that the *Romans* were wont in deriſion to ask thoſe, who came out of *Aſia*, whether the King had any Power with *Philopœmen*. Now one cannot find amongſt the *Romans* many ſtouter Generals than *Lucullus*, as long as he apply'd his Mind to Action; but when he gave himſelf up to an unactive Life, to a continuing lazily at Home, and an Unconcernedneſs for the Publick, being dull'd and mortify'd, like Spunges in calm Weather, and then delivering his old Age to be dieted and ordered by *Callisthenes* one of his Free-men, he ſeem'd bewitch'd by him with Philters and other Incantations: till ſuch time as his Brother *Marcus*, having driven away his Fellows, did himſelf govern and conduct the Remainder of his Life, which was not very long. But *Darius*, Father of *Xerxes*, [ſpeaking of himſelf,] ſaid, that by Difficulties he grew wiſer than himſelf. And the *Scythian Ateas* affirmed, that he thought there was no Difference between himſelf and his Horſe-keepers, when he was idle. And *Dionyſius* the Elder, when one askt him, whether he was at leiſure, anſwered, *May that never befall me.* For a Bow, they ſay, if over-bent, will break, and a Soul, if too much ſlackned. For even Muſicians, if they [over-long] omit to hear Accords; Geometricians, if they leave off demonſtrating their Propoſitions, and Arithmeticians, if they diſcontinue their caſting up of Accounts, do together with the *Actions* impair by the Progreſſes of Time the Habits, though they are not practical, but ſpeculative Arts; but the Habit of Stateſmen, being wiſe Counſel, Diſcretion, and Juſtice, and, beſides theſe, Experience, taking hold of Opportunities, and a Faculty [to make uſe] of Words, working Perſwaſion, is maintain'd by frequent ſpeaking, acting, reaſoning and judging. And an hard thing it would be, that the avoiding to do theſe things ſhould ſuffer ſuch and ſo great Vertues to run out of the Soul. For 'tis

probably

probable also, that Humanity, friendly Society, and Beneficence will also decay, of which there ought to be no End or Limit.

If then you had *Tithonus* as your Father, who was indeed immortal, but yet by reason of his old Age, stood perpetually in need of much Attendance, I do think, you would shun, or be weary of looking to him, discoursing with him, and helping him, as having a long time done him Service. Now our Countrey, which [as the *Greeks* in general name it Πατρίδα, as if it resembled our Father, so] the *Cretans* call μητρίδα, [as being more like our Mother,] being older, and having greater Rights than our Parents, is indeed long lasting, yet neither free from the Inconveniences of old Age, nor self-sufficient, but standing always in need of a serious Regard, Succor and Vigilance, pulls to her, and takes hold of a Statesman,

And with strong hand restrains him, who would go.

And you indeed know, that I have these many *Pythiads* serv'd the *Pythian* [*Apollo*;] but yet you would not say to me: *Thou hast sufficiently, O* Plutarch, *sacrificed, gone in Procession, and led Dances* [*in honour of the Gods*:] *'tis now time, that being in years, thou shouldst in favour of thy old Age, lay aside the Garland, and leave the Oracle.* Therefore neither do you think, that you, who are the chief Priest and Interpreter of Religious Ceremonies in the State, may leave the Service of *Jupiter*, the Protector of Cities, and Governor of Assemblies, for [the Performance of] which, you were long since consecrated.

But leaving, if you please, this Discourse [about things] withdrawing [old Men] from [performing their Duties to] the State; let us make it a little the Subject of our Consideration and Philosophy, how we may enjoyn them no Exerciſe, unfitting, or grievous to their Years, the Adminiſtration of a Common-wealth having many Parts, beſeeming and ſuitable for ſuch Perſons. For as if we were oblig'd to finiſh [our Days with perſevering in the Practice of] ſinging, it would behove us, being now grown old, of the many Tunes and Tenſions, there are of the Voice, which the Muſicians call Harmonies, not to aim at the higheſt and ſhrileſt [Note,] but [to make choice of that] in which there is an Eaſineſs, [joyn'd] with a decent Suitableneſs; ſo ſince 'tis more natural for Men to act and ſpeak even to the end of their Lives, than 'tis for Swans to ſing, we muſt not reject Action, like an Harp, that is ſet too high, but [rather] let it a little down, accommodating it to ſuch Employs in the State, as are eaſie, moderate, and fitting for Men in years. For neither do we ſuffer our Bodies to be altogether motionleſs, and unexercis'd, becauſe we cannot [any longer] make uſe of Spades and Plummets, nor yet throw Coits, or skirmiſh in Armor, as we have formerly Done; but ſome of us do by Swinging and Walking, others by playing gently at Ball, and ſome again by Diſcourſing, ſtir up our Spirits, and revive our [natural] Heat. Therefore neither let us permit our ſelves to be wholly chill'd and frozen by Idleneſs; nor yet on the contrary, let us by burthening our ſelves with every Office, or intermedling with every publick buſineſs, force our old Age, convinc'd of its Diſability, to break forth into theſe Exclamations,

The Spear to brandiſh, thou, Right Hand, art bent;
But weak old Age oppoſes thy Intent.

Since even that Man is not commended, who in the Vigor and Strength of his Years, impoſing all publick Affairs in general on himſelf, and unwilling to leave any thing for another, as the *Stoicks* ſay of *Jupiter*, thruſts himself into all Employs, and intermeddles in every Business, through an insatiable Desire of Glory, or Envy against those, who are in some measure Partakers of Honour and Authority in the State. But to an old Man, though you should free him from the Infamy, yet painful and miserable would be an Ambition, always laying wait at every Election of Magistrates, a Curiosity, attending for every Opportunity of Judicature, or Assembling in Counsel, and an Humour of Vain-glory, catching at every Ambassie and Patronage. For the doing of these things, even with the Favour [and good Liking of every one] is too heavy for that Age; and yet the contrary to this happens: for they are hated by the young Men, as leaving them no Occasions of Action, nor suffering them to put themselves forth: and their ambitious Desire of Primacy and Rule is no less odious to others, than the Covetousness and Voluptuousness of other old Men. Therefore, as *Alexander*, unwilling to tire his *Bucephalus*, when he now began to grow old, did before the Fight ride on other Horses, to view his Army, and draw it up for Battel; and then, after the Signal was given, mounting this, he went forth, and charg'd the Enemy: so the Statesman, if he be wise, moderating himself, when he finds Years coming on, will abstain from [intermeddling in] unnecessary Affairs, and suffering the State to make use of younger Persons in smaller Matters, will [illegible] himself in [such as are of] great [importance]. For the Champions, [or such as play publick Prizes] indeed keep their Bodies untouch'd and unemployed in necessary Labours, [that they may be in a readiness] for unprofitable [and superfluous Engagements]; we on the contrary, letting pass [little and frivolous], carefully preserve our selves for worthy [and gallant Actions]. For all things perhaps, as *Homer* says, equally become a young Man, [since now all Men] esteem and love him: so that for [undertaking frequently] little and mean Businesses, they say he is laborious and a good Commonwealths-man, and for [enterprising none but] splendid and noble Actions, they stile him generous and magnanimous; nay, there are also some Occurrences, when even Contention and Rashness have a certain Seasonableness and Grace, becoming such Men. But an old Man undertaking in the State such servile Employs, as are the farming out of the Customs, and the looking after the Havens and Market-place, nor else his running on *Embassies* and Journeys to Princes and Potentates, when there is no necessary or honorable Affair to be [treated of, but only Complements, and a maintaining of Correspondence; such an one, dear Friend, seems to me a thing miserable, and not to be imitated; but to others, perhaps, odious and intolerable.

For 'tis not even seasonable for such Men to be employ'd in Magistracies, unless it be such as bear some Show of Grandeur and Dignity; such is the Presidency in the Council of *Areopagus*, which you now exercise, and such also by *Jove* is the Excellency of the *Amphictyonic* Office, which your Country has confer'd on you for your Life, having an easie Labour, and pleasant Pains. And yet old Men ought not ambitiously to seek even these Honours, but to accept them with Reluctancy; not seeking, but being sought; nor as taking the Government on themselves, but bestowing themselves on the Government. [For 'tis not, as *Tiberius Cæsar* said, a shame for those that are above threescore years old to reach forth their hands to the Physician; but it is a greater shame for those who hold up their hands to the People, asking their Votes or suffrages for the obtaining Offices; for this is ungenerous and mean; whereas the contrary hath a certain Majesty and Comeliness, when his Country choosing, inviting, and expecting him, he comes down with Honour and Courtesie to salute and receive the Prefent, truly befitting his old Age and Reputation. After the fame manner alfo ought he, that is grown old, to ufe his Speech in Affemblies, not ever and anon climbing up to the Desk [to make Harangues,] nor always like a Cock, crowing againft thofe that fpeak, nor letting the Reins of the young Mens Refpect to him, by contending againft them, and provoking them, nor breeding in them a Defire and Cuftom of Difobedience, and Unwillingnefs to hear him; but to pafs by, and let them fhew and brave it againft his Opinion; neither being prefent, nor concerning himfelf much at it, as long as there is no great Danger to the Publick Safety, nor any Offence againft what is honeft and decent.

But in fuch Cafes [on the contrary] he ought, though no Body call him, to run beyond his Strength, and to deliver himfelf to be led, or carry'd in a Chair, as Hiftorians report of *Claudius Appius* in *Rome*. For he, having underftood, that the Senate [after the Army had been] in a great Fight worfted by *Pyrrhus*, were [illegible] labour] receiving Propofals of Peace and Alliance, could not bear it, but, although he had loft both his Eyes, caus'd himfelf to be carry'd through the common Place ftrait to the Senate-houfe, where entring amongft them, and ftanding up in the midft, he faid, That he had formerly indeed been troubled at his being depriv'd of his Sight, but that he now wifht he had alfo loft his Hearing, rather than to have heard, that the [Roman Senators] were confulting and acting things fo ungenerous and difhonourable. And thus partly reproaching, and partly teaching and exciting them, he perfwaded them to betake themfelves prefently to their Arms, and fight with *Pyrrhus* for [the Dominion of] *Italy*. And *Solon*, when the Popularity of *Pififtratus* was difcovered to be [only] a Plot [for the obtaining] of a Tyranny [over them,] none daring to oppofe or impeach it, did himfelf bring forth his Arms, and ſetting them before [the Door of] his Houſe, call'd out to the People to aſſiſt him; and when *Piſiſtratus* ſent to ask him, what gave him the Confidence to act in that manner; *My old Age*, anſwered he.

For Matters, that are ſo neceſſary as theſe, inflame and rouſe up old Men, who are in a manner extinct, ſo that they have but any Breath yet left them; but in other Occurrences [an old Man,] as has been ſaid, ſhould be careful to avoid mean and ſervile Offices, and ſuch in which the Trouble to thoſe, who manage them, exceeds the Advantage and Profit, for which they are done. Sometimes by expecting alſo, till the Citizens call, and deſire, and fetch him out of Houſe, he is thought more worthy of Credit [and Authority,] by thoſe who requeſt him. And even when he is preſent, let him for the moſt part ſilently permit the younger Men to ſpeak, as if he were an Arbitrator judging to whom the Reward and Honor of this their Debate about publick Matters ought to be given; but if any thing ſhould exceed the Mediocrity, let him mildly reprehend it, and with Sweetneſs cut off all obſtinate Contentions, all injurious and cholerick Expreſſions, directing and [illegible] (without reproof) him, that errs in his Opinion, [illegible] praiſing him, that is in the Right, and often willingly ſuffering himſelf to be overcome & perſwaded, [illegible] brought about, that he may heighten and [illegible] them, and ſometimes with Commendations ſupply what has been omitted, not unlike to [aged] *Neſtor*, whom *Homer* makes to ſpeak in this manner;

There is no Greek, can contradict, or mend,
What you have ſaid; yet to no perfect End
Is your Speech brought. No Wonder, for't appear
You're young, and may my Son be for your Years.

But it were yet more [Civil, and] Politick, not only in reprehending them openly, and in the Face of the People, to forbear that Sharpneſs of Speech, which exceedingly daſhes [a young Man,] and puts [him] out of Countenance; but rather [wholly abſtaining from all ſuch publick Reproofs,] privately [to inſtruct] ſuch as [one ſhall diſcern to] have a good Genius for the Managing of State Affairs, drawing them on by ſetting gently before them uſeful Counſels and political Precepts, inciting them to commendable Actions, enlightning their Underſtanding, and ſhewing them, as thoſe do, who teach to Ride, how at their beginning to render the People tractable and mild; and if any young Man chances to fall, not to ſuffer him to ly gaſping and panting on the Ground, but to help him up, and comfort him, as *Ariſtides* dealt by *Cimon*, and *Mneſiphilus* by *Themiſtocles*, whom they rais'd up, and encourag'd, though at firſt they were harſhly receiv'd, and ill ſpoken of in the City, as audacious and intemperate. 'Tis ſaid alſo, that, *Demoſthenes* being rejected by the People and taking it to Heart, there came to him a certain old Man, who had in former Years been an Hearer of *Pericles*, and told him, that he, naturally reſembling that great Man, did unjuſtly caſt down himſelf. In like manner *Euripides* exhorted *Timotheus*, when he was hiſs'd at for introducing of Novelty, and thought to tranſgreſs againſt [the Laws of Muſick,] to be of good Courage, for that he ſhould in a ſhort time have all the Theatres ſubject to him.

In brief, as in *Rome* the *Vestal* Virgins have their Time divided [into three parts,] in one of which they were to learn [what belong'd to the Ceremonies of their Religion,] in the ſecond to execute what they had learnt, and in the third to [teach the younger;] and ſo in like manner with every one of thoſe, who are conſecrated to the Service of *Diana* in *Epheſus*, [illegible]

Meliere, [or one, that is, to be a Prieſteſs] then [or Prieſteſs,] and thirdly, *Pariere*, [or one that been a Prieſteſs :] ſo he, that is a perfect at firſt a Learner in the Management of publick then a Practitioner, and at laſt a Teacher and ſtructer in the Myſteries [of Government.] For deed, he, who is to preſide or overſee others, that [performing their Exerciſes, or] fighting of cannot [at the ſame time exerciſe and] fight But he, who inſtructs a young Man in Affairs and Negotiations of the State ; and him

Both to ſpeak well, and act heroickly

For [the Service of] his Country, is in no ſmall mean Degree uſeful to the Common-wealth ; but that, at which *Lycurgus* chiefly and principally himſelf, accuſtom'd young Men to perſiſt in to every one, that was elder, as if he were a Law For to what, [think you,] had *Lyſander* reſpect, he ſaid, that in *Lacedæmon* Men moſt honourably old ? Was it, becauſe old Men might there after the Tilling of their Ground, put out uſe, ſit together at Tables, and after their a chirping Cup ? You will not, [I believe,] ſuch thing. But becauſe all ſuch Men, being ſort in the Place of Magiſtrates, ſtrictly Tutors of Youth, inſpected not only the fairs, but alſo made inquiry, [and that] into every Action of the younger Men, both in their Exerciſes, Recreations and Diet, being indeed to Offenders, but venerable and the Good. For young Men indeed always and follow thoſe, who increaſe and cheriſh the and Generoſity of their Diſpoſition without [illegible]

For this Vice, though beſeeming no Age, is nevertheleſs in young Men vail'd with ſpecious Names, being ſtil'd Emulation, Zeal, and Deſire of Honour; but in old Men 'tis altogether unſeaſonable, ſavage, and unmanly. Therefore a Stateſman, that is in years, muſt be very far from being Envious, and not like thoſe old Trees and Stocks, which, as with a certain Charm, manifeſtly withdraw the nutritive Juice from ſuch young Plants, as grow near them, or ſpring up under them, and hinder their Growth; but kindly to admit, and even offer himſelf to thoſe, that apply themſelves to him, and ſeek to converſe with him, directing, leading, and educating them, not only by good Inſtructions and Counſels, but alſo by affording them the Means of adminiſtring ſuch publick Affairs, as may bring them Honor and Repute, and executing ſuch unprejudicial Commiſſions, as will be pleaſing and acceptable to the Multitude. But for ſuch things, as, being croſs and difficult, do, like Medicines, at firſt gripe and moleſt, but afterwards yield Honor and Profit; upon theſe things he ought not to put young Men, nor expoſe thoſe, who are unexperienc'd, to the Mutinous Clamors of the rude and ill-natur'd Multitude, but ſhould rather take the *Odium* upon himſelf for ſuch things, as [though harſh and unpleaſing] may yet prove beneficial to the Commonwealth; for this will render the young Men both more affectionate to him, and more chearful in [the undertaking] other Services.

But beſides all this, [that we have already ſaid,] we ought [to conſider and] keep in mind, that to be a Stateſman [illegible] is not only to bear Offices, go on Embaſſies, talk aloud in publick Meetings, and thunder on the Bench, ſpeaking and writing ſuch things, in which the Vulgar think the Art of Government to conſiſt; as they alſo think that none philoſophize, who diſcourſe from a Chair, and ſpend their Leiſure-time in Books. But the Policy

and Philoſophy, continually exercis'd in Works, and con-
ſpicuous in Actions, was no wiſe unknown to them;
for they ſay, as *Dicæarchus* affirm'd, that they, who ta
Turns to and fro in Galleries, walk; but not they, wh
go into the Country, or to [viſit] a Friend. But the be
ing a Stateſman is like the being a Philoſopher. Where-
fore *Socrates* did not only philoſophize, when he neithe
plac'd Benches, nor ſeated himſelf in his Chair, no
kept the Hour of Conference and Walking, appointe
for his Diſciples, but alſo when, as it happen'd, he play'd
drank, went to War with ſome, bargain'd, finally, e-
ven when he was impriſon'd, and drank the Poyſon
having firſt ſhewn, that [Mans] Life does at all time
in every part, and univerſally in all Paſſions and Acti-
ons, admit of Philoſophy. The ſame alſo we are to
underſtand of Civil Government, [to wit,] that Fo
do not adminiſter the State, either when they lead fo
Armies, write Diſpatches [and Edicts,] or mak
Speeches to the People; but that they either [endeav
to inſinuate themſelves into the Favour of the Vulg
and] become popular, ſeek applauſe by their Harang
raiſe Seditions and Diſturbances, or [at the beſt] perfo
ſome Service, as compell'd by neceſſity. But he, th
ſeeks the publick Good, loves his Country and Fe
Citizens, has a ſerious regard [to the Welfare of
State,] and is a true Common-wealths-man, ſuch [a
one,] though he never puts on [the military Garm
or Senatorial] Robe, is yet always imploy'd in the Ad-
miniſtration of the State, by inciting [to Action] tho
who are able, guiding [and inſtructing] thoſe, that wa
it, aſſiſting [and adviſing] thoſe, that are Counſel[illegible]
verting [and reclaiming] thoſe, that are ill given, [or
about to do miſchief,] and confirming [and encoura-
ging] thoſe, that are well minded; ſo that 'tis evid
he does not for faſhion ſake apply himſelf to the pu
lick affairs, nor go [then] to the Theatre or Cou

when there is any ball, or he is sent for [by Name,] that he may have the first Place there, being otherwise [only] present for his Recreation, as when he goes to [see] some Shew, or to hear [a Consort of Musick;] but [on the contrary,] though absent in Body, yet to be present in Mind, and being inform'd of what is done, approves some things, and disapproves others. For neither did *Aristides* amongst the *Athenians*, nor *Cato* amongst the *Romans* often execute the Office of Chief Magistrate, and yet [both the one and the other] employ'd their whole Lives perpetually in the Service of their Country. And *Epaminondas* indeed, being General, perform'd many and great Actions; but yet there is related an Exploit of his, when he had neither Command in the Army, nor Office in the State, not inferior to any of them: [perform'd] about *Thessaly*; for, when the Commanders, having [through Inadvertency] drawn a Squadron into a difficult and disadvantageous Ground, were in a maze, for that the Enemies press'd hard upon them, galling them with their Arrows, he being call'd up from amongst the heavy-arm'd Foot, first by his encouraging them dispell'd the Trouble and Fright of the Army, and then having rang'd and brought into Order that Squadron, which before had been broken, he easily disengag'd them [out of those Straits,] and plac'd them in front against the Enemies, who, thereupon changing their Resolution, march'd off. Also when *Agis*, King [of *Sparta*,] was leading on his Army, already put in Battle Order, to Fight, against the Enemies, a certain old *Spartan* cry'd out aloud to him, that he thought to cure one Evil by another; shewing, that he was desirous, by his present unseasonable Promptitude to repair his former blame of their over-hasty Departure from before *Argos*, as *Thucydides* says. Now *Agis* hearing him, took his Advice, and at that time retreated; but [afterwards]

got

ent the Village. And there was every day set a Ch
[for him] before the Door of the Palace, and the E
phori, often rising from their Consistory, and go
to him, ask'd [his Advice,] and consulted him about t
greatest [and most important Affairs;] for he was e
steem'd very prudent, and is recorded to have been a
Man of great Sense. And therefore having now whol
exhausted the Strength of his Body, and being for th
most part ty'd to his Bed, when the Ephori sent for hi
to the common Hall of the City, he strove to get up, an
go to them; but walking heavily, and with great Di
culty, and meeting by the way certain Boys, he as
them, whether they knew any thing stronger than th
Necessity of obeying their Master. And they answe
ing him, [that] Inability [was of greater Force,] h
supposing, that this ought to be the Limit of his Se
vice, turn'd back again homewards. For the Readine
[and Good Will to serve the Publick,] ought not to fa
whilst Ability lasts; but when that is once gone, 'tis n
longer to be forc'd. And indeed Scipio, both in War an
Peace, always us'd Caius Lælius for a Counsellor; in
much that some said, Scipio was the Actor of those
his Exploits, and Caius the Poet, [or Author.] An
Cicero himself confess'd, that the honourablest and great
of his Counsels, by the right performance of which h
[in his Consulship] preserv'd his Country, were co
certed with Publius Nigidius the Philosopher. Thus
there nothing, that in many manners of Governm
hinders old Men from helping the Publick by the b
things, [to wit, by their] Reason, Sentences, Freedo
of Speech, and sollicitous Care, as the Poets spe
For not only our Hands, Feet, and corporal Stren
are the Possession and Share of the Commonweal, b
chiefly our Soul, and the Beauties of our Soul, Ju
Temperance, and Prudence, which receiving their
fection late and slowly, 'twere absurd, that Man

[or

[come to] enjoy Houſe and Land, and other Wealth, and yet ſhould not be beneficial to their common Country and Fellow Citizens, by [continuance of] Time, which does not ſo much detract from their Hands and Abilities, as it adds to their Diſcretion and Prudence. And this is the reaſon, why they pourtray'd the aged Mercuries without Hands and Feet, but having their natural Parts ſtiff, enigmatically repreſenting, that there is no great need of old Mens corporeal Services, if they have but their Reaſon, as is convenient, active and fruitful.

FINIS.